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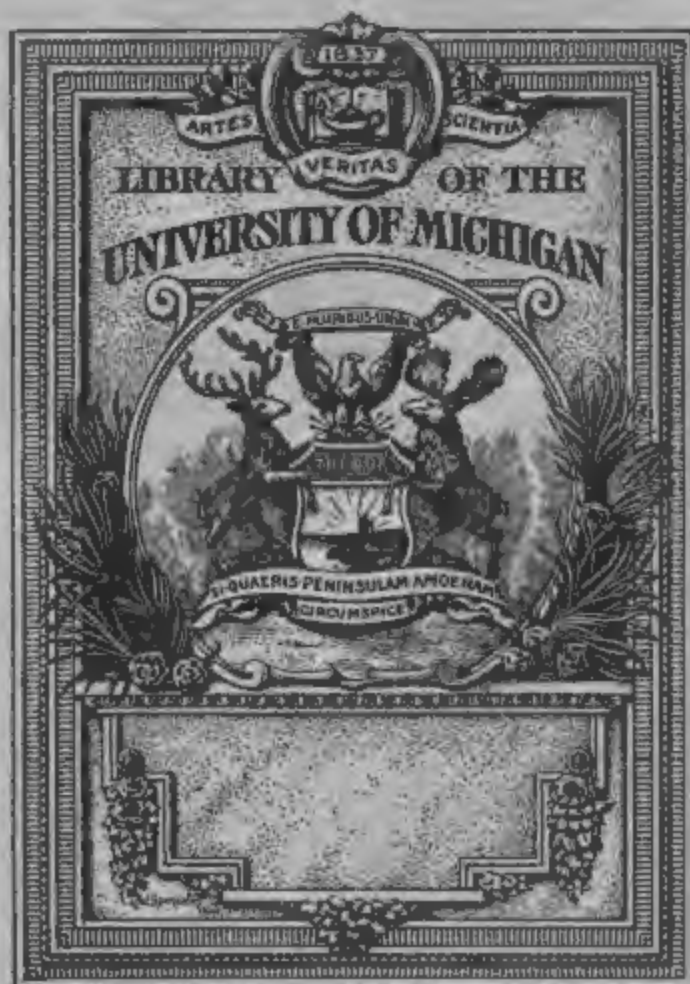
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THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY 1887.

ART. I.—BISHOP WILLSON.

1. *Personal Recollections of the Right Reverend Robert William Willson, First Bishop of Hobart, Tasmania.* Compiled by the Rev. THOMAS KELSH. Hobart. 1882.
2. *Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law.* Session 1847.
3. *Second Progress Report of Select Committee on Lunatic Asylums.* Legislative Assembly, New South Wales, 1863–4.

AMONG the distinguished ecclesiastics whom England has produced in recent times, there is one whose name is held in benediction at both extremities of the world, and whose memory ought not to be left to the shadows of a vanishing tradition. Robert William Willson, a man of singular humanity and benevolence, was the founder of the Catholic church in Nottingham, the episcopal founder of the Church in Tasmania, the effectual reformer of the management of deported criminals in our penal settlements, a most influential reformer of lunatic asylums and their management, as well in England as in Australia, and the man who, through his influence with the imperial and colonial Governments, caused the breaking up of the horrible penal settlement of Norfolk Island. As the present writer was honoured with his intimate confidence, had previously gone over the same ground on which his greatest works were achieved, and is in possession of his most valuable papers, he esteems it his duty to draw up some record of his life and works such as the limits of an article in THE DUBLIN REVIEW will permit.

Robert William Willson was born in Lincoln in the year
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1794. His father was a builder in that city, much esteemed for his skill and probity ; a member of the Anglican Establishment, he entered the Catholic Church late in life. His mother was a devout and well-instructed Catholic, of firm character and deep religious sense, to whose good and pious training he ever looked back with tender affection and gratitude. We must not overlook his elder brother, Edward James, whom he always regarded with deep respect and affection, who embraced architecture as his profession, devoted his mind to antiquarian pursuits, and was among the first revivalists of the pure Gothic styles. He contributed a number of essays to the works of Britton and to those of Augustus Pugin, the father of the celebrated Welby Pugin.

After a fair school education, young Willson entertained the desire of becoming a farmer, and was consequently placed as a pupil on a farm in Nottinghamshire. Here he acquired business habits and experience of common things. He was a spirited, cheery youth, attracting friendships, fond of domestic animals, delighting in spirited horses, and in backing and taming young colts. His horsemanship became valuable to him in the Australian bush.

But on the completion of his twentieth year there came a spiritual crisis that changed the whole course of his life. He was looking forward to settle in life as a farmer, and had actually formed an attachment to a young lady amounting almost to an engagement, when, reading a spiritual book, according to his daily custom, a sudden light flashed into his mind, and in that light came a sense of God with such a might and majesty into his soul that this world vanished into nothing before his eyes, and he felt that God claimed his whole heart and life. He communicated to that other soul the great light that God had given to his own, and this affected her so deeply that they both agreed to give themselves to God in the religious life. He contemplated nothing higher than the state of a lay brother in a Benedictine monastery. She entered a Benedictine convent, became a holy nun, and died Abbess of her community. But when Mr. Willson opened his mind and intention to the venerable Bishop Milner, the bosom friend of his family, the Bishop gave his decision in these emphatic terms : "No, sir ; I command you to be a priest. You must go to Oscott and begin your studies."

He consequently entered the college of Old Oscott in the year 1816, and at once began his philosophy, passing into theology the following year. On reading St. Chrysostom, "On the Dignity of the Priesthood," his modest self-diffidence took alarm at the responsibility before him, and it was only in obedience to the command of his superiors that he bowed himself to the will of

God. During his college life he was endeared to all, both clerical and lay, by his good sense, by the soberness of his character, by a certain humility of heart, by the assiduity of his application, and by his readiness to help and console others in their troubles. Writing many years afterwards from Tasmania to one of his students at Rome, he advises him to submit cheerfully to any little disappointments that may arise in college life, and then goes on to say :—

I can remember such disappointments, which, I doubt not, turned out ultimately great blessings to me. I once had an appointment in college, and was to commence my work after the vacation. I was told, however, during the vacation, without any explanation, that my services would not be required. By God's blessing, I was resolved not to pout and look grand and ill-used ; so I went laughing on. In two months the President, who took what was to have been my duty, nearly upset his health and eyesight ; so, unknown to him, I informed the Bishop, brought the doctor to him myself, and had him cured. He was afterwards the Bishop and my great friend.

The confidence which Dr. Milner placed in his student was singularly shown on a special occasion. A widowed lady was left with two orphans and no protector. She went to Bishop Milner for advice, stating that she wanted a guardian for her children, a trustee for her property, and a protector for herself. The good Bishop turned his mind to Mr. Willson, sent for him, and said to him, "I lay it as a command upon you, sir, that you take the guardianship of this lady, her children, and her property." Well and worthily did Mr. Willson perform that duty for many years, to the great consolation of that lady and her children, and that without interference with his clerical duties. It was at that lady's residence that the present writer, on his first return from Australia in 1837, made Mr. Willson's acquaintance, and that meeting resulted in his appointment as first Bishop of Tasmania.

Having completed his theological studies, he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Milner in December 1824, and in the February following was sent to Nottingham. On his departure for that mission the Bishop said to him, "My dear son, I wish you to be at Nottingham what Father Broomhead has been at Manchester." Every Catholic knew in those days with what energy, zeal, and prudence Father Broomhead had raised up our holy religion in that great town. Father Willson found the few Catholics in Nottingham under the care of an aged French emigrant priest, whose flock assembled in a small chapel with difficulty holding 150 people, situated up a blind alley, where also was his humble residence, to which he had to make his way among wet clothes hung on lines across his path.

In the course of a year Father Willson found his congregation doubled, and reaching the number of 500 souls, of whom some squeezed their bodies into the little chapel, whilst others had to stand or kneel outside. He then resolved to bring the Catholic religion into open day. He secured an ample site in a prominent position, and upon it he built the spacious church of St. John, then called a chapel. It was an advancement upon the times, and was then considered the most remarkable place of Catholic worship in the country. At that time, as we well remember, a number of itinerant declaimers against Popery were perambulating the country, and Father Willson's works and deeds were not likely to escape their attention. They filled Nottingham with their clamours, but this only served to awaken the curiosity of many of the inhabitants, who crowded the new church to hear the priest's replies. With natural dignity, great calmness, good sense, and spiritual clearness, Father Willson explained to them the Catholic religion, historically, doctrinally, and practically; and the result was a number of conversions to the faith.

St. John's was completed in 1828, and rapidly filled; for the good people of Nottingham were much attracted to its pastor, as well by his kind, gentle, and sympathetic ways as by his sensible instructions. Besides his duties to his flock at large, he was assiduous in his attentions at the workhouse, at the house of correction, at the town and county prisons, and at the lunatic asylum, for which last he had a special attraction. The magistrates and other leading men of the town began to discover that they had a man of no ordinary qualities in the Catholic priest. His friendship was sought, and his judgment solicited in affairs of public interest as well as in matters of private concern. He was known to have put down serious disturbances by his personal influence alone. He was found to have a singular power over criminals, and also over the insane. He was placed on the Board of the county hospital, in which he took great interest; and was also invited to take a seat on the Board of the county lunatic asylum, upon the committee of management of which for fourteen years he was annually elected. He had not only much influence in its reconstruction and re-arrangement, but with the co-operation of his Catholic friend, Dr. Blake, he effected most valuable reforms in the management of the patients.

The writer will never forget the day on which he walked with Father Willson through that noble institution, and witnessed the singular influence which he exercised with mild and gentle sway over its suffering inmates. He knew all about every one of them, and many of them flocked round him like children round a father; and he had a word for one, a question for another, and a firm but mild rebuke for another. He then gave a hint to the keepers

about this one, another about that one. A sturdy young fellow came up to the strange visitor in furious excitement, menacing with vehement looks and gesticulations. Father Willson said, "Don't notice him," stepped before him, smiled into his eyes, and exactly imitated every gesticulation that he made; whereupon the poor lunatic subsided into a gentle creature, and turned and walked away. For some time he had under his special care in his own house a gentleman afflicted with this malady, who on one occasion suddenly sprang up from a state of apparent calmness, seized a table-knife, and plunged it with all his force at Father Willson's heart. The knife pierced through a Prayer-book in his breast-pocket, and then bent double, leaving him uninjured except by the shock. Father Willson merely said to him, "My dear friend, why did you do that? Let us sit down to dinner."

In the year 1832 the cholera raged in Nottingham, and the good father put forth his utmost exertions to relieve the afflicted. He went from house to house, not only to the sufferers of his own flock, but wherever he was called; and several hours a day he spent in the hospital opened for the treatment of that frightful malady. Many persons owed their lives entirely to his treatment. It was about this time that the Corporation presented him with the freedom of Nottingham. It may also be mentioned that for fourteen years he was annually elected one of the seven governors of the county infirmary.

Mr. Samuel Fox, of the Society of Friends, presented the town with eleven acres of land for a public cemetery. The Church of England clergy advised the generous donor to let it be consecrated by the Archbishop of York. Innocent of the legal effect of this act, the good Quaker assented, and found too late that it had become the exclusive property of the Anglican Establishment, which was already provided with cemeteries. The benevolent man had recourse to Father Willson, and their conferences resulted in obtaining an Act of Parliament for establishing a cemetery for all denominations.

No one could come into Father Willson's presence without being made sensible of his calm, dignified, and self-possessed manners. Of middle stature, and somewhat portly, he had led too active a life to become a ripe scholar; but he was a man of keen observation, unusual good sense, and great knowledge of human nature. His lower features were squarely set, and indicated strength of will; his mouth was firm yet gentle in its lines; his grey eyes vivid under their strongly marked brows; but the imposing feature of his countenance was his brow. Square and well advanced above the eyes, the upper part presented an extraordinary development, which rose like a small second brow upon the first. Herbert's portrait of him at Oscott presents a generally

good likeness, but by placing the mitre on his head the artist has concealed this remarkable formation, and has thus deprived his features of their crowning expression. Spurzheim was lecturing on phrenology in the Town Hall of Nottingham when Father Willson came in, removing his hat as he entered. The celebrated phrenologist interrupted his lecture, and asked, "Who is that gentleman? He has the largest development of benevolence that I ever saw on a human head."

As our intimacy grew, it was impossible not to be impressed with the eminent justness of his character; he was just in his thoughts, just in his views, just in his judgments, and just in his actions, to which must be added an unaffected humility, united with an elevated sense of what is honourable. Among personal anecdotes he told me the following:—He was walking through a leading street in London after dark, when a gaily dressed young woman came up and put her arm through his. He walked calmly on for a few moments, then turned his eyes compassionately on hers, and said, "Child, are you happy?" She burst into tears. He then disengaged his arm, and inquired into her history. She was a daughter of an old and respectable Catholic family, who had been led away from her home under false pretences, and had then been abandoned in that great Babylon. He placed her in proper lodgings, communicated with her friends, and at her own request placed her in a convent abroad, where she lived a penitential life and died a holy death.

He narrated to the writer in confidence, during repeated visits to Nottingham, in the intimacy of friendship, a number of anecdotes that showed his influence among all classes, several of which were of persons not of his flock, and who, previously unknown to him, came in secret to seek his advice in special difficulties or troubles. One also observed how orderly and methodical he was in all his ways and surroundings. This he continued to the end, his papers and correspondence on business being all arranged by his own hand in perfect order, and he kept a journal of all important acts.

By this time he had obtained a much-needed assistant in his missionary work, and, as his congregation continued to increase, he set his mind on building a noble church. With the approval of the venerable Bishop Walsh, he purchased a magnificent site of 6000 square yards, and adjoining it another site of 4500 square yards for a convent, and called in the celebrated Welby Pugin to furnish plans and to carry them out. His numerous friends came to his assistance, and he himself was clerk of the works. His friend John Earl of Shrewsbury contributed £7000. The Rev. R. W. Sibthorpe, though not yet a member of the Church, offered him £2000. Several of his Protestant friends brought

valuable aid—some in money, others in decorative work. Gradually there arose before his eyes that fine group of buildings which now constitute the Cathedral of St. Barnabas, with its episcopal and clerical residence, schools, and convent. The church alone cost £20,000.

So soon as Father Willson's plans came before the public, the more vehement Anglicans took alarm, and pamphlets, sermons, newspaper articles, and public addresses were poured in profusion on the devoted head of the Catholic priest and his Romish encroachments. The Protestant Archdeacon put out a magisterial pamphlet, in which he asserted that no church could be built in Nottingham without permission of, and dependence on, the mother church of St. Mary's, over which he presided, thus claiming for the Establishment the exclusive right of building churches. The Rector of St. Nicholas followed much in the same strain. Father Willson took all their points on his own shield, and gave such clean-cut thrusts in reply that he was generally considered to be the victor.

In the year 1837 he published his "Complete Refutation of Maria Monk," compiled from the evidence of Colonel Stone, a Protestant gentleman of New York, which became the standard reply to that disgraceful collection of calumnies. He also gave a scathing rebuke to a certain Wesleyan minister, who gave it out in his chapel at Derby that "the Catholic priest at Nottingham had declared from the pulpit to his people that he was prepared to grant indulgences for any sin they might commit during the Whitsun holidays." At that time there was a medical celebrity in Nottingham, who became an enthusiastic disciple of Edward Irving, and who, eager to glorify his sect, resolved to convert the Pope. By way of preparation he wrote a large book, had it translated into Italian, and elaborately bound in morocco and gold. It so happened that, when Bishop Willson went to Rome before sailing for Tasmania, this enthusiastic gentleman was one of the first persons he met in the Eternal City. He had not converted the Pope, but the Pope's religion had converted him, and he was seriously thinking of preparing for the priesthood.

One great service that Father Willson rendered to the Catholics of this country ought not to be forgotten. In conjunction with the late Canon Sing of Derby, he made arrangements with the late Mr. Richardson of that town to bring out Catholic books at a very much cheaper cost than that at which they had hitherto been published. They became accessible to the poorer classes, and Bibles, Testaments, Prayer-books, Lives of the Saints, and standard works of devotion were made attainable at about a fourth of their former price. He also wrote and circulated a plan for a Catholic Tract Society, which afterwards came into operation.

But the time had come when Father Willson was to be called to higher responsibilities. And here it becomes necessary, for the explanation of events, that the writer should quit the style of the reviewer, and introduce himself for a moment. On my return from New South Wales in 1840, in company with the Bishop of Sydney, then the only Australian Bishop, I thought much upon the religious requirements of the Australian colonies, and whilst sailing in a Chilian brig in the South Pacific I drew up a plan for a hierarchy of Bishops for the whole extent of the then known Australasia. That plan was presented to the Holy See by the Bishop of Sydney, and with some modifications was approved by Gregory XVI. Hobart Town was at that time the most important place, after Sydney, for an episcopal see. Having myself declined it for special and personal reasons, it was offered to the Very Rev. J. P. Wilson, then Prior of St. Gregory's, Downside. But as that Benedictine father also declined the appointment, considerable difficulties arose as to who should be recommended. Then it was that I thought seriously of the remarkable qualifications of Father Willson of Nottingham, of his well-known power over the criminal classes, and of the great interest he had taken in our remote penal settlements. I therefore recommended him for the office in the strongest way I could. The result was his appointment to the See of Hobart Town.

No sooner, however, did the fact become known than the people of Nottingham, Protestant as well as Catholic, took alarm. At the instance of several Protestant gentlemen, Mr. Close—himself a Protestant and a magistrate, and an intimate friend of the Bishop-elect—opened communications with Bishop Walsh and with Bishop Wiseman, then Coadjutor of the Midland District. From these letters I extract one passage:—

I am perfectly convinced [says Mr. Close] that Mr. Willson's separation from the town where during many years he has exercised his mild benevolence will be not only a loss to the community at large, but more especially an injury to the Catholic Church, in the inevitable curtailment of that influence which, through the personal confidence placed in Mr. Willson's probity and discretion, it has exercised upon the administration of the charities of the town, with satisfaction to all, and with especial contentment to the members of his own flock, who now tremble at the very idea of being deprived of his pastoral superintendence. To prove that I am not alone in this view of the subject, I further presume to enclose a testimony from many of the principal magistrates, several of whom have served the office of Mayor.

The document enclosed, and signed by the Mayor, seven magistrates, and the town clerk, is expressed in the following terms:—

Nottingham, *April 9th*, 1842.—We, the undersigned magistrates

of the borough of Nottingham, have great pleasure in testifying that the Rev. Mr. Willson has on all occasions evinced the utmost anxiety to support the municipal authorities in the maintenance of the public peace, and that, in several instances, he has succeeded by his personal influence in pacifying rioters and excited assemblies, which, to have suppressed, would otherwise have required a considerable exertion of physical force on the part of the police.

His devoted labours for so many years in the hospital for the insane drew forth another strong testimonial from the forty noblemen, magistrates, and gentlemen who formed the board of management. These and similar documents were forwarded to Rome by Bishop Wiseman, together with his own representations and those of Bishop Walsh, in the hope of still retaining his services in England. But the Sovereign Pontiff adhered to his decision. The Bishop-elect therefore accepted his appointment under obedience, and began to prepare for his consecration. He deeply felt the separation from his devoted flock, his friends, and the works in progress at Nottingham. His last ministerial act there was to ascend the spire of the yet incompleated church of St. Barnabas, and bless the cross planted on its summit.

He was consecrated in St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, on the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, October 28, 1842. Bishop Wiseman was both consecrator and preacher. Many of his late flock travelled from Nottingham to be present, and in the course of his sermon Bishop Wiseman addressed them in these words:—

Tell your brethren at home—as some slight consolation in your bereavement—that in what you have seen to-day you can recognize a splendid manifestation of the Church's power, and evidence of her Divine energy and authority, and a noble sacrifice for God's honour and glory. Call upon them cheerfully to submit to the share imposed upon them in the sacrifice, and thus partake of the homage that it pays. Tell them that it was not until further opposition would have stepped beyond the bounds of duty, until a series of providential dispositions—ripened into certainty by the authoritative word of Christ's Vicar on earth—convinced us that it was the holy will of God, that we ceased our efforts to continue his useful labours in the midst of us. It pleased, moreover, the Divine goodness to permit the final decision to take place while I was at Rome, and I felt myself compelled to bow to it in resignation, as to a decision beyond appeal.

The right rev. preacher then addressed the newly consecrated Bishop in these touching words:—

I will not dwell upon the conquests which I trust await you. No; this day, that you are putting on the armour of your spiritual contests, we must speak rather of their hardship. For well I know that they who enter upon the charge conferred on you this day must prepare their souls for much tribulation and sorrow, gilded though they

be by the dignity that accompanies them. For the golden cross upon your breast will too often heave with the throbs of an aching heart. Day after day expect to meet disappointment of past promises, and anxiety for future results, and cheerless toil for the present moment. Yet repine not at a lot which, before us, was that of the Son of God. Place it then this day at the foot of His Cross, lay your sacrifice upon that altar on which you will daily renew your strength.

Truly applicable to all who bear the episcopal burden, in the case of Bishop Willson these words were almost prophetic. He had not only to encounter great embarrassments for many years in the temporal affairs of his diocese, and that solely owing to the neglect of certain engagements made to him before his consecration, to which the writer was a witness, and which were promised to be fulfilled before he reached the colony, but he suffered a most wearing solicitude owing to the false systems and the short-sighted policy that for a long time withstood many of his best efforts to ameliorate the condition of the convicts, and, though he finally succeeded, it broke down his strong constitution.

Soon after his consecration the Bishop set out for Rome to pay his homage to the Sovereign Pontiff and secure his blessing on himself and his distant diocese. Passing through France and Italy, he made it a point to visit as many institutions connected with the treatment of the imprisoned and the insane as he could, and took notes of what might be useful. On a subsequent visit to Rome he endeavoured to get into the Roman prisons, but entirely failed until he got an order from the Pontiff. He found them in a very unsatisfactory state, drew up a report upon their condition and requirements, placed it before the Pope, and thenceforth Pius IX. became a zealous prison reformer.

This visit to Rome, another to Ireland, and other business delayed him in Europe more than a year. Having secured three zealous priests for the convict establishments, among whom was Dr. Hall, who became his valuable Vicar-general, he arranged with a vessel for his departure. His friends objecting to that vessel, he waited for another. It sailed without him, and was never heard of again. Here we cannot resist inserting a few lines from the farewell letter of his old friend and Bishop, Dr. Walsh, expressive as it is of the interior character of that venerable man :—

You, my ever dear friend, must feel happy from the purity of your intentions, and the holy sacrifice of all earthly attachments with which you have given yourself to God and to your poor, distressed fellow-creatures! He will grant you light, fortitude, and love to conduct you safely through apparent difficulties. It seems to me that I could make myself as happy in accompanying you to Van Diemen's Land as remaining in England. I would cheerfully obey an order

from Rome to that effect. The way to heaven is quite as short from Hobart Town as from Nottingham. The first point is to know and to do the adorable Will of Heaven. The love of God will powerfully assist you in taking leave of your earthly relatives and friends in England. *Deus meus et omnia.* Adieu, my dear friend, till we meet.

In January 1844 the Bishop set sail in the ship *Bella Marina*, and after a voyage of ninety-four days reached his destination. Soon after, he sailed from Hobart Town to Sydney, distant 1000 miles, to confer with the Archbishop on the affairs of his diocese, and after his return set to work in earnest. Tasmania—then called Van Diemen's Land—is an island of about the same extent as Ireland. Its aboriginal population had been entirely destroyed by the colonists in what was called the Black War before the Bishop arrived. Their chief food was the kangaroo, which was being rapidly consumed or destroyed by the settlers; their hunting-grounds were also taken possession of, and they could not move back into a far interior as in the other colonies. They had very imperfect notions of property in animals, and took the sheep of the settlers in return for their kangaroos. This led to frequent conflicts, which were finally brought to an end by the Government forming a cordon across the island, and driving the blacks into a corner, where, with the exception of a few who escaped through the line, they were all slaughtered. The remaining few were later got together and transferred to an island in Bass's Straits, where, though supported by the Government, they gradually died off.

Among the white population the Catholics of Tasmania were few as compared with those of New South Wales and Victoria. One cause of this was that neither emigrant nor convict ships were sent from Ireland to Tasmania until the year 1842. After that period the convicts from every part of the British Empire were sent to Tasmania or to Norfolk Island exclusively; and Norfolk Island, formerly under the Government of New South Wales, was placed under the Government of Tasmania, although at a distance from it of 1400 miles. It therefore came within the jurisdiction of the new Bishop. Besides Norfolk Island, there was another penal settlement at Port Arthur and another on Maria Island.

The Bishop states in a pamphlet published in 1860 that the free population of Tasmania amounted to 30,000 souls, and that the convicts amounted to an equal number. He found but three priests on the island, and the three who went out with him were especially intended for the penal establishments. These were increased to nine later on. The Bishop's own work among the convicts he has himself described in the pamphlet just quoted, as follows:—

That my friends may have some knowledge of my peculiar mission

in the convict department, I will briefly give an outline of the system, which commenced in 1843. On the arrival of a convict ship, the unhappy prisoners were located in large prison stations in various parts of the island, and subjected to hard labour and prison discipline for terms regulated by their original sentences. Thus all men were reduced to one level—the learned and those of gentle birth with the illiterate and low-born. The next step was that of being assigned to masters as servants. When that period of service had been gone through satisfactorily, tickets of leave were granted, so that convicts could engage with employers and receive whatever wages they could obtain until they became free.

Nine Catholic clergymen and two Catholic schoolmasters were employed and paid by the imperial Government. Other Catholic clergymen were remunerated according to the services rendered. Religious books were amply supplied, and every facility rendered for the due performance of Divine services and spiritual attendance on the convicts. In fact, there has been a perfect equality with the other Church, which has, as a matter of course, secured the greatest concord and good feeling with those employed, and the most happy result in those who were the objects of their solicitude.

This state of things, however, was not what the Bishop found, as will presently be seen, but what in the course of years he brought about. He goes on to say :—

My duties appeared to be these—to visit ships on their arrival, address all convicts of my religion, warn them of what they should avoid, and encourage them to follow that course which experience had convinced me would prove beneficial to them ; on landing, again visit them in their different locations as often as feasible ; encourage them, remonstrate with them, hear their grievances—oftentimes too well founded, sometimes not—and reprove sternly, when necessity required, the obstinate and hardened. These visits gave me an insight into the working of the system all over the colony, and afforded excellent opportunities for comparing the success of one station with another, and also of ascertaining what changes it would be judicious for the Government to make. I also considered it to be necessary to pay great attention to those unhappy men who fell into great crimes, and who were condemned to forfeit their lives for their offences. By carrying out this plan, I had ample means of becoming acquainted with what was taking place from the time a ship arrived in harbour with its freight of criminals, to the time they became free, or expiated an offence on the scaffold.

On the arrival of a female convict ship the women were transferred to the hulk of an old eighty-gun ship, and were there retained until assigned to service. Against this system the Bishop made strong representations to the Government. He pointed out the unsuitableness of such a prison for women, and the impossibility of there teaching them that domestic work

to fit them for service, and for becoming ultimately wives and mothers, of which that class of women were commonly ignorant. In course of time his representations prevailed, and they were placed in an establishment on shore. The convict men and boys on arrival were sent to probation gangs, which numbered from three to four hundred each; there were also parties detached from them of fifty or sixty men together. In these gangs men and youths of every degree of character and sentence were mixed together, under the control of a superintendent, overseers, and a guard of soldiers. They built their own wooden huts, raised produce for their food, and made roads and bridges for the use of the settlers. One large gang worked in coal mines. Another was stationed on Maria Island. Before leaving England the Bishop had arranged with the Secretary for the Colonies that the Catholics should be stationed in separate gangs for the sake of religious influence, and that one priest should have spiritual charge of every two such gangs; but this was resisted by the colonial authorities, and not carried out. On the contrary, the Bishop found that men of all religions or of none were assembled together every morning for the same brief prayers, which was greatly objected to by the Catholics. But the Bishop induced the Comptroller-General of Convicts to regulate that the Catholics should assemble on a separate part of the ground.

On visiting these gangs the first thing that struck the Bishop was the extreme impropriety of night arrangements for these men. They were locked up at night in wooden huts, each containing from twenty to fifty men, sleeping on shelves one above another, without any proper division between them. A light was burnt, but the men often blew it out. He went into these places at night after the men were locked up, not only to examine the arrangements, but to test the atmosphere, which he often found very bad. Another bad feature of the system was the employment of convict overseers, men for whom the criminals had no respect, who had no influence over them, and who, if zealous for discipline, were in danger of their own lives. On all these evils he made persistent representations to the governing authorities until he succeeded in obtaining many ameliorations.

He gradually obtained the principle of personal separation at night everywhere. He says in his evidence before a Committee of the Lords in 1847 :—

My recommendation was complied with to a great extent; and I think I may observe that I scarcely ever went into the Comptroller's room but the first thing he said to me, before I came to the table was, "Bishop, there are fifty cells for you," or "twenty cells for you," knowing that that would be the first thing I should mention to him, and which would please me most to hear.

With respect to convict overseers he never ceased to recommend both to the colonial and the imperial Governments that they should be removed, and free men, even from England if necessary, and in greater numbers, should be put in their place.

It may be taken for a certainty that, when criminals are constantly thrown together, the best among them as a rule will be corrupted down to the level of the worst. The more the Bishop inquired among the men, the more certain he became that the worst evils among them were introduced by the men sent into their midst from Norfolk Island. He determined, therefore, to embark for that distant island, and examine for himself. A Government vessel was placed at his disposal, and after a voyage of 1400 miles he landed there in May 1846. Norfolk Island is about seven miles long by four and a half broad. It stands isolated in mid ocean at a distance of some 500 miles from the nearest point of New Zealand; it has no harbour, is of difficult access by boats, but when reached is seen to be one of the most beautiful spots in the creation. It was made a penal settlement in 1826. This prison of horrors was never visited by any minister of religion until 1835. Father Therry, who was so many years alone in New South Wales, once or twice sent a pious layman the long voyage to attend at executions. But in the year 1835 one of the judges of New South Wales held a court there for the trial of fifty convicts for conspiracy, insurrection, and a conflict with the troops. In that same year the present writer and an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Stiles, went to the island to attend the execution of eleven of these men. We made a similar visit together two years later. But there was neither priest nor minister stationed there until the year 1838.

Horrible as was the state of things that we found there in 1835, eleven years later Bishop Willson found it incredibly worse. For after Captain Maconochie's humane experiments had failed, a coercive system was substituted that consisted of nothing beyond external, most oppressive, and brutalizing force. The Bishop shall state his first experience in his own words as given to the Committee of Lords in the following year:—

I never saw men in such a state as they were in when I first landed, so much so that I could not call any portion of my flock together to address them; I thought it prudent not to force the thing, but I spent three or four days in visiting them at their work or when they were at their meals, and they gathered around me in knots of ten, twenty, thirty, or forty, and they stated the grievances under which they were labouring. I then reasoned with them, and showed them where I thought they were wrong, and appealed to them as sensible men whether the mode of conduct they had adopted, or might, would

remedy the evils which existed ; and in three or four days it is impossible for me to describe to your lordships the extraordinary change which took place among those men ; they were as quiet as lambs.

There were 1900 convicts on the island at the time, and the more the Bishop examined into their treatment the more horrified he was, and the more astounded at the irrational folly of such treatment. His description of the convicts in his celebrated letter to Sir William Denison, Governor of Tasmania, must be here very much abridged :—

Gloom, sullen despondency, despair of leaving the island, seemed to be the general condition of the men's minds. . . . Nearly every man I conversed with conjured me to procure an examination of the records, and judge for myself if the terrible punishments which had been administered had not been inflicted chiefly for mere breaches of discipline, and very many of them of a minor character ; they also added, frequently on the sole word of a convict spy or a convict constable.

The Bishop was especially struck with the spectacle of the number of men carrying chains as a disciplinary punishment, both at work and when carrying burdens. Some were of fourteen pounds weight, some even of thirty-six pounds. Specimens were exhibited by the Bishop to the Committee of Lords, now in the Oscott Museum, that weighed forty-seven pounds. Some were even in manacles, with their hands held apart by cross-bars, thus held in a frame of iron. Of 270 convicts that attended the Bishop's service on Sunday, only 52 were without chains.

As the Comptroller of Convicts asserted to the Governor that there had not been much flogging in the island of late, the Bishop replied that on the Monday before his arrival thirty-nine men from the settlement had been flogged, and fourteen more from the farm of Longridge the next day.

The remarks [he adds] that I could not help hearing from free and bond respecting the time consumed in the infliction of that day's punishment—the state of the yard from the blood running down men's backs, mingled with the water used in washing them when taken down from the triangle—the degrading scene of a large number of men standing in the outer yard waiting in their turn to be tortured, and the more humiliating spectacle presented by those who had undergone the scourging, especially towards the end of this melancholy business, were painful to listen to, and now raise a blush when I reflect that by a rational system pursued and judicious management in Van Diemen's Land not one lash has been inflicted for many, perhaps not for twelve, months. Either the system pursued in Van Diemen's Land is very unsound, or that on Norfolk Island.

Another mode of punishment was what was called the spread-

eagle, by which men's arms were painfully stretched out to ring-bolts. Another was the tube-gag, inserted into a man's mouth and fastened with straps, that often caused the mouth to foam and bleed. This was a punishment for violent, profane, or obscene language. The Bishop obtained an able medical opinion on the dangers attending the use of this instrument, and earnestly recommended solitary confinement in place of it. But the worst of these evils, reducing men to utter desperation, was the extension of time beyond the original sentence. John Smith is transported for ten years to Van Diemen's Land. He there transgresses anew, and is sent to Norfolk Island. Whilst there he is sentenced by a magistrate to three months in chains. This last sentence adds three months more to his ten years of transportation. But, in addition to this, three months more are exacted for probation, so that this magistrate's sentence gives him six months more on Norfolk Island, though only three months more added to his original sentence. Against this system of cumulative sentences the Bishop never rested voice or pen until it was abolished.

And what was the chief cause of these floggings, chains, spread-eagles, and extension of original sentences? The Bishop made every inquiry to get at the truth, and in his letter to the Governor, which, at his request was laid before the Home Government, he says :—

I was struck with deep satisfaction to find that the charges of deep moral guilt were comparatively few. The chief source of the convicts' misery has sprung from tobacco. Each man, it appears, has been allowed one stick of tobacco, about an ounce, each week, and is permitted to smoke or chew it in the lumber-yard only, at the time allowed for meals. During my visit a board hung up there with the names of more than two hundred men who were prohibited the use of tobacco. The prohibition of it for a time—I believe six months—forms part of the punishment when men are convicted of using it contrary to the regulations. In the convict class there is a desire for the use of tobacco that would astonish any one not accustomed to their habits. On Norfolk Island the monotony, the warmth of the climate, the wearisome and unvarying routine of a strictly ultra-penal settlement, and the coarse, insipid, though wholesome food combine to render the stimulant of tobacco intensely grateful to those unfortunate men. One of the principal charges, as far as I could learn, for which punishment has been so prevalent and severe was for having tobacco in their possession or chewing it out of the lumber-yard. To ascertain the latter fact, I am told it is not unfrequent for them to be seized by the throat and have the mouth examined. If the stain, or "track," as it is called, of the tobacco be seen, or be supposed to be seen, a charge is made against them the next court-day. It is said that convict constables are in the habit of making such examination, and, if the charge

is denied by the accused, this convict is put on his oath. Then, again, if a man upon the prohibited list receives a morsel of tobacco from a fellow-convict, both, if detected, are liable to receive punishment.

Here is nothing involving moral guilt, nothing to warrant the infliction of the lash, the loading with chains, solitude in irons, or extension of sentence. But, as the Bishop observes, Norfolk Island had become a manufactory of petty offences arising out of tobacco, calculated to perpetuate sentences, degrade the prisoner, and subject Her Majesty's Government to great expense.

There was another evil similar to that, against which the Bishop had contended with such vehemence and success in Tasmania, but which had risen to a far greater pitch in Norfolk Island. It was an evil of old standing, and the writer may be permitted to state that he found the same state of things in 1835, drew up a report on the subject, and laid it before Sir Richard Bourke, the Governor of New South Wales, proposed a plan for its correction, and pressed for its adoption. But as it implied a considerable and immediate expenditure, it was laid on the shelf; it required the exceptional influence, energy, and perseverance of a man like Bishop Willson to bring about the much needed reform. He found the men locked up at night from eight o'clock till five, sixty or eighty in each ward, without separation, light, or watchmen, and the military guard outside placed at a distance, which he measured, of 120 feet from the doors. Over the moral results we must draw the thickest and darkest veil. Suffice it to say that the Bishop's representations to the colonial and imperial Governments, backed by Sir William Denison, ultimately obtained a thorough reformation of this part of the system.

The military on the island were horrified at what they saw of the sufferings of the convicts, and on one occasion, when a corporal's guard was marching past, the soldiers detached one of their number to let the Bishop know that a man had just been condemned to severe punishment for stealing a bit of bread. This, as the Bishop represented, was a dangerous state of things. Major Harold, an admirable officer, who had command of the troops, after a conversation with the Bishop, lifting up his hands, exclaimed, "For God's sake, go home, and let the British Government know the truth." This the Bishop resolved to do. On his return to Hobart Town he laid the whole state of things before the Governor and the Comptroller-General, recommended that 500 of the men be removed from the island without delay, and proposed his remedies for the evils which he described. He then set sail on the long voyage to England, and arrived in the middle of the year 1847. He has himself recorded with grateful feelings with what respectful attention he was listened to, both by Her Majesty's Government and by the special Committee of

the House of Lords. In that Committee, after he had gone into the horrors of Norfolk Island, Lord Brougham, the chairman, put to him this question: "You think that no amount of necessity of deterring crime will justify a Christian nation in continuing such a punishment?" To which the Bishop answered: "I resolved to take this long voyage in order that I might lay the matter before my Lord Stanley, whom I supposed to be in office, for I was quite sure he would hear me, and to beseech him, upon my knees if it were necessary, that an end should be put to it."

Asked if the men had a dread of capital punishment, he replied, "I think not; they have very little fear of death." He then said:—

I think it most unfortunate that sentences are so often passed on men who are not to be executed, and on men who ought not to be executed. Twelve men were condemned on Norfolk Island a very few months since. It appeared to me most appalling that that sentence should be executed. I knew several of the men, and have conversed with them. I knew two or three of them intimately, and I am inclined to think that there were great grades in their guilt; and for twelve men to be put to death in one morning, and I believe some more afterwards, appears to me a most awful fact. And in truth I think that, if an investigation were to take place, the crime committed by these men would be shown to arise from a long series of misgovernment and want of proper regulations on the island.

After visiting Rome, where he received great sympathy and encouragement from Pius IX. and a special recommendation to devote himself above all to the unhappy prisoners, and after a second visit to Ireland, Bishop Willson set sail anew for Hobart Town, which he reached in December 1847. He had not been long returned before he heard on all sides that things were worse instead of better at Norfolk Island. He determined to see for himself, and applied to the Governor, Sir William Denison, for a Government vessel, for which there was a standing order from the Home Government whenever he might require one. When he got on board, he was surprised to find the Comptroller-General of Convicts there, ready to accompany him. Though they were good friends, yet he felt that this had for one object to watch his proceedings. In the course of his investigations, the Comptroller gave the Bishop a hint that he thought he was too free in speaking with the men.

What, sir [replied the Bishop], do you mean that I, a Catholic Bishop, do not know how to conduct myself with these unhappy men? I will now tell you that, as on my last visit I recommended 500 of them to be removed immediately, I have now come to the conclusion that the whole should be removed, and the establishment

broken up. It is too far removed from the seat of Government; the men who have the control of these unfortunates get too hardened; every system tried has failed, to the great vexation and disappointment of Her Majesty's Government.

The Comptroller was thunderstruck. This anecdote came to the writer from the Bishop's own lips.

No sooner had he returned to Hobart Town than he drew up that long and thrilling statement, replete all through with strong sense, addressed to Sir William Denison, which he requested to be forwarded to the Home Government, and of which the final conclusion was expressed in these words:—"With this conscientious conviction on my mind, I feel it to be my imperative duty to conjure your Excellency to advise Her Majesty's Government to direct a total abandonment of the island as a penal settlement with as little delay as possible." Meanwhile, he recommended to his Excellency the adoption of certain measures to secure order on the island until the determination of Her Majesty's Government should be made known. These were—(1) To place a resident magistrate on the island to try all cases, and that in conjunction with another when a case in law required, and that all charges be investigated three times a week. (2) That there be an inspection of all convicts in gaol, hospital, or other buildings once a fortnight. (3) That the Commandant, the civil magistrate, the military commander, the military medical officer, and the officer in command of the Royal Engineers and Commissariat Department should form the Board. (4) That each member of the Board should be empowered to visit any building where convicts are confined whenever he pleases, not to give directions, except in conjunction with the Board. (5) That an entire copy of the reports be transmitted to his Excellency every six months. Lastly, he would repeat the suggestion that, as Mr. Price, the Commandant, was anxious to leave on account of ill-health, Mr. Champ should be requested immediately to proceed to the island and to take the charge. The Bishop then enters into the exceptional qualifications of that gentleman, and gives his reasons for believing that no one could be found more suitable. Mr. Champ became later on the Comptroller-General of Convicts in Tasmania, and the Bishop has given the highest testimony to his efficiency and humanity in that important office.

The zealous prelate next applied for the official returns of all punishments inflicted in Norfolk Island from a certain date, the grounds of their infliction, and the prolongations of original sentences which followed them. This had been refused in Norfolk Island, and was now again evaded, through the course of a considerable correspondence. But Dr. Willson was not a man

to be vanquished by red tape. He requested the Comptroller to place the correspondence before the Governor, and then requested the Governor to send it with his other letters on Norfolk Island to Her Majesty's Secretary of State. This was done. The Governor supported the Bishop's recommendations, and the result was that the imperial Government began to take measures for removing all the convicts from Norfolk Island, and in a few years that penal settlement was abandoned for ever. After the Bishop's letters were received in Downing Street, the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, in a letter to Sir William Denison of August 3, 1853, testified to the esteem in which the Bishop should be held by the civil Government, in these words :—

Dr. Willson's general services to those placed under his spiritual care have, I believe, been fully recognized by those who are best able to appreciate them. But the zeal and abilities which he has displayed under circumstances of a more peculiar kind, when it became his duty to investigate and to combat the great social evils at one time developed under the then prevailing system of convict discipline, deserves more special notice from those concerned in the administration of the civil government.

But the final breaking up of the settlement of Norfolk Island was a work of time; and in 1849 the Bishop again visited the island, and on his return placed a most satisfactory report before the Governor. The men in the wards were separated at night from all personal communication, lights were left burning, and the wards were perambulated by watchmen under proper superintendents. Many of the convicts told him they could now have a good night's rest after their day's work. Instead of only one priest, two were placed on the island, as he had recommended, and also two Anglican clergymen. The evening-schools had given him heartfelt pleasure, for it had been found, both there and in Tasmania, that more evil was done in the idle hours between working and sleeping time than in all the rest of the day. Great improvements had taken place in the quality and method of issuing food, so that each prisoner got his fair allowance, and that in a cleanly and orderly manner. He had also great pleasure in declaring his satisfaction and even edification at finding the perfect unanimity that existed among the whole staff of officials, whether civil, military, or clerical.

But he had still to deplore the employment of convict constables and overseers—an evil of very great magnitude. He had equally to regret the continuing of cumulative sentences given for petty breaches of discipline, generally on the word of a convict overseer, for by this system hope was destroyed, and

what was misnamed discipline became an unwise and vicious irritation.

In his pamphlet of 1860 the Bishop says:—

Attempts were made more than once to introduce similar modes of punishment [to those on Norfolk Island] in Tasmania, but a firm representation to the proper quarter at once put a check on such shameful efforts. Certain tragical events which soon followed the last correspondence [his own about Norfolk Island] confirmed the correctness of the grounds on which I ventured to state my fears. It is melancholy to reflect that at this very moment Tasmania is suffering from the effects generated long ago in Norfolk Island, chiefly arising from systems at variance with common-sense, but ludicrously called penal discipline; and now we are perhaps too apt to censure men for crime, instead of reflecting on the share of blame that lies at the door of those who propounded such pernicious systems or suffered them to be carried out.

We have no space at disposal in which to record the various other reforms which this energetic Bishop obtained through his influence, or accomplished by his representations, in the penal discipline of Tasmania. Nor can we enter into the able administration of his diocese, or speak of his clear, terse, vigorous, and most practically instructive pastoral letters. Neither can we go into those bundles of correspondence with officials in which he brought to their cognizance special cases of hardship or injustice, and which are so characteristic of his untiring humanity.

There is one subject, however, on which we must say a word, as indicative of his keen insight into what was irritating instead of healing. It was an old custom in our time to cut off the hair of convict women of the worst description as a punishment, and we could record terrible scenes of violence that resulted from this practice in New South Wales. But in Tasmania this was done to all women sent into prison for punishment, to free emigrants as well as convicts, even for short sentences of, say, seven or fourteen days. The Bishop made strong representations to the Governor on the subject, pointing out how it marked these women for long to come, degraded them, and hindered them from obtaining either service or marriage. The Governor could not believe this was done to free women upon short sentences. The Bishop proved it by a number of cases. The Comptroller of Convicts forbade it. It was still done, and the Bishop proved it was still done, even contrary to orders. Then the Comptroller forbade its being done either to bond or free under the severest penalties.

His eye was upon every abuse; his voice was raised against every custom that vitiated instead of reforming. No one

better knew the value of firm and consistent discipline for men under penal sentences, when consonant with reason; no one saw the mischief more keenly when there was no appeal to men's sense of reason and justice. To treat men like wild animals was to make them such. His soul was in the fire of anguish over every human misery imposed by irrational treatment. So long as that misery bred vice he could not rest in silence. His influence in time grew to a great power. His counsels obtained their value from the effects that followed their adoption; and whenever they were opposed or resisted, that never altered either his mildness or his courtesy. The addresses presented to him by the chief officers of Government, the judges, the members of the Legislature, and by gentlemen of all denominations, when he either sailed for England or returned to the colony, bore witness to the esteem in which he was held, and to the value attached to his services. The most striking testimony is given, especially by the superintendents of the convicts, to "the mingled gratitude, respect, and affection with which those unhappy creatures regarded his lordship." It was said that even the worst of them, who otherwise never used the name of God except profanely, were wont to exclaim, "God bless Bishop Willson!" The Commandant of Port Arthur writes:—

Many a hardened, reckless convict has through your missionary zeal and Howard-like philanthropy, been awakened to a sense of his unhappy position, and induced to enter upon an amended career, whereby he has manifested a disposition to act rationally and conform to discipline whilst he was under my charge, and has ultimately become a respectable member of society.

There was one class of sufferers for whom Dr. Willson's sympathy was unbounded—the sufferers from mental disease; and of these there were many in the Australian colonies, especially of the convict class. Bringing great knowledge and experience from England and the Continent to the cure of these maladies, he devoted himself with untiring zeal to the amelioration of the systems prevailing in the three principal colonies, those of Tasmania, Victoria, and New South Wales. On the passing of an Act constituting a Board of Commissioners to superintend the asylum of New Norfolk in Tasmania, the Bishop was requested to join the Board, and he continued a member of it until his final departure in 1865. He was much dissatisfied with the buildings and their arrangements, and exerted himself to have them superseded by an establishment on another site, which he pointed out, which was nearer to Hobart, and on a scale more in keeping with modern improvements. He so far succeeded that in 1859 the Government decided upon the change. But interests other

than those of the insane were brought to bear on the Government, which resulted in retaining the old establishment with such improvements in the buildings as to remedy the defects complained of by the Bishop. On his departure from the colony the Board presented him with an address in testimony of "his long, devoted and unsparing attention to the management of the insane, and to the advantages they had derived from the enlightened, humane, and practical views of his lordship on every question affecting the treatment of the patients." The medical superintendent, Dr. Houston, also "desired to express his individual obligations to his lordship for the great assistance he had derived from his suggestions, advice, and personal influence in the immediate management of the institute."

Visiting Melbourne in 1856, Dr. Willson was struck with amazement at the progress almost every project had made, and was especially delighted with the noble hospital for the sick, and with its medical and domestic arrangements. But in going through the lunatic asylum, to use the words of his letter to the Secretary of the colony, he found much to deplore, and, according to his wont in such cases, he made his views known to the Victorian Government. Returning to Melbourne in 1858, and finding it was contemplated to erect a new asylum in a position already selected, he again addressed the Government, utterly condemning the position chosen, and pointing out another, about a quarter of a mile distant from the first, as possessing every advantage. The Bishop closed his letter to the Honourable Chief Secretary with these words, words expressive of his inmost feelings confirmed by his great experience :—

I believe the comfort of very many of our fellow-creatures for years to come, whether curable or incurable, to say nothing of the feelings of relatives and friends, will depend on the fixing the site of this intended asylum—I ought rather to say hospital for the cure of infirm minds; and sound policy, as well as humanity, will dictate the propriety of indulging the hope, and making the effort, that each one who may be afflicted with perhaps the heaviest of human infirmities, may be relieved, or, by proper treatment in a proper place, restored to sorrowing friends and to sweet liberty. And allow me to add, from my own experience in watching over the treatment of the insane, from the highest class in society to the lowest, I believe it would be wrong to despair of the recovery of any one, however desperate the case might appear.

"Oh, Reason! who shall say what spells renew,
When least we look for it, thy broken clew!
Through what small vistas o'er thy darken'd brain
Thy intellectual day-beam bursts again;
And how, like forts to which beleaguers win
Unhoped-for entrance through some friend within,

One clear idea, waken'd in the breast
By Memory's magic, lets in all the rest."

This letter was submitted to a Royal Commission, and the Bishop had the gratification of being informed that its suggestions were unanimously adopted. Circumstances, however, arose that endangered the decision, and the Bishop returned to the charge in a long and elaborate letter addressed to the *Melbourne Medical Journal*, and this had the desired effect. The Melbourne Press ascribed the final decision of the balance to the "subdued yet eloquent letter of Bishop Willson."

But his severest conflicts were for the reform of the lunacy hospitals in New South Wales. We have all the documents relating to that arduous business—as laid before the Legislative Assembly—before us. There was one asylum at Tarban Creek, on the Parramatta River, with 900 patients, the erection of which we well remember; there was another, for incurables, at Parramatta, which we remember when it was the female factory. The Bishop addressed a letter to the colonial Secretary, in which he strongly complained of the gloominess of the Tarban Creek Asylum and of the depressing influence of the Parramatta Asylum. This letter was made the basis of an examination before a Special Committee of the Legislative Assembly, in which the Bishop brought all the weight of his experience to bear upon the questions in agitation. Many of his most valuable suggestions for the proper management of the insane are to be found in that evidence. He recommended the Committee to consult by writing some of the most able and experienced medical superintendents of asylums in England, and to obtain some of the best plans and arrangements, recognized as such, from England. The medical superintendent of Tarban Creek naturally defended himself. The Medical Psychological Society of England took up the Bishop's side of the question in more than one number of their *Journal of Mental Science*, and invited him to become an honorary member of their body. We have no evidence before us of the ultimate result; all that we can find is the testimony borne by the *Sydney Herald* "to the dignity of the personal character of the Catholic Bishop of Hobart Town, who, by a life of benevolence on behalf of the insane, is entitled to be received as an authority."

By the year 1859 the Bishop began seriously to feel the effect of his arduous labours on his constitution, and applied to the Holy See for a Coadjutor. The Very Rev. Dr. Butler, the pious and zealous pastor of Launceston, was appointed to that office in 1860, but in his humility he declined the episcopate. Meanwhile, the Bishop wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, requesting a retiring pension in

consideration of his civil services to the Government. He might still remain, he stated, and receive the stipend now granted, but in a land like that the greatest activity of mind and body was required to fulfil the arduous duties of his position. Sir William Denison, then Governor-General of the Australian Colonies, wrote to him a letter bearing the strongest testimony to his zeal in favour of the criminal classes; "though," he adds, "a more hopeless task could not be imposed on any man than that of remedying the evils ingrained upon the convicts by years of neglect on the part of others and self-indulgence on their own, yet you still struggled manfully in your vocation, and I hope with the success that your efforts deserved." On the other hand, the Bishop has borne a great testimony to Sir William Denison's firm, just, impartial, and humane government of the convict department; and asserts that "for some years previous to his departure from the island not one convict had been subject to the odious lash."

It will scarcely be believed that the Duke of Newcastle, who had known the Bishop's merits from his Nottingham days, and had expressed to the colonial authorities how highly they ought to appreciate Dr. Willson's civil services, in his reply to his petition for a retiring pension, wrote to Sir H. E. F. Young, the then Governor of Tasmania, in these terms:—"You will signify to the Bishop my full sense of the respect due to his character and merits, but you will at the same time express my regret that it would be impossible to assign to him from imperial funds a pension, which could only be granted to an officer of the convict department and servant of the imperial Government." Truly red tape is as rigorous as those iron fetters taken by the Bishop from so many human limbs. Putting aside every moral and political consideration, on the mere ground of economy the expenditure saved to the imperial Government by the Bishop was enormous.

It was still five years before the Bishop was able to leave the colony. Off Cape Horn he was struck with paralysis. At the end of the voyage he had to be carried ashore at Blackwall. This took place in June 1865. He made the official resignation of his See, and on June 22, 1866, the Holy See translated him from the bishopric of Hobart Town to that of Rhodiopolis *in partibus*. He was succeeded at Hobart Town by the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, who was transferred from the vicariate of Hyderabad.

The end of his holy and eventful life was now at hand. He was conveyed whither his heart attracted him—among his old flock and devoted friends at Nottingham. There was a priest in that town whom he had himself led to the sanctuary; to him he entrusted both his temporal and spiritual affairs. He had lost the memory of past things, and had no longer the power to

read, but was cheerful, still clear-headed, and vigorous in mind in all that concerned his present duties. At his request there was read to him each day a meditation morning and evening, a portion of sacred Scripture, the Life of the Saint of the day, and a chapter in the "Following of Christ." He thus kept up his pious customs. The day before he departed he assisted at Mass and received Holy Communion. That day he had another stroke, and became speechless. That night his sacerdotal friend secretly entered his room, found him absorbed in prayer, and withdrew unobserved. The following day his friends came round him, and the Rev. Mr. Sibthorpe gave him the Extreme Unction. On that same day, the 30th of June 1866, he calmly expired. His remains repose in the crypt of the Cathedral Church of St. Barnabas, the church which he had raised, and which he loved so well.

"Wisdom conducted the just one through the right ways, and showed him the Kingdom of God, and gave him the knowledge of holy things, made him honourable in his labours, and accomplished in his works."

✠ W. B. ULLATHORNE.



ART. II.—THE THRONE OF THE FISHERMAN.

*The Throne of the Fisherman, built by the Carpenter's Son :
The Root, the Bond, and the Crown of Christendom.* By
THOS. W. ALLIES, K.C.S.G. London : Burns & Oates. 1887.

ST. AUGUSTINE has chronicled his wonder that men should be struck rather with a single miraculous phenomenon than with a fact which is above the mere power of nature, but is still often repeated. He applies this to the miraculous increase of loaves and fishes, and yet, he says, no man wonders at the ever-recurring miracle of the seasons, at the corn and wine which are multiplied for us by the same loving Hand. To carry this comparison into our own times, we may observe the tendency men have to be surprised rather by strange phenomena than by fact. In the early part of this century two favoured servants of God were honoured by the highest graces of the mystical life. They had stood the test of the rigid examination to which the Church submits these paths untrodden by ordinary feet. The one, Maria Mörl, spent her days in communing with the unseen world, and

was called the Estatica; the other, Domenica Lazzari, known as the Addolorata, bore in her body the awful wounds of the Crucified.

An Anglican, who has since become famous as the first lawyer of his day, once made the observation with regard to these women: "If it is as people say, Rome *must* be true." Another Anglican, the author of "*The Throne of the Fisherman*," resolved to bring his eyes and mind and reasoning faculties to bear upon the matter, and visited the Tyrol. Both cases approved themselves to a critical judgment, and it followed that Rome, or rather the Catholic Church, is true. And what of the facts above the order of Nature with which that Church abounds? If they exist, as people and the evidence of our senses tell us, then she is true. They correspond to the ceaseless wonders in the physical world of which St. Augustine spoke: light, air, animal growth, birth, and death—these have their parallels in the Church, which are as difficult to explain; but on the other hand, they are, like the elements, perpetual witnesses to an ever-present Divine power. If, therefore, instead of saying, "If the Addolorata really has the stigmata, then Rome must be true," the Anglican had thought to himself, "If Peter, a fisherman, really occupied a throne by the Divine dispensation, then I will seek for that throne in all spiritual regions till I find it," he would have marked out the greater wonder of the two. Which, to speak in our language, is the more difficult to God: to raise up during thirty-three years a human being who is to bear in her body the marks of the Passion, or to make a fisherman the founder of a royal dynasty which is to last as long as the world? The phenomenon pales before the fact.

This is what was in Mr. Allies' mind when he undertook to trace Peter's primacy from the beginning of the Christian era, and when he called that primacy "the Root, the Bond, and the Crown of Christendom." The volume before us, of 549 pages in octavo, is in fact the fifth of Mr. Allies' great work, "*The Formation of Christendom*," but it is complete and independent in itself. Taken together, the value of the subject is increased by the context, but viewed apart, each volume has an intrinsic worth of its own, and it was a happy thought to make so long a work capable of division. Mr. Allies is well known to be the special defender of the Primacy: in this fifth volume he surpasses himself. He recognizes three factors in the history of the Church up to the present day—a Divine Institution; its recognition by the Church; and the action of Divine Providence on the external world; and he calls the common result of these factors "*The Throne of the Fisherman built by the Carpenter's Son*." He apportions the Christian era into eight periods, of which two

form the subject of the present volume. It is composed of eleven chapters, from the day of Pentecost in A.D. 29 to 461, the end of the pontificate of Pope St. Leo. The first chapter serves as an introduction to the whole subject; the second and third treat, with a retrospective view, which is as complete as it is original, of the Primacy up to Constantine and the Council of Nicæa (325). They are followed by four equally instructive ones on Church and State under Constantine and his successors. Then the author reverts to the Primacy, and gives a general view of it from 380 till Pope St. Leo's accession in 440. Two exquisite chapters on the Fathers follow; and the last, which is devoted to the splendid figure of St. Leo the Great, completes the volume.

The vastness of a result, contrasted with its obscure human cause, on which a great Father* has rested so much as portraying the Divine action, has been nowhere more evident than in the Throne of Peter. Built by the Carpenter's Son, it was to share the fortunes of Him who was crucified and died in ignominy; that is to say, no human element of power or greatness was to be shown in the building. Again, the title of this book, if fully borne out by its pages, is a protest against the large number of those without who think, honestly in many cases, that the Throne was never built at all, but a natural development of time and favourable circumstances. The building of the Throne is thus not a minor part of the Christian Church, but its very root. St. Chrysostom dwells with special pleasure on the supernatural calling of the twelve unlettered men who conquered the world, and were able to effect that which philosophers and orators had vainly tried to do.† So the chief of the Twelve (Κορυφαίος), as the same Father calls St. Peter, walked in the steps of his Lord, died the death of the cross, and yet, in virtue of the Divine words, feeds the sheep of the Christian pastures.

During the centuries of persecution the Acts of the Papacy were written in the Catacombs; the records of that early Church have not come down to us, any more than the greater part of the Acts of the Martyrs; yet both facts are equally indisputable, and he who denies the one might deny the other. What can be simpler than the words "depositus in pace?" Still they reveal the fundamental truth of the Christian religion—belief in the resurrection of the body. Pope St. Clement's letter in A.D. 96 is much to the Primacy what "depositus in pace" was in the first Christian resting-places of the dead. While it dates from the lifetime of St. John the Evangelist, it "distinctly asserts and exercises the Roman Principate in the defence and judgment of

* St. Chrysostom.

† See in particular Λογος III. and IV. προς Κορινθίους (Epist. 1).

Bishops.”* After this utterance of St. Clement we have nothing beyond fragments of Papal documents till the letter of Pope Julius I. in 342, but we have the voice of facts. “What we see is the emergence,” at the end of the persecutions “of a power which the whole hierarchy recognises, to which no beginning can be given short of St. Peter himself; no warrant for its existence assigned save the authority given to him by Our Lord.”† Whilst

the Apostolic Principate received by Peter from the Lord was the root and womb of the whole hierarchy, not only in principle but in historic fact, the exercise of that Primacy was during these three centuries—as it has continued to be in every succeeding century—proportionate to the state and condition of the Church. Its action during the ages of persecution will be different from its action in a subsequent age, when the Roman State has acknowledged the Church; or, again from another period when the whole order of civil government has been interfered with by the wandering of the nations. Not everything which follows from the idea of the Primacy was actually drawn out in the first centuries, just as not every work which the Church was to do had then been actually done.‡

The Coliseum is a silent witness to the martyrs’ strife, and would perpetuate the memory of their sufferings with but scanty documents; and the act by which the first Christian emperor acknowledged Peter’s supremacy is also written in letters of stone. He recognized the living Peter by ceding the Lateran Palace to Pope Sylvester, and he also withdrew his own imperial presence from the city of the Popes. He laid over the dead Peter the foundation of earth’s stateliest basilica, and placed the Fisherman’s body in a gilded coffin, having on it a cross of pure gold, with the inscription: “Constantine Emperor, and Helena Empress. This dwelling a royal Court surrounds, bright with equal lustre.”§ Thus it was that the royal line of Peter succeeded the great Roman Empire, and that the Roman peace was carried out in the City of God. But the first great assembly of the Christian Church, as it issued from State bondage, was a public recognition of Peter’s claims. Alone of the Apostles he had founded a triple patriarchal chair. Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, as Sees of Peter, held pre-eminence at Nicæa—that is, all power in the Church emanated from his person. The merit of “The Throne of the Fisherman” is to prove all along what it asserts, and to assert nothing which it cannot prove. That Council, which did not create but only recognized the Papal

* “The Throne of the Fisherman,” p. 95.

† *Ibid.* p. 97.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 85.

§ *Ibid.* p. 41.

claims, was presided over by the Pope's legates, whose names headed the subscription to its decrees. Instead, as it were, of deciphering rude inscriptions in the Catacombs, the author has preferred to show the action of the first assembly of the Christian Body restored to light and freedom, and in doing this in a masterly way, he has illuminated the preceding period. Nicæa is to the primacy of Peter what the lost Acts of the Martyrs would be in the case of so many champions whose names are known only to God—a contemporaneous testimony which gives shape and form to a great fact. The Sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch rested upon the person of the one Peter, as St. Gregory the Great noted long afterwards, but in this triple patriarchate of the chief Apostle Rome was supreme.

The rise of Christian Rome was a singular illustration of St. Chrysostom's argument, that God persuades by contraries (*διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων πειθεῖν*). When Constantine had bestowed the Lateran Palace on Pope Sylvester, and provided a royal dwelling for the body of St. Peter, he withdrew his imperial presence from Rome, to build a city, which he called Nova Roma, after the pattern of the old; and from that day the strength of heathen Rome began to depart, and a new glory dawned in that city which alone has been called eternal. As soon, therefore, as Constantine had acknowledged the Christian power, Divine Providence moved him to depart from a place which was to be the spiritual home and country of countless generations. Round the person of the Sovereign at Byzantium there raged the strong tide of human passions. Court favour bred worldly bishops, who gave the sanction of their name to the ignoble traditions of heresy and nationality in religion, who made Cæsar, not Peter, their centre of gravitation. Amongst Constantine's motives for departing, his sorrow at Rome's heathenism was one of the most prominent; he wished to found a city which should be Christian from the first. What really took place is a striking illustration that the designs of Divine Providence are worked out by men in spite of themselves. No one has impugned Constantine's motives for leaving Rome, and yet just the contrary to what he had looked and hoped for came about. He founded, indeed, the lovely city which bears his name on a site unrivalled in the whole world as that of a capital, but the spiritual element was suffocated in the Court atmosphere. Christianity was never at home at that imperial Court; the advice of a courtier bishop marred the last days of the first Christian Emperor; the unity which he had so much prized was broken up at his death, and his sons, with none of their father's genius, succeeded him. The very fact of the imperial birth of Nova Roma gave prominence to its See. The "deadly honour"

of "being member of the Court to a resident emperor" was reserved for the Bishop of Byzantium—that is to say, the value of hierarchy without an apostolic primate was clearly demonstrated. It is in human nature that bishops who come into close contact with an absolute Sovereign will give up their independence, and become willing slaves to State despotism, under the guise of courtly prelates in a State Church. Constantine was, in fact, not sufficiently imbued with the Christian spirit to succeed in founding a Christian city. He received baptism only at the eleventh hour, but Nova Roma was baptized from the first, so to say, in Arian baptism. The See of Byzantium was, as it were, the target at which courtly prelates aimed their arrows, and men of so worldly a spirit cared not at all for the purity of the faith, and fell easy victims to Arianism. Mr. Allies' pages concerning the sons of Constantine, and their successors down to Theodosius, are records of this strife amongst bishops as to who should be greater, not in the higher sense, but who should be the more favoured friend of Cæsar. No trial, according to him, ever brought the Church nearer to the brink of that abyss over which she will never fall. There was, however, throughout all the cheerless time filled with the persecution of the righteous, Arian aggressiveness, and worldly factions in the Church of Nova Roma, another side to the picture. We shall revert farther on to the contrast presented by Rome, whose bishops were guarded by Divine Providence from the "deadly honour" of Court favour.

In the annals of imperial Arianism, Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, that first specimen of a "courtier bishop," stands out with melancholy notoriety. It was he who acted the part of evil councillor to Constantine, and who devised the weapon which would have proved deadly for any other than the Bride of Christ. This was an episcopal council, of which the members were chosen by the Emperor; its sittings were watched by an imperial officer, and its decrees, inflicting banishment at pleasure upon any bishop whatsoever, carried out by the secular arm. This device of Eusebius had been used against the lawful occupants of the two Petrine sees of Alexandria and Antioch. St. Eustathius was deposed from Antioch; and Athanasius, the second bishop in the Church, suffered confessorship in repeated exiles, until his life was one long death, and his very name suggests persecution for justice. Athanasius owned no superior in the Church other than the Pope, but the very end which the Eusebian weapon had in view was to sever every link from without, and to concentrate spiritual power in the Sovereign's hands. Still, the Patriarch of Alexandria appealed to the successor of St. Peter, and was supported by him. Unlike St. Chrysostom,

who was held in the toils of a cruel empress, and died in exile for hating iniquity, Athanasius was re-established in his See before the end came.

In proportion to the strife of beautiful Nova Roma was the peace of the old, that city which Constantine had consigned in its heathen garb to Peter's successor. Then it was that the life of the Catacombs showed itself in broad daylight. The temples of the gods were open in 326, when the Emperor departed; but heathenism had been undermined in its fortress, and the impulse given to the Primacy by the unconscious Sovereign of Old Rome was the match which kindled the latent flame. Peter's supremacy partakes of the nature of human government in so far as it bears a proportion to the kingdom over which it is set. As Mr. Allies luminously remarks, the "analogy of human government" must be applied to it. "The polity of the city of Romulus was one thing, and the polity of the empire of Augustus another" (p. 101); the supremacy was an inevitable and natural consequence of the Primacy, and contained in it, as in germ.

Attached like a garland round the "Throne of the Fisherman" are the two chapters on the "Flowering of Patristic Literature." They will appeal to every mind with an innate love of what is beautiful, but most of all to those who value "the Christian faith as the dearest thing they have." These were the men who fought with their minds the great battle of Christian dogma—a true confessorship in itself, and one which often meets with life-long persecution. We need only to name a Chrysostom or an Athanasius to recall vividly to our minds how these men loved their inheritance of the faith. As a matter of fact, we know little about the Fathers, and we sorely need to be enlightened in our darkness. St. Augustine compares the living bread upon our altars to mother's milk,* and we may say that he and those like him have eaten the Scriptures, and reduced them to milk for the children of the Church. And does not a large proportion of modern failings proceed from want of this sustaining food? Men are cold and flippant and incredulous because their spiritual constitution is not founded on their mother's milk. Let them read the Fathers with knowledge and discretion, and the obscurity of the sacred page will vanish. Mr. Allies' chapters will serve as a guiding thread both as to the man and as to the writer. He pays here to the Fathers a tribute for the Catholic education and training which they gave him in his Anglican days. It was not, however, to Chrysostom, the almost martyr, nor to Athanasius, the incomparable thinker and champion, that he chiefly owed the great teaching of the Holy Eucharist. It was in the pages of

* Enar. in Ps. xxxiii. 6.

Augustine that he first read for himself the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, and the doctrine which may be said to be essentially Augustine's, that of unity. If one earnest seeker after Catholic truth found it in the Fathers, why should not all honest inquirers be similarly blessed? We are indebted to a writer of the fourth century for setting forth some gems of Catholic practice. Mr. Allies has largely used Prudentius, whose thought was indeed more beautiful than his poetry. He has spoken of St. Eulalia, lying as a martyr "under the feet of God," thus bearing testimony to the adorable Presence on the altar, and to the habit which the Church has adopted from earliest times of using relics of the martyrs in the altar-stone.

If, indeed, the "Throne of the Fisherman built by the Carpenter's Son," not mathematically demonstrated—for no mathematical demonstration belongs to Christian controversy—but lucidly set forth, impresses itself as a miraculous fact upon the minds of Mr. Allies' readers, then the logical conclusion will be, as in the case of the *Estatica* and *Addolorata*: "If this be so, Rome is true." But there are many men who fancy they are thinking men, and they say, either, "It cannot be true," or "If it be true, then it is no work of God." They are echoing the words spoken to Our Lord by those who could not refute the evidence of their senses: "In Beelzebub thou castest out devils." The consideration to be brought before the latter class of minds is especially this: fact baffles the devil more than phenomena. His wise men could vie with the wonders of Moses and Aaron; the miracles worked by his servants might deceive the elect, as the apparent goodness of the wicked often has done. God might even allow him to produce the stigmata in a human body; but what he *cannot* do is to work a fact surpassing the natural order of things, which, in spite of the most intense opposition, exists during eighteen centuries. In a word, facts like the Throne of the Fisherman, which bear upon them the folly of the Cross, are marked with the Divine Hand.

But in the history of the Papacy there occur moments when this Divine folly, which creates intellect out of ignorance and power out of weakness, can hardly fail to strike the eyes of even indifferent men. It is no longer the desolation of Calvary, the bleeding, agonizing body of One who had promised to defy death and to rise again; it is something more like the Divine consolations of Thabor vouchsafed to mortal men. The pontificate of Pope St. Leo brings one of these moments before us; with Leo the Great, Mr. Allies closes his volume, which embraces the first and second of the eight periods he has chosen as depicting the history of St. Peter's Throne—that is, from A.D. 29 to 461.

In 450 an atmosphere of dissolution was hanging over the

Roman Empire, for its throes had already begun, and the position of Rome itself laid it open to an invasion of northern barbarians. The Western Empire depended on the success of Aetius, and the Eastern on the Empress Pulcheria, the only descendant of Theodosius who had inherited any of his genius. "Rome, as a city, was living from hand to mouth. Its sovereign was usually seeking security between the marshes of Ravenna and the sea; he did not venture to dwell on the Palatine Hill, in the palace of Augustus?" * What of its bishop? Leo was a man filled with the majesty of the Roman peace—that is, with the plentitude of Christian blessing which was symbolized in great Rome's peace. The beauty of the King's daughter is from within; so was the calm of the Roman Pontiff, in whose acts, as a ruler, the troubles of the times found no echo. In the sermons which have come down to us, his "mind is absorbed, without effort or consciousness, in the work of his office, to teach, instruct, support, as one who sits in the chair of the chief Apostle, and whose domain is the imperishable Church of God. Scarcely does he ever mention the secular troubles which made the Palatine Hill no place for a degenerate emperor to occupy. . . . Fear of the barbarism surging round him, or of 'change perplexing monarchs,' is unknown to him." † Neither were heresies wanting to his trial, for Nestorius and Eutyches were assailing the integrity of the Christian inheritance; Nova Roma was striving to found a new tradition in the Church, and to impose its See as second only to that of Rome. The whole position of things was grasped by Leo, yet in his action there is the Divine folly of the Cross, power and majesty coming out of weakness. Perhaps Mr. Allies could not have chosen a more typical period as portraying the latter part of his title. Was not the "Throne of the Fisherman" the "Crown of Christendom," when, all things being full of death, the Successor of St. Peter dictated both to the power that was on its imperial deathbed and to the uncouth barbarian whom God was using as a scourge for His own ends? To "shine a beacon of hope to the world from a defenceless Rome," was to practise confidence in God in an heroic degree; but when Leo went out in his sacerdotal robes, and stayed Attila's hand from making Rome what Babylon and Nineveh now are, his action was emblematical of his office. If he conquered a fierce barbarian by the majesty of his presence, he did a perhaps no less difficult thing later on in formally resisting the aggressive claims of Constantinople. Bishops, people, and Cæsars petitioned him in vain to allow the See of Nova Roma to take precedence after his own, to the prejudice of Alexandria and Antioch. St. Leo's reply was that the

* "Throne of the Fisherman," p. 501.

† P. 504.

demand was contrary to the Canons, and the imperial city had to withdraw its claims. Both acts were sovereign acts, and yet they were accomplished by a man of "most rich poverty," * who, because he was the spiritual father of all, was a bulwark of strength in an effete civilization. Still another glory was added to the pontifical career of Pope St. Leo in the successful resistance against Eutyches and Nestorius in the great voice which at Chalcedon acknowledged his primacy by the words, "Peter has spoken by Leo."

If, in the words of Gregorovius, the twenty-one years of St. Leo's pontificate were "terrible years," they were so by a distinct design of Divine Providence. When God has a great work to do, he reduces all things to weakness, and raises up, if needs be, a man after His own heart to carry it out, as the Twelve Men carried out that which Our Lord laid upon them. All wordly elements of success were withdrawn, that His hand might be clearly visible, and that all men might recognise Him whom He had sent. In the divine plan Leo the Great was to show forth the perfection of the Primacy, which became in his time "the Church's centre of gravity." It was the fruit in its maturity, of which the seeds had been sown by a Divine Hand. This was why he shone as a beacon of hope to a hopeless world, twice saving Rome and the Christian people from destruction, and the souls committed to his care from the far worse pestilence of heresy. This was why, in the throes of an agonizing society, he shepherded the sheep and fed the lambs of Christ's flock with as calm an assurance as if his own life had been placed in green pastures.

There is, we think, an unmistakable analogy between Leo then and Leo now. The world is again in a state of dissolution: thrones are crumbling; civilization has overdone itself; and we are suffering from enlightened minds accompanied by corrupt hearts—the Tree of Knowledge without the light of faith. And we are threatened by barbarians no other than such as spring from a heathen universal suffrage, a savage barbarism, unless it can be baptized and christianized. Yet in these days, too, another Leo is reigning by the folly of the Cross, in the strength of a crucified Lord, in whose name he speaks as the servant of the servants of God. If Pope St. Leo's barbarians *did* receive baptism, why should not ours? There is one amongst us who will speak to them in the name of the Lord, and stay the destructive arm by the majesty of his presence. The world is scarcely less troubled now than then, though it is one of the results of an effete civilization to hide its more crying abuses under cover of a sparkling and prosperous exterior. Whilst men are drinking its bitter-sweet

* "Vir ditissimæ paupertatis" (S. Jerome): said of Pope Damasus.

cup, another Pope Leo is fighting the same battle as his great namesake. The powers that be are threatened with annihilation : it is the aim of Leo XIII to show that all power is from God—from on high, not from below. This he can do, even if he be obliged to go out, in the sheer strength of his character, as vicar of Our Lord, to meet another Attila, alone, unprotected by human armies, not trusting in the sword or influence of earthly kings. The eyes of the universe are still upon Pope Leo, “the beacon which is shining in a defenceless world,” the “shadow of a great rock in a weary land.”



ART. III.—A GLANCE AT THE HISTORY OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY.

PHILOSOPHICAL research in China has not produced any of those works, whose action makes itself felt in the world, or throws light upon the general march of humanity. The productions of Chinese philosophy may be ignored, without the knowledge of the nature of things being thereby in any way diminished or rendered incomplete. However, they are not altogether deprived of interest, and a total ignorance of the theories worked out in China is certainly not without its drawbacks. To begin with, philosophy has had a decisive influence on the fate of the Celestial Empire—not, of course, on the records of war and conquest, but on its interior life and its civilization. The results of the influence of this philosophy form one of the most curious traits of the history of human thought, and an object of ethnographical study really worthy of attention. From a religious point of view, the result which certain writers have endeavoured to draw from the evolutions of Chinese science, does not allow of a Catholic remaining ignorant of these things and so leaving a free field to free-thinkers.

It would doubtless be perfectly superfluous for any but specialists to inquire into all the details of the philosophical works brought into existence in China ; but it is by no means so, to study their general traits. If China has not produced her Platos or Aristotles, she has given birth to thinkers who stand much higher than many whose lucubrations take up numerous pages in our own histories. If metaphysics have been but little cultivated in China, and that in a very imperfect manner, and if the Chinese have not reached any very lofty conceptions regard-

ing the essence of beings, on the other hand, no people have surpassed them, nor indeed attained their level, in the matter of ethics.

All the Chinese philosophical theories may be brought under three heads, and divided among three schools, represented by three famous names : Laotze, Kong-futze, and Chu-hi.

I. TAOISM.

The first of these, Laotze, in the sixth century B.C. introduced metaphysical speculations in the extreme East. Previous to him, the Chinese thinkers had concerned themselves only with religion, ethics, and politics. The different philosophical ideas about the nature of things were summed up in the religious belief of the nation. In a former number of this REVIEW,* I have explained the primitive religion of the ancient Chinese, and the philosophical system which was invented by Laotze : it is needless to dwell on it here. I may content myself with merely recalling the leading traits which it is requisite to keep in view, in order to understand the genesis and progress of ideas.

According to the most ancient texts of the *Shuh-king*, and especially of the *Shih-king*—a collection of national poems—some of them dating back to the thirteenth century B.C.—the first Chinese tribes, from their appearance on the scene of history, professed a belief in One only God, Sovereign Lord (Shang-ti) of the Universe—Master of the earth and of empires, the very Principle of justice and all morality, the Supreme Master of man, on whom He imposes His laws, the Avenger of injustice, and the Distributor of rewards due to goodness.

To this supreme and only God, man, an intelligent and free being, owes submission and worship—a worship of adoration and supplication—since He directs whatever happens by His providence, dispenses good and evil, and requires from man an account of his conduct. The soul of man survives the death of the body and the just man's soul ascends to Heaven, where it resides near the Sovereign Lord. The prayers and offerings of the living satisfy for the souls of the dead and augment their happiness.

Lower than the *Summus Dominus* (Shang-ti) the Chinese recognized various genii presiding over the different parts of the world, possessing power enough to do good or evil to man, but in no way participating in the divine nature. Homage is paid to these in order to deter them from doing harm, and to gain their goodwill in their sphere of action. For the rest, these spirits do not seem to be numerous; they represent the earth, the rivers, the mountains; but not the sun nor the moon, thus showing clearly

* DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1886.

that their origin does not spring from the adoration of the stars or elements, but from that of agents, inferior to God, working in nature. The early Chinese also believed in divination, and consulted, not a blind fate, but what they believed to be a manifestation of Divine Thought. As to moral science, it was already, as we shall see later on, highly developed and of a surprising purity.

Laotze found these principles universally admitted and their consequences put in practice, or at least admitted as practical precepts. We do not pretend that the masses in China were at that time exempt from superstitions, either as to doctrines or to practices. Just the opposite is so much the more probable, as the Chinese tribes had been preceded on the banks of the great rivers by other populations which had doubtless brought with them different beliefs. But the texts do not reveal them to us, nor do they authorize us in any way to affirm anything of them. Besides, if to judge of a religion it were necessary to take into account popular superstitions, then, as a consequence of such a system in our own country, we could form a very singular idea of Christianity itself.

Laotze was the first to carry his speculations into the province of metaphysical studies; the first, to seek into the essence and origin of being, and, accordingly, it was he who created Chinese philosophy. How did this idea originate in him? Where did he seek the first elements of his system? History does not tell us; but the comparison of ideas indicates that India was his master, the Brahmans his instructors. But Laotze was not a mere disciple, or a plagiarist. So far as he was concerned, Brahmanism was only the inspirer of new ideas. Being introduced by it to the investigation of the nature of things, he preserved certain general conceptions, which led him to the creation of a system, *sui generis*, wholly proper to himself. We can sum up this system in a few words.

1. At the beginning of everything, and previous to the existence of any particular being, there was the absolute, infinite, eternal Being; not the ideal Being, but the real, substantial, intelligent, and active Being. Unknowable, and, consequently, unnameable—being, as it was, the plenitude of Being—it had no distinct qualities. Its essence, infinitely subtle, subsisted in itself, without manifesting itself outwardly, and exempt from all exterior desire. As soon, however, as this desire sprang up it produced beings external to its substance, and from that moment it manifested and showed qualities which could furnish matter for a name. In so far as it existed in itself, and in as far as it produced beings, it is identical with itself, and in this double aspect of its nature it is an unfathomable abyss—an incomprehensible mystery.

Not knowing how to name it in an exact and adequate way,

Laotze called it *Tao*—viz., active intelligence. The *Tao* is a Spirit, inaccessible to the senses; it is empty, that is to say, there is within it no particular being, but it contains everything owing to it being immense. It has no form, and its essence is the truth. At perfect repose in itself, it produces everything and penetrates everything without movement.

The *Tao* gives existence to every particular being; but Laotze does not clearly say, whether by creation or by emanation. In either case emanation is for him a production which places contingent beings entirely outside the divine substance.

The universe is divided into three categories of beings, each having a nature essentially different from the others—to wit: Heaven, Earth, Man. However, Laotze believes in spirits, which he probably embraces under the term “Heaven.”

Heaven and Earth are perpetual, and they alone are so; all other beings return to the non-being, or rather to repose.

The life of beings is sustained and developed by the action of Heaven and Earth, which action is directed by *Tao*.

Tao is the Mother of beings; they must have recourse to it, and use it without fear of exhausting it.

2. *Ethics*.—Man, naturally good, should imitate *Tao*, and practise virtue; but endowed as he is with free-will, it is in his power to do wrong. At the beginning all men were good, and virtue was universally practised; but the passions sprang into existence and engendered evil. Man has only one task to perform—to stifle his passions and return to the state of original justice by imitating *Tao*.

In order to become virtuous again, man must re-establish calm within him, and act as little as possible; he must grasp at nothing—not even at life itself. The virtues which Laotze preaches are all natural and true.

The Taoist ought to live detached from all external things; he ought to renounce glory, honours, luxury, and magnificence. Living a simple and unknown life, calm, without passion, not seeking his own interests, not availing himself of any talent or merit he may have, he ought to be as if he possessed no superior qualification. Doing good, without any acceptation of persons, he ought to practise humility, purity, sweetness, moderation, &c.

He who shall have lived in the practice of virtue, will return to the *Tao*, and there enjoy happiness.

Laotze has been considered an Epicurean and a rationalist, owing to his having preached the moderation of passions, and to certain writers having translated the word “*Tao*” by “reason.”

After this *exposé*, it would be superfluous to point out that both these imputations are absolutely false, and that Laotze was precisely the opposite of what they represent. The preacher of

abstinence, of humility, of sacrifice is no more an Epicurean than the infinite intelligence productive of beings is the human reason, deified by the free-thinkers of the present day.

Laotze's disciples did not persevere in the path which their master had traced out for them. For philosophical speculations they substituted superstitions, marvellous legends, the apotheosis of men belonging to their school, and above all the search after the philosopher's stone and the elixir of immortality, by means of which they won over the ministers, the princes, and even the emperors, and often succeeded in gaining credit at Court and among the people. Accordingly, their history does not belong in reality to the annals of philosophy, and we have only to recall their principal traits.

The class of Taoist works recognized in the official literature of China comprises numerous volumes written at different periods. A great number of them, however, are taken up with alchemy, amulets, the philosopher's stone, fasts, sacrifices, ritual, and incantations. The degenerate disciples of Laotze having invented, in imitation of Buddhism, a crowd of supernatural personages endowed with immortality, dedicated several treatises to the biography of these saints of Taoism. Thus the *Lei-sien-chuen*, of the third century A.C., gives an account of the works and deeds of seventy-one of them. The *Shin-sien-chuen*, of the fourth century, describes eighty-four of them; and the *Shin-sien-tong-kien* (1640) more than 800. Many others equally abound in legends.

Among these works we have to cite merely (1) several commentaries on the *Tao-te-king*, the book of Laotze, and among these that of Lieh-yu-keou of the fourth century B.C., and that of Chwang-cheou of the same period; both commented upon at equal length up to the last century. (2) The treatise of Wang-tze-Yuen (eighth century A.D.) and Yao-you-siun (sixteenth century), which explain the Taoist doctrines. (3) One of the most celebrated, the "Book of Rewards and Punishments," describing future retribution, composed in order to cope with Buddhism, which worked especially by this means and so carried away the minds of the people; and finally, the "Book of the Reward of Hidden Good Actions," both by unknown authors and dating from the beginning of the modern period (fifteenth or sixteenth century). Lastly, the *Yu-li-chow-chouen-king-chi*, composed by Tan-che, a Taoist monk. In this book he paints the horrors of the infernal world, as he himself witnessed them in an imaginary journey to these regions of darkness and torture.

Lieh-yu-keou had already radically changed the master's principles. Arguing from the identity of "being" and

“non-being” and from the vicissitudes of life, he drew from them as a conclusion that man has but one thing to do—“to enjoy himself.” Since life is but a journey to the abyss, what is the good of occupying oneself with virtue and politics? Let us enjoy the time which is given us, and so forth.

He imagined also a system of creation or “ontogony,” which he explained in sibylline terms. In the beginning was *Tai-yih* (the Great Change), the invisible chaos, the impalpable, &c.; then *Tai-chou*, the Great Principle; *Tai-chi*, the Great Prince; and *Tai-sou*, the Great Pure One. Spirits spring from the second, *Tai-chou*; forms, from *Tai-chi*; matter from the fourth. The *Tai-yih* was one, but became seven, which seven engendered nine, &c. The rest is still more extravagant. Chwang-tze kept closer to the moral ideas of Laotze, but conceived, or imitated, the fundamental idea of Brahmanism,—that life, the exterior world, is only a deceitful appearance. “One day,” says he, “I dreamt I was a butterfly fluttering about from flower to flower, without knowledge of any other existence: now I find myself under the form of Chwang-tze! Which of these two lives is conformable to the truth? Which am I to look upon as the dream?” This, however, does not hinder him from looking upon life seriously and practically and also preaching virtue.

In all this there is only one author and one book (and that consists of three pages only) which merits any attention. In it at least we find philosophical and independent thoughts. It is the *Chang-tsing-tsing-king** of Ko-Hiuen, who lived towards the fourth century B.C.

In this short space, Ko-Hiuen develops a sufficiently complete system. Although founded on the principles of the *Tao-te king*, it comprises one also which is quite foreign to the doctrines of Laotze, and which we shall see later on dominating all Chinese philosophy. It is that of the two principles or elements of which all beings are composed—viz., the *Yang* and the *Yin*—i.e., the active intelligent principle, and the passive material principle.

The following is a short *exposé* of Ko-Hiuen’s system:—

1. In the beginning exists eternal infinite Intelligence; it has produced all beings; it moves, sustains, and supports them. In it and by it exist the two secondary principles, which, combining together, form each particular being—Heaven, the male element, belongs to the first, the *Yang*; the Earth, the female element, belongs to the second, *Yin*. Both are united in man. Heaven and Earth contain all contingent beings and their transformations; there is nothing outside them. The active principle is the source of the passive principle.

* “A Book of Two Principles.” *Vide* my “*Livre du principe lumineux et du principe passif*,” which contains a full translation of it.

The eternal intelligence (*Tao*) exists of itself; the two secondary principles by participation in this intelligence. It is this which engenders beings, and this engendering is perpetual. The two secondary principles unite constantly in creations or successive formations.

Man is intelligent, conscious, and free; he ought to walk in the paths of holiness.

2. *Moral*.—The mind and the heart of man tend to what is intellectual and to repose, by the absence of desires; but passions stir him up and cause all evils. Man ought to resist his passions and rule them. Doing so, he will enjoy repose and be pure and happy; neglecting to do so, he will be in trouble, mischief, and pain.

Certain men are good and enlightened by nature and do not err. These are the saints. Others become such by instruction and exercise; they should walk in the ways of the saints. If they succeed in doing so they have reached the limit of perfection, by this virtue which is no longer a distinct virtue, nor a combination of distinct virtues, but perfection without any special name.

But creatures constantly miss their end, and existences succeed each other like the waves, dragging beings into the sea of sorrows belonging to imperfect or faulty lives.

This system, as is evident, is a mixture of pure Taoism, and fragments of later philosophy, as well as of Chinese Buddhism in its metempsychosis.

For the perfect understanding of all these systems, it is to be noticed that the Chinese did not grasp in general the radical difference of nature which we establish between mind and matter. For them, man is intelligent, conscious, free, and responsible; death does not destroy him; there remains in him a breath, a spirit, which, according to some, disappears without one knowing what becomes of it; according to others, goes to suffer the punishments due to its faults or to receive the recompense due to its virtues; but between man and the animals there is a difference of degree of perfection rather than of essence.

The *Tao-te-king* and the doctrine of Laotze have been the subjects of many commentaries. A list of them may be seen in the edition of Stanislas Julien's "*Lao-tzeu—Tao-te-king*" (*observations préliminaires*, pp. xxxvi. seqq.) As they add but a little to the fundamental system, we shall not concern ourselves about them.

Taoism, contrary to the intentions of its author, has accordingly done nothing towards the amelioration of Chinese morals; on the contrary, it has dragged the people into the grossest superstitions.

Confucius, for his part, had had the same object in view as his rival ; let us now see if he has been successful.

II. CONFUCIANISM.

The work of *Kong-futze* has been very differently appreciated. Some have exalted him to the rank of the first moralist of ancient times, they have regarded him as the inheritor of primitive tradition given by God to humanity ; others, on the contrary, have considered him the perverter of the Chinese people. Some have attributed to him a complete and methodical system ; whilst others have refused him the merit of any system or *vue d'ensemble*. The truth, as is generally the case, lies between the two extremes ; or rather, it consists in a combination of these different judgments, each containing a part of the reality.

Kong-futze is, in truth, a great moralist, a man of large heart, and his teachings have propagated and perpetuated many admirable maxims which have certainly produced great acts of virtue. But in systematically removing from these teachings all notion of reference to God, of duty to Him, he uprooted the whole basis of morality, and destroyed in the people the religious sentiment which alone can render adhesion to moral principles interior and sincere. In this way the great philosopher destroyed religion in China, prepared that state of external virtue which conceals the most dangerous of internal vices and opens the door to all sorts of superstitions with a people that is credulous and eager for the supernatural. In this way Kong-futze really perverted the nation and corrupted all morality and virtue at its very source.

On the other hand, Kong-futze's ideas are not exclusively his own. He was and constantly professed to be the principal restorer of morality and ancient maxims ; he did not formulate a complete and methodical system. But although incomplete and drawn from the traditions of his nation, his teaching, none the less, constituted a system, and with him, in his own mind certainly, the maxims which he left to his disciples were based on a principle and had a well-defined connection one with the other, although he has not made known to us in what way. Hence, we are quite right in speaking of the "system" of Confucius. Let us then try to formulate it in the few following lines. Before commencing, however, it is well to keep in mind that of the great philosopher's maxims we have only a few scattered ones collected by his disciples. In this respect, he may be compared to Socrates. Both were followed by disciples to whom they gave oral lessons ; of neither do we know the principles, except through their conversations with their disciples, and we possess various dialogues edited by these latter. Both were

persecuted during their life, and their glory began only after their death.

Accordingly, we know Kong-futze only by means of what the inheritors of his teachings tell us; but these same—if we are to attach any belief to them, and there is no reason for refusing to do so—relate the very words of their master. They have composed three books, bearing the names *Ta-hio*, or “the Great Teaching;” *Chung-Yong*, or “the medium, the inalterable interior calm;” and the *Lun-Yü*, or “the Conferences.” The two first are made up for the greater part of direct teachings; the third, of questions put to the master and answered by him.

Kong-futze, in undertaking his mission of morality, chiefly proposed to himself as an end to bring back the rich as well as the common people to sentiments of decency and justice, humanity and prosperity; he wished to reform the Court as well as the masses. He understood quite well what a good effect could be produced by an *exposé* of the beauty of virtue, and by the good example shown by leaders of the people. His views, however, remained entirely human; he did not understand that man has duties to God, and that the intervention of God in human affairs would alone ensure the practice of precepts by giving them a sanction and foundation.

He did not deny the existence of Shang-ti, but he hardly ever spoke of Him. We meet with only one passage where he makes mention of Him. It is in the 19th chapter of the *Chung-Yong*, where he says: “The rites of sacrifice to Heaven and Earth are in accordance with the service of Shang-ti.” In the *Ta-hio*, x. 5, the author—a grandson of the philosopher—recalls a passage of the *Shi-king*, where Shang-ti is mentioned and that is all. The expression T’ien (Heaven) designating the Sovereign power, appears at times. The T’ien alone is great;* it alone gives greatness and riches;† through it alone is man capable of knowing;‡ it does not speak but acts,§ &c. &c.

I have given these texts to prove that I do not change in anything the thought of Kong-futze; I may now rest satisfied with giving a general *exposé* of his ideas.

Kong-futze preserved all the old beliefs of the Chinese nation, but used them in such a way as to destroy their effect.

He believed in a supreme God—Shang-ti—but excluded Him from his teachings, and thereby accustomed his disciples not to concern themselves any longer with His existence. He admitted the notion of Heaven as it had existed previous to his time, with that vague and indetermined character, however, which left one

* *Lun-Yü*, viii. 19.

‡ *Chung-Yong*, xx. 7.

† *Ibid.* xii. 9.

§ *Lun-Yü*, xvii. 19.

in doubt as to whether he were treating of a personified Heaven, or of the Master of Heaven, or of something else quite different. It is Heaven which directs everything and settles the destiny of men; in it is destiny and Providence; but it acts without speaking; its works have neither sound nor smell; it distributes all goods. To murmur against it is a grave fault; the sins of men displease it, and there are some faults for which there is no pardon.

Heaven fixes for each person his lot, and beyond that one cannot hope to go: prayer is useless, for Heaven does not change; men's crimes alone can change their destiny: Heaven has no heart.

Kong-futze believed in spirits—in supernatural beings, animated with good or evil dispositions towards men. These spirits see into the future: invisible themselves, they can enter into material beings, and take up their abode in them. They preside over mountains, rivers, &c. He invited men to honour the protecting genii of the family, to the exception of all others. As to spirits, they should be respected, but kept at a distance. Therein is true science; they should not even be invoked in illness.

Kong-futze did not enter into any definite explanations as to the nature of man and his origin. He is a production of Heaven and Earth, like everything else, but in him there is the very highest expression of their power: he is their equal. The decree of Heaven for him is the nature of beings; the light which is in each one is his nature. Every man has his particular nature from the decree of Heaven. There are some who have received a wisdom which will never grow dim; others, on the contrary, are so blind that they will never behold the light of reason. The former are the Saints. Three classes of men are clearly distinguished as so constituted by nature: the Saints, who have no need of instruction in order to be perfect, and who cannot cease to be perfect; the Wise, who have made themselves so by study; and the low and vulgar, whom no study could ever render wise. Kong-futze believed in the survival of man after the death of the body; but for him this immortality was, as it were, without retribution or moral sanction. Everything was finished in this life. In the other life, the departed was nought else but a kind of genius of the family—it mattered not whether he had been good or bad; and his descendants were bound to worship him in order to maintain him in a place of bliss. The Saint, no less than the inferior man, was reduced to this. I said "*as it were* without retribution," for the Chinese sage refused to explain himself clearly upon the question of future existence.

The only essential part of Kong-tze's doctrine—the only point with which he directly concerned himself, that which formed the constant object of his lessons—was the moral

perfection of man. Thus, properly speaking, Kong-futze was never anything but a moralist. He had set up for himself his ideal of moral perfection, which he everywhere preached, and in every possible way developed. He made a collection of all the details of his instructions, comprising the following different parts: the formation of the intelligence by the study of the true; the reform and strengthening of the heart; self-possession and self-guidance; government of the family and the empire; the state of happiness and peace assured to the world. All this forms the rule, the collection of rules, the way of the superior man (Kiun-tze) and the government of the empire are the final and principal end of it all.

Man should constantly work to perfect himself and prepare himself for such an end by repressing his unruly desires, and by serious study. He was wont to see this perfection in the maxims of the ancient books, the *Shu-king*, the *Shih-king*, and the *Li-ki*, or memorial of Rites.

According to Kong-futze, man is naturally good; but desires and the attraction of exterior objects drag him out of himself, and makes him commit wrong acts, from which originate faults and vices. He ought therefore to work hard at discovering his faults and the means of correcting them. It is, then, the therapeutics of the heart which should be the object of his constant solicitude. The first means to use is purity of intention, a fixed will to tend towards this perfecting of self with sincerity and firmness. Free-will is a gift which cannot be taken from man; it ought to be directed to that which study has pointed out to us as good. It is to virtue that it ought to tend, to the union of all the qualities expected from a perfect heart, to the observance of duties. But the virtue which is obligatory on each one is not according to a fixed measure: it depends upon natural gifts, upon the kinds of qualities which have been granted us by the decree of Heaven.

The first is courage, an intrepidity which yields to no difficulty or danger, and which knows how to undertake great things. Then comes sincerity—a complete conformity of words with acts. He who professes more than he practises is a hypocrite. Our language then ought to be easy, circumspect, and measured, so as not to go beyond what we do. Knowledge, all intelligence rendered just and penetrating, is also a virtue, and counts among the cardinal virtues.

Man should especially keep complete control over his heart, and his every movement; he should not allow the passions to stir him up to such a point as to cause him to lose entire mastery or control over them; neither should he let external things so act upon him as to draw him out of himself against his own

will. He should ever preserve within him a zeal for his own advancement ; and should he be tempted to grow faint, he should stir up his zeal afresh by the reading of meditations. He should stifle all desire of gain or honours, and act only from a love of virtue ; he should be ever grave and dignified in bearing.

The other virtues have mainly for their end the relations of man to man. In general, they are humanity, kindness, fidelity, respect.

Humanity rests chiefly on this principle : treat others as you would wish them to treat you ; do for them what you would wish them to do for you. Love what they love ; rejoice with them in their joys ; weep with them in their afflictions.

Duties towards others are reduced to the following categories : duties of parents and children ; of the prince and of subjects ; of magistrates ; of husband and wife ; of superiors or aged persons, and inferiors or young persons ; of friends and associates ; of equals.

Respect is the foundation of all these virtues, and even of society ; filial piety is the plenitude and model of them. Children owe respect, devotedness, and the most complete service to their parents : it is their duty to support their parents, and rejoice their hearts and spare them all pain ; they are not to expose themselves to any danger which would make them less serviceable to their parents ; and should the latter commit any fault, they should warn them with respect and gentleness.

Parents should love, bring up, and instruct their children. The younger sons should respect the elder ones, obey them, ask counsel of them. The elder sons should love, protect, and support the younger.

The duties of husband and wife are but lightly touched upon by Kong-futze. Having been very unhappy in his family life, he had a very unfavourable opinion of the female sex. He insists upon the submission and respect due by the wife to the husband, as also upon the bad character of women. He authorizes polygamy and divorce on several grounds ; he places the woman in a continual dependence upon her father, in the first instance, then upon her husband, and finally upon her sons, when she is a widow.

Magistrates owe to their prince respect, fidelity, devotedness, and sincerity ; they ought to admonish him, however, even at the peril of their lives.

Friends owe to each other respect, fidelity, sincerity, devotedness, affection, and mutual confidence.

Such are the main characteristics of Confucius's doctrine. Apparently it contains nothing but what is rational, and even soars to a great height. But in the application which the sage himself makes of his principles, he often falls into errors, exaggera-

tions, and absurdities. The gravest reproach to be made is that of having, so to speak, effaced from men's minds the idea of the Divinity.

Setting aside spirits, never speaking of God, but only, and that in very rare cases, of Heaven, taken in a vague acceptation; checking all inquiry into the fate of the soul after death, Kong-futze created a system of ethics purely human. Without other foundation than convenience, the beauty of principles, the effects of their observance upon destinies here below, this morality without God led the Chinese into a veritable, practical atheism, weakened characters, and produced a vast system of hypocrisy which hides the most shameful vices under the cloak of the purest of virtues. Grand maxims and low, corrupt morals, such is the principal result of this system. Whilst on the one hand the Chinese troubles himself about the rules of a civility more than childish, often in fact ridiculous, he is little concerned at deceiving and oppressing those whom he can.

Kong-futze left numerous disciples, who at first published the three books which have been mentioned above, and which contain fragments of the master's teaching: and his school has gone on perpetuating itself to the present day. The *literati* all profess themselves his disciples; it is his books which form the basis of all the instruction of youth and the educated class.

The first whose writings have had any reputation is Meng-tze, or Mencius, who passes for the most accomplished sage after Kong-futze. He has left a pretty large work which bears his name, but which treats mainly of the art of governing men, and also of social and public morals. It is by no means a methodical treatise; it is a long series of anecdotes, conferences, maxims, and such like. Meng-tze, like his master, but with greater boldness and vigour, went about from place to place recalling princes and magistrates to the observance of their duties, to justice and humanity. He, however, strengthened still further the purely human spirit of Confucianist ethics, and left God and Heaven aside more completely. Thus he served only to plunge China more than ever into the evil which eats it away and destroys it, and to aid in moulding the entire empire according to the model of his master.

Confucius's school, generally speaking, has only brought out reproductions, commentaries or developments of the master's thoughts.

The differences are not worth noting in such a summary sketch as the present. The only ones worth mentioning are:

(1) Siun-Hiang, of the fourteenth century B.C., who taught that human nature was originally evil, and on this subject he was in opposition to Meng-tze.

permanent succession of the *Yang* and the *Yin*; nature is the realization of this succession of the revolutions of the matter* of which beings are constituted. Every operation has four elements—beginning, prolongation, adaptation, strengthening or conclusion. The first two are the constitution of the truth; the last two, its renewal. Faith is the foundation of the five cardinal virtues—goodness, justice, propriety, wisdom, firmness or sincerity; and also it is the source of all actions. From the fact of itself being truth, it has no act to perform, no object to realize outside of itself.

In reality there is only good that exists; but beings have tendencies, and therein is good and evil. Sanctity, by its nature, is being at rest. Those who know how to attain and preserve within them the state of sanctity are the wise men. Spirit is that which is clear and hidden, which no one can see, which fills everything and cannot be exhausted.

Evil, wickedness, consists in the privation of the five cardinal virtues; a total privation of them is the state of complete perversity.

The Saint is endowed with truth, spirit and aspirations (*i.e.*, virtuous ones). His aim is law and virtue. The law is order and rectitude in acts; virtue is proportion and harmony in activity.

To observe the law brings honour and profit. He who makes it predominate is like to Heaven and Earth.

Virtue is the just mean between severity and hardness, between kindness and too great indulgence, &c.

Sanctity can be acquired; and the principal means is to repress desires.

Chu-tze also believes in the efficacy of music to calm the passions, establish virtue, and ensure peace to the world. Chu-tze speaks only incidentally of Heaven, when he says, "Heaven is the norm of the saint; and the saint is that of the sage."

Such is the *ensemble* of the system; it had not yet fallen into its greatest errors, and it still found in the *Tao-kih* a place for the Divinity. It was Chu-hi who came to fill up the measure.

Chu-hi or Chu-tze is the most celebrated of the Chinese philosophers of our era, and the true founder of a school which the present day rules throughout the empire. The morality is that of Kong-tze, but the philosophical and religious principles those of Chu-hi.

This philosopher lived from 1130–1200. After a brilliant career of studies he devoted himself to the study of Taoism and Buddhism, but rejected these two doctrines as equally false. He

* In a general sense, and not as opposed to the spirit.

elements—fire, water, air, earth, and wood. Man is dependent upon Heaven, and should imitate it.

These commentaries also speak of *Ti*, which is looked upon as designating God, breathing by His spirit, and producing the revolutions of the universe.

But nothing of all this forms a methodical system; these are only accidental and scattered utterances.

It is only in the tenth century A.D. that we find a complete system formulated and a new school arise, founded upon this basis. The chief representatives of this school were Chu-tze (1010–1073), who gave it its first manual; and Chu-hi, who definitively constituted the system, and gave it its full development.

Chu-tze left two small works of much importance—viz., the *Tai-kih-thoo*, or picture of the first principle; and the *Thung-Shoo*, or book thoroughly examining (the doctrine).

The *Tai-kih-thoo* shows the ontogony of the system. Chu-tze had recognized the impossibility of putting the *Yang* and the *Yin* at the origin of things; he imagines a superior principle, from which both proceed—the *Tai-kih*, or *summum supremum*. The system is as follows: At the beginning *in principio* was the *summum supremum*, without beginning or cause. It alone has been produced by nothing. Since it began to act, it produced the *Yang*; resting after having acted, it produced the *Yin*, and in this way it produces them indefinitely.

The *Yang* acting and the *Yin* conforming itself to these acts, produced the five elements with their spiration; from these originate the four seasons. The essence, the reality of all these principles, is united for ulterior productions, and these same ulterior ones are produced by generation of couples, male and female, without end or interruption. Man contains the totality of the principles by his corporal form and his intelligence; this same intelligence produces knowledge, in consequence of which are born good and evil.

The author here passes on to morality, and begins by giving the type of a perfect man.

The Saint is formed by the virtues of moderation, firmness, uprightness, humanity, and justice. The wise man is happy (or good) in the exercise of these perfections; the vulgar man, on the contrary, in acting otherwise, is unhappy and wicked.

The *Thung-Shoo* is mainly an *exposé* of morality: it indicates and describes the principal virtues which constitute the Saint and the Sage.

Truth, that is to say, veracity and conformity to reality, is the foundation of sanctity; it never undergoes change. Goodness is simple and pure, without mixture or stain; it consists of the

permanent succession of the *Yang* and the *Yin*; nature is the realization of this succession of the revolutions of the matter * of which beings are constituted. Every operation has four elements—beginning, prolongation, adaptation, strengthening or conclusion. The first two are the constitution of the truth; the last two, its renewal. Faith is the foundation of the five cardinal virtues—goodness, justice, propriety, wisdom, firmness or sincerity; and also it is the source of all actions. From the fact of itself being truth, it has no act to perform, no object to realize outside of itself.

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This philosopher lived from 1130–1200. After a brilliant course of studies he devoted himself to the study of Taoism and Buddhism, but rejected these two doctrines as equally false. He

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then applied himself to the works of Kong-tze and his disciples, revised their texts and commented on them. Chu-tze's philosophy pleased him and he adopted its principles, at the same time modifying them in fundamental points. His ideas were found bold and heretical, and he accordingly fell into disgrace. He was obliged to resign his functions and lost his titles. It was only after his death that his school triumphed and ended by absorbing, so to speak, the Chinese philosophy.

Chu-hi adopted Kong-futze's moral and developed it in his book of the *Tao-hio* or "secondary teaching." * It is this book which at the present time forms the basis of all moral teaching in China.

His anthropological system does not differ much from that of the great Philosopher. It is in metaphysics that Chu-hi has made innovations. He sought to give an explanation of the origin and formation of beings, but did not succeed in producing anything methodical or harmonious. At first he discarded the principles previously in vogue, declaring that the God of the ancient Chinese, the *Shang-ti*, and the Heaven, *T'ien*—to which was attributed a personal existence, a will, an intelligent providence—was really nothing of all this. This master, who was supposed to rule from the height of Heaven, was not a spirit, but the simple, immaterial, unconscious principle.

Afterwards attacking the "Supreme Principle without beginning" of Chu-tze, he reduced it to the same condition; it was no longer an independent Being, having a personal existence, but only the supreme point, the perfection of the immaterial principles.

Thus, unencumbered with these embarrassing conceptions, he proclaimed that at the beginning there were only two principles—the one immaterial, *Ki*; the other, material, *li* coming from a *T'ien-li*, the principle of Heaven, which begins all existences. These two principles are inseparable, although the *Ki* has an incontestable, logical pre-existence. It is the principle of order and arrangement in first Matter, by means of which this same first Matter produces particular beings. Without the material principle the immaterial one has no point of subsistence and would not be. It exists in all things without dividing them; it is the principle of the movement of the first Matter. It has neither will, nor desire, nor plan, nor activity of its own; it consists of the four cardinal virtues—goodness, justice, propriety, and wisdom; it is an immense void, without form or appearance, incapable of action or creation.

* See "*Siao-hio* avec les commentaires de Tcheu-chuen traduit du chinois." Par C. de Harlez (Annales du Musée Guimet, 1886).

The material principle consists of the five elements ; it embraces a male and a female principle, the combination of which forms contingent beings ; it has two successive and uninterrupted periods of increase and decrease.

In his commentary on the *Tai-kih-too* of Chu-tze, Chu-hi expresses himself somewhat differently :—

The works of Heaven are the axis and hinge of all existence and of all decay, the foundation of all things. The movements of the first principle which produce successive existences are started by the decree of Heaven, and everything is formed according as it is developed by the succession of the *Yang* and the *Yin*. The *Tai-kih* is the model, the rule of all beings : the *Yin* and the *Yang* being the supports of them. These produce everything passively by furnishing the matter. Real existence comes from the *Spiritus*, which is amassed and coagulates, and takes form : by its different changes are born men and things.

At the death of man the body is dissolved into earth and spirit ; the breath flies away and disappears without one knowing where or how ! All beings united together form the supreme Principle, and each possesses it in itself without causing it to be divided.

Man is intelligent, conscious ; he can and ought to overcome his passions and keep down his desires. He is the highest production of the first principles. His heart is naturally good and capable of the highest moral perfection. This the Saints possess completely ; others attain it, each according to his capacity and his destiny.

Certain assertions appear to contradict the system. Thus, in § 7, com. 3, he says that the heart of Heaven and Earth is the principle of man ; that the *Yang* is the “ good ” and the *Yin* is the “ bad.” The Saint occupying the middle, neither Heaven nor Earth, the Sun nor the Moon, the Seasons nor the Spirits can resist him.

The following are other ideas enunciated incidentally : When the *Yin* and the *Yang* take form the law of Heaven is established. When strength and gentleness take possession of matter, the law of the Earth is established. When goodness and justice are strengthened the law of man is constituted (*Kai-kih-too*, 9, 1). *Yang* and strength and goodness are the beginning of things ; *Yin* and gentleness and justice are their ends. Movement and repose have no beginning. *Yin* and *Yang* have no commencement. To begin with *Yang* and finish with *Yin*, to place one’s foundation in repose and one’s development in movement—this is the law of man, &c. &c.

Such is the result of the Chinese Aristotle’s efforts—ancient traditions mixed up with philosophical speculations, in which one may vainly seek for some ideas based upon an exact observation of

the nature of beings, and upon logical deductions. Preconceived ideas developed indifferently, without true dialectics, without any attention paid to the possibility or rationability of theories—this is all. Nevertheless, Chu-hi has had a large number of disciples, and his system has prevailed even to our own days. Several of his disciples have brought out *exposés* of the system. The most celebrated is Chin-chun, who gave to the doctrine the name of *Sing-li*, or natural philosophy. The Emperor Ming-chen-tsu made a vast collection of them (1415) in 70 books, containing the writing of 120 philosophers. In vain did Wang-tze-huai, in the sixteenth century, combat these doctrines, which he justly branded as corruptions of healthy ideas.

In 1717 the Emperor Kang-hi made a kind of official *résumé* of them, which in our own day is still regarded as classical, under the name of *Sing-li-thsing-y*, or the pure principles of natural philosophy.

Thus, Chu-hi finishes Confucius's work, by finally crushing out the sentiments of true religiousness; removing every basis of morality, and only leaving, to great as well as to small, a virtue without foundation or sincerity.

In order to be complete, there would still remain for us to explain the philosophical doctrines of Chinese Buddhism, which may be done in a future number.

C. DE HARLEZ.

ART. IV.—THE AGE OF STEEL.

1. *The Metallurgy of Iron and Steel.* By JOHN PERCY, M.D., F.R.S. London: John Murray. 1864.
2. *Steel: Its History, Manufacture, Properties and Uses.* By J. S. JEANS. London: E. & F. N. Spon. 1880.
3. *History of the Manufacture of Iron in all Ages.* By JAMES M. SWANK. Philadelphia. 1884.
4. *Creators of the Age of Steel.* By W. T. JEANS. London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.
5. *The Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute.* London: E. & F. N. Spon.

A GREAT industrial revolution is not less far-reaching in its effects than those more clamorous social upheavals which reverse thrones and dislocate empires. History is as largely modified by mechanics as by politics, and the human race as

widely affected by the displacement of an industry as by that of a dynasty. The happy adjustment of a crank, the ingenious modification of a cylinder, may alter the destiny of millions, and as truly decide the fate of nations as the course of conquest or the upshot of battle.

Such a change, involving the abandonment of old processes and products on the vastest scale, has within the last thirty years been effected in the greatest of the world's industries. "As surely as the age of iron superseded that of bronze, so will the age of steel follow that of iron." These were the words, spoken in August, 1861, of the bold innovator to whom this result is due, and every year that has since elapsed has tended to verify them. The beautiful mechanical contrivance of Sir Henry Bessemer, by which crude iron, oxygenated by the passage of the pneumatic blast, is acierated in half an hour, tends more and more to substitute the metal thus produced for all the purposes hitherto subserved by malleable iron. When we remember that the former can be produced with a fourth of the fuel and a third of the labour required for the latter, we realize the magnitude of the revolution effected, summed up in M. Michel Chevalier's declaration that the invention of the Bessemer process outweighs in value the discovery of all the auriferous regions of California and Australia.

Gold, indeed, has a purely adventitious importance as compared with that of the Protean metal that lends itself to all man's wants. The affinity of iron for other substances leads to its occurrence in nature under more or less disguised forms. Practically omnipresent in varying combinations, it is the only metal which enters as a constituent into the human structure, and in its absolutely pure state it is used only for medicinal purposes. In the iron ores of commerce it is found either as an oxide or a carbonate, thus determining their dual classification. With the carbonates of iron there is always a large intermixture of clay, and these ores are called clay ironstone, or argillaceous iron. In the latter form, familiarly known as "clay band," or where largely mixed with carbonaceous matter, as "black band," it is extensively found throughout the English coal measures, the juxtaposition of fuel and ore here reducing to a minimum the cost of smelting.

The ores in which iron exists in the state of oxide are, however, of far purer quality, generally free from phosphorus, and with a comparatively small intermixture of earthy matter. To this class belong the hematites, red and brown, spathic and sparry ores, bog iron and specular ore, so called from its mirror-like fracture, while the list is headed by the magnetic oxide of iron, found chiefly in Sweden, and there in one mine, that of Dannemora. This remarkable mineral deposit, discovered in 1470, has been worked

for 400 years without showing signs of exhaustion, although its average yield in recent years has been 35,300 metric tons of ore of the highest commercial value.

The relative proportions in which these ores are used in the British iron manufacture are as follows, the figures being for 1884 :—

	Tons.
Hematites, principally from Lancashire and Cumberland, yielding 46 to 63 per cent. of metal	3,165,600
Ironstone from the lias formations of North Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Wilts, 25 to 35 per cent. metal	7,405,600
Argillaceous iron from the Coal Measures of Shropshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, North and South Staffordshire, Wales, and Scotland, 25 to 40 per cent metal	4,240,000
Total British ore, miscellaneous included	16,138,000
Imported ore, chiefly from Spain and Sweden	3,153,000
Total British and Foreign	19,291,000
Produce in tons of iron	7,361,440

In those Phlegreæan fields of Mid-England, well named the “Black Country,” it is the process of iron-smelting that kindles perennially the “great flame-crested towers, above which the skies flicker and flash, as though they reflected the glare of burning cities.” * From these blast furnaces the molten metal runs in the shape of cast-iron, familiarly called “pig-iron,” from the fanciful resemblance of the “sow” or principal trough, whence it flows into lateral moulds, called “pigs,” to the porcine brood-mother and her progeny.

The metal run from the furnace retains the chemical impurities of the ore, chiefly five: carbon, silicon, phosphorus, manganese, and sulphur. The presence of these ingredients largely modifies its structure and qualities. Sulphur, if amounting to $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent., produces “red shortness,” brittleness when hot; a like proportion of phosphorus “cold shortness,” or brittleness when cold. Superabundance of silicon results in “glazed pig,” covered with a vitreous coating. But it is on its carbon contents, varying from 2 to 5 per cent., that the character of cast-iron mainly depends, determining its classification according to fineness of granular structure into 1, 2, 3, and 4; or white, grey, and mottled pig.

The elimination of these impurities by refining processes results in malleable iron, which, in proportion as it parts with its

* “Great Industries of Great Britain: Iron and Steel.” By William Dundas Scott-Moncrieff. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. 1877-79.

carbon, becomes more ductile and less fusible, no longer melting save at impracticable temperatures.

Intermediate between these two states of iron is steel, containing carbon in the proportion of from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. Iron has in this state acquired a new capability—that of undergoing change of structure when subjected to rapid alternations of heat and cold. Thus, if plunged red-hot into cold water, mercury, or oil, it becomes hardened and is rendered brittle and elastic; reverting to its former condition, if once more heated and allowed to cool gradually. The first process is called “quenching,” the second “annealing,” and a combination of the two “tempering.” The resistance and temper capacity of steel increase with its carbon contents, but its ductility diminishes. Thus while $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. carbon gives malleable steel, susceptible of fusion, welding, and tempering, $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. carbon results in granulated iron which barely tempers, and $\frac{1}{20}$ per cent. in soft homogeneous iron which no longer does so. The temper of steel, and its adaptation to various uses, are indicated by the iridescent film of oxide on its surface of a tint corresponding to the temperature to which it has been raised. A pale straw-colour, produced at 220° Cent., marks the quality suitable for a lancet; dark blue, obtained at a temperature of 315° Cent., that for a common saw.

The hardening effect of carbon upon iron is illustrated by the fact that if a bar of malleable iron be cut in two, one portion, acierated by the addition of this element, may be fashioned into a tool capable of cutting the other into shreds. But the rough generalization that steel is a mixture of carbon and iron is theoretically disproved by its production in the laboratory by Messrs. Faraday and Stodart without carbon from a combination of iron with iridium and osmium. The nature and qualities of steel, indeed, evade exact definition, and Sir Henry Bessemer declares that it is as impossible to draw a hard-and-fast line between it and soft iron as between the colour-bands of the rainbow. The name would be extended by one set of experts to all such iron as has been cast in a malleable ingot after undergoing complete fusion, while those of Germany, Austria, and Sweden retain the older terminology, defining steel as metal capable of being hardened so as to resist the file. Its mechanical properties and physical structure are equally open to dispute, and metallurgists differ as to the respective limits of elasticity and resisting power, the specific effects of various indurating processes, and the manner in which its constituent elements act and react on each other.

In practice, however, the principles of the manufacture of steel have been settled for ages, and are applied in two opposite ways. By the direct process what is called “natural steel” is produced by decarburizing cast-iron to the requisite degree; by the indirect

process, artificial or "cemented steel" is obtained by restoring a sufficiency of carbon to iron previously purified.

The conversion of iron, or iron ore, by the first of these methods, is an art as old as the dawn of history, and the Chalybians, occupants of a district of Armenia bordering on the Black Sea, termed by Herodotus "a people of ironworkers," were credited with its invention. Mention is made of steel in the Book of Job, Homer is believed to refer to it, and Hesiod distinguishes between "black" and "bright" iron. Pliny enumerates it together with the most precious commodities imported from China, and among other items of the tribute paid by Porus to Alexander the Great, we find thirty pounds of "wootz" or Indian steel.

The patient Hindoo still produces by his primitive methods this much-prized metal, and in a crucible no larger than a chimney-pot over a rude clay furnace fanned by a goat-skin bellows, fuses from the ore a small "bloom" * or lump of steel, of a quality unattained by European metallurgy. The fuel used is very pure charcoal, and in the crucible is put some chopped wood of *Cassia auriculata* with green leaves of *Convolvulus laurifolia* or *Ipomœa*, and of the ak or madur (*Calotropus gigantea*), a large Asclepiad. Thus was produced the raw material of the famous Damascus sword-blades, and from it native armourers still forge weapons of the finest temper.

Of early European methods in use down to a comparatively recent date, the most interesting was the Catalan process, remarkable for deriving its furnace blast from the draught caused by falling water. The apparatus for this purpose, called a *trompe*, consisted of a cistern raised some twenty or thirty feet above an air-chest, with which it was connected by a vertical tube, the water, admitted by a throttle-valve, carried with it in falling a mass of air sucked in through two oblique openings, called "aspirators," in the top of the tube, to be then led through pipes to the furnace. The ore smelted in these Pyrenean forges was of very pure quality, and from the resulting steel were manufactured those matchless Toledo swords which could be coiled in a box like a watch-spring.

Of later invention than these primitive methods for obtaining "natural steel" from the ore, were the processes for hardening malleable iron by restoring a proportion of its original carbon. These are chiefly two. The first consists in immersing wrought-iron in a bath of molten cast-iron, of whose superfluous carbon it absorbs enough for its acieration ; in the second, called the cementation process, the wrought-iron, packed in layers of "cement," a

* From the Anglo-Saxon *bloma*, a lump or mass of metal.

mixture of powdered charcoal with 10 per cent. of ashes and common salt, is heated to redness, when it becomes permeated with the carbon from without inwards, a result scientifically inexplicable, as it is an axiom that two solids cannot mutually interpenetrate each other. The resulting product, called "blister steel," from the vesicles on its surface, becomes "shear steel," of a quality adapted for those implements, when cut in pieces and hammered at a welding heat, or "double shear steel," if the process be repeated.

Iron-smelting was so extensively carried on by the Romans in Britain, that the soil for miles round Monmouth and Ross is formed of the cinder of their forges, and the blast furnaces in the Forest of Dean have for over 300 years been largely supplied with Roman scorix, containing sometimes 30 to 40 per cent. of metal. From the early slag being found mainly on hill-tops it is conjectured that air-bloomeries were then in use, receiving their draught through passages excavated in the direction of the prevailing wind. Lead was smelted in furnaces of this description in Derbyshire as late as the seventeenth century, but long before that time blast-bloomeries, fanned by a bellows, had come into use elsewhere.

At the epoch of the Norman Conquest, the forging of iron was the chief industry of the city of Gloucester, whose taxes were paid in bars of that metal. The export of iron was prohibited in the 28th year of Edward III. under penalty of forfeiture of twice the quantity, and in 1483 foreign competition was excluded by an Act forbidding the importation of tools, such as shears, knives, and scissors.

The steel trade thus domiciled in England, had migrated thither from Germany, and the names of the foreign artificers then settled on the Derwent, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, still survive in the district. The first forges at Sheffield were set up at the foot of the Castle Hill, by a group of foreign armourers, early summoned thither to supply the requirements of the warlike House of Talbot. Chaucer's mention of the "Sheffield whittle" proves the locality to have been continuously identified with the steel trade for over 500 years.

But England, with her comparatively limited area of forest, could only carry on metallurgical operations on a very narrow scale, while restricted to the use of charcoal fuel. In the sixteenth century a panic as to the exhaustion of the wood supply led to the passing of the Acts of 1558 and 1581, prohibiting all further extension of the iron manufacture and the erection of new furnaces. Hence the necessity for devising a means of burning pit-coal for smelting in some form in which its sulphurous and gaseous exhalations might not act injuriously on the

metal. Dud Dudley, son of Lord Dudley, mastered the secret as early as 1619, but died without divulging it, and the credit of re-discovering it belongs to one of a remarkable family of iron-masters. The first of these was Abraham Darby, who established in 1704 a brass foundry at Bristol, called the Baptist Mills. Dutch workmen were employed here, but when their master proposed to introduce an innovation, substituting iron for the metal in use, and casting it in moulds of sand, they proved incapable of carrying out his ideas. The attempt to do so seemed hopeless until chance sent a new hand into his employment.

At this time [says Dr. Percy, "Metallurgy of Iron and Steel"] a Welsh shepherd boy, named John Thomas, succeeded in rescuing a flock of his master's sheep from a snow-drift; and later, in the spring of the same year, during heavy rain and the melting of the snow, he swam a river to fetch home a herd of mountain cattle. These he collected and drove to the river, but the ford had now become a boiling torrent. He nevertheless crossed it on the back of an ox, and brought home the whole herd in safety. As a reward for his courage his master presented him with four of the sheep which he had saved. He sold their wool in order to buy better clothing for himself, and afterwards disposed of the sheep, so that he might have money wherewith to travel to Bristol and "seek his fortune." Afraid of being pressed for a soldier if found in Bristol out of place, as it was then the time of the Duke of Marlborough's wars, he requested his master to recommend him as an apprentice to a relative who was one of the partners of the Baptist Mills. The boy was accordingly sent into the Brassworks until he should procure employment. As he was looking on during some of the trials of the Dutch workmen to cast iron, he said to Abraham Darby that he "thought he saw how they had missed it." He begged to be allowed to try, and he and Abraham Darby remained alone in the workshop the same night for the purpose. Before morning they had cast an iron pot. The boy Thomas entered into an agreement to serve Abraham Darby and keep the secret. He was enticed by the offer of double wages to leave his master, but he continued nobly faithful, and afterwards showed his fidelity to his master's widow and children in their evil days. From 1709 to 1828 the family of Thomas were confidential and much valued agents to the descendants of Abraham Darby. For more than 100 years after the night in which Thomas and his master made their successful experiment of producing an iron casting in a mould of fine sand with its two wooden frames and its air-holes, the same process was practised and kept secret at Colebrook Dale, with plugged keyholes and barred doors.

This picturesque dell among the spurs of the Wrekin, whither Abraham Darby eventually removed, was the scene of a still more memorable experiment. His widow and family underwent a period of adversity owing to the dishonesty of their guardian

after his death in 1717 ; but his son, another Abraham Darby, retrieved their fortunes, when old enough to enter on the management of the business in 1730. Devoting his energies to the substitution of pit-coal for charcoal, of which the supply was rapidly failing, he resolved to treat it as his charcoal-burners did wood, subjecting it to a process of slow combustion, and then proceeded to experiment on the new fuel.

He, himself [says Dr. Percy], watched the filling of his furnaces during six days and nights, having no regular sleep, and taking his meals on the furnace-top. On the sixth evening, after many disappointments, the experiment succeeded, and the iron ran out well. He then fell asleep in the bridge-house at the top of his old-fashioned furnace, so soundly, that his men could not wake him, and carried him sleeping to his house, a quarter of a mile distant. From that time (1735) his success was assured.

Thus was achieved the conversion of coal into coke, with the result of placing England at the head of the iron trade of the world, by rendering her vast stores of mineral fuel available for the manufacture. The fabrication of steel meantime was still in its infancy, for its first modern improver was a contemporary of Abraham Darby. A clock-maker by profession, Benjamin Huntsman, born in Lincolnshire in 1704, was started on his career of metallurgical experiment by observing the inferiority of the metal supplied from Germany for the delicate mechanism of his trade. At the village of Attercliffe, a few miles south of Sheffield, he devoted himself from about 1740 to the production of an improved metal, with such indifferent success at first, that he is said to have buried, to secure secrecy, several hundredweight of defective steel resulting from his failures. The process by which ordinary blister steel was fused in the crucible, and cast in a homogeneous ingot, was, however, at last achieved by him, and holds its own to this day, having been, until the advent of that of Bessemer, the only method in practical use. Cast-steel became immediately saleable at from £50 to £100 a ton, while wootz, the Indian metal, had previously commanded the almost fabulous price of £10,000.

Huntsman found a ready sale for his steel in the foreign market, though the Sheffield cutlers grumbled at it as too hard for their purposes. They were not, however, above pirating the secret of its manufacture, which, being unprotected by patent, was carried on at night by workmen sworn not to divulge the process. A dishonourable stratagem was resorted to by an iron-founder, named Walker, who, disguised as a beggarman, presented himself at the workshop one bleak and snowy winter's night, craving shelter from the elements. While feigning sleep, he

was able to observe every detail of the process, and carried away the full recipe with him in the morning.

The next advance of any importance in the refinement of iron, was the invention of the puddling process by Henry Cort in 1784. This consists of the decarbonization of molten pig-iron by the action of the atmosphere, with which it is brought into contact by being agitated on the bed of a reverberatory furnace. The carbon combines with the oxygen of the air, while a large proportion of the phosphorus and sulphur are carried off in the slag. This result is aided by what is called "fettling," the addition of the substance known as "blue billy" or "purple ore," an impure ferric oxide produced by the decomposition of iron pyrites in vitriol works. The first stage of puddling is called "boiling pig," from the violent effervescence of scum and cinder that then takes place. The agitation of the metal by means of a long metal stirrer, called a "rabble," goes on until it shows signs of "coming to nature," developing a granular texture, and solidifying as it loses its carbon contents. The coagulating masses are then caked into balls of about 80 lbs. by the puddler, until the whole has been separated from the slag and cinder. The labour of puddling is very severe, and a large proportion of puddlers die under fifty from inflammatory affections of the chest, to which the heat of the furnace renders them specially liable.

The present century is marked by four great strides in the manufacture of steel and iron. First came the invention of the hot-blast for furnaces; second, that of the Bessemer process for oxygenating iron by a cold atmospheric current; third, the introduction of the Siemens-Martin method of producing cast-steel, with great economy of fuel, in a regenerative stove; and fourth, the discovery of the basic process for the elimination of phosphorus and sulphur from Bessemer steel, thus rendering the cheaper phosphoric iron of Cleveland and the Moselle available for conversion.

The simple substitution of hot for cold air in the furnace-blast, introduced in 1828, by Mr. James Beaumont Neilson, a Glasgow engineer, not only effected a saving of fuel varying from one-half to two-thirds with the quality of coal, but also enabled it to be burned raw instead of in the form of coke. So contrary was the innovation to received ideas, that many ironmasters, misled by the greater apparent activity of combustion in winter, were in the habit of using artificial means to refrigerate the air-current, overlooking the expenditure of the furnace heat necessarily spent in raising its temperature. The great blast-furnaces are now universally fanned with a fiery breath, heated to 600° or sometimes 800° Fahr., sufficient to liquefy lead or even zinc. Delivered at a pressure of 4 lbs. per square inch, equal to a hundredweight

on the surface of a man's hand, the burning current rushes in at the rate of 10,000 cubic feet a minute, a volume of air sufficient to fill a room 50 feet long by 20 feet wide and 10 feet high.

While the iron trade entered on a phase of active development under the impetus of this discovery, the steel manufacture, of which Sheffield retained its historical monopoly, remained stationary for more than a century after the introduction of Huntsman's method. Raw steel, principally made from Swedish ore, was sold to the refiners at £18 a ton, while the finished product varied in price from £22 per ton for coach-spring steel, to £60 per ton for shear steel. So costly an article was naturally sparingly used, and the whole annual production in England in 1855 did not exceed 40,000 to 50,000 tons—a figure which, in recent years, has been frequently doubled by a single firm.

For in that year was initiated the rapid phase of progress which has since worked a revolution in the trade. Henry Bessemer took out his first patent. The steps by which he was gradually led to do so are interwoven with the course of a most interesting career.

The parentage of genius mostly eludes research, but in this case is easily traced, as it descended direct from father to son. A Frenchman by birth, and occupying a high position in the Mint of his native country, Anthony Bessemer was, at twenty-five, a member of the French Academy of Sciences. Appointed by Robespierre, in the evil days of the Revolution, to the management of a municipal bakery, he nearly fell a victim to popular fury during a bread riot; but, after being thrown into prison, managed to escape to England. Here, as in France, he obtained employment in the Mint, while his ingenuity found scope in the practice of an art termed by his son "the true alchemy." This consisted in a method of precipitating the gold, dissolved, along with impurities, in the liquor—a solution of alum, salt, and salt-petre, used by jewellers for cleaning it. He became a wholesale purchaser of this auriferous fluid, but the secret of his treatment of it died with him. By this, and other ingenious inventions, among which was an improvement in type-founding, he realized an independence, enabling him to purchase a country place called Charlton, in Hertfordshire.

Here, in 1813, was born his youngest son, Henry, destined to inherit and perfect his father's gift of mechanical contrivance. Having come to London at eighteen, in pursuance of his profession as a modeller and designer, he was struck by the imperfection of the means then employed for attaching the official stamp to deeds, admitting of its easy removal and subsequent re-use. He designed a perforating stamp to obviate this fraud on the revenue, and was promised by the authorities the place of Superintendent

of Stamps, with a salary of £500 or £600 a year, in lieu of a money payment for his invention.

Full of hopeful pleasure at the prospect thus secured, he hastened with the news to the young lady he was engaged to, who by a casual suggestion started him on a fresh course of investigation. The result was an improved piece of mechanism for inserting a movable date into the stamp, which, among its other advantages, abrogated, as he did not fail to perceive, the necessity for his promised place of Superintendent. A scrupulous sense of honour, however, and perhaps the inventor's love for the offspring of his brain, induced him to communicate his improved method to the heads of the Stamp Office, where it was immediately adopted, and is in use to this day. Will it be credited, even among the records of official dishonesty, that the inventor was deprived of his promised post, and received no remuneration, direct or indirect, for a discovery which has secured to the revenue a saving of £100,000 a year?

Too proud to press his claims, he turned his thoughts to other schemes. Observing that gold paint for illumination and ornamental designs sold for 112s. per lb., while made from materials worth a comparatively trifling sum, he set himself to devise means by which this discrepancy could be turned to account. Two years of patient study produced the desired result, and with materials which cost only 4s. per lb. he produced, by the aid of a small hand-machine, a pigment for which he found ready sale at 80s. A friend was then persuaded to invest £10,000 in the purchase of enlarged plant; and five self-acting machines were procured, constructed, in order to ensure secrecy, as no patent was taken out, in sections, at different establishments. These engines, whose efficiency was equal to that of sixty skilled operatives, worked in a room which was never entered save by Bessemer and five trusted assistants; their automatic machinery being set in motion by a steam-engine outside, manipulated in obedience to the ringing of a bell. The profits, at first 1,000, are still 300 per cent., the concern being now in the hands of the surviving assistants, to whom Sir Henry Bessemer some years ago made it over, as a reward for their fidelity.

The public interest in ordnance improvement during the war-like ferment of the Crimean War, by directing the inventor's thoughts into this channel, led him to take the first step towards metallurgical discovery. A contrivance for giving a rotatory motion to elongated shot fired from smooth-bore guns by perforating the projectile, was favourably received by the Emperor of the French, after its summary rejection at Woolwich. During a subsequent course of experiments at Vincennes, the casual remark of an officer as to the necessity for improved gun-metal

to bear the increased strain of the new projectiles, was the spark which fired a fresh train of thought in the investigator's busy brain. He now devoted himself to mastering the science of metallurgy, with which, up to this, he had been totally unacquainted; and, after some months of practical and theoretical study, established an experimental workshop at Baxter House, St. Pancras, where, after repeated failures, he cast a small gun of much improved metal, worthy to be presented to his imperial patron.

He was now on the eve of his great discovery, founded, like most startling innovations, on a very familiar truth. Every schoolboy knows that a red-hot nail, whirled rapidly round at the end of a string, becomes immediately white-hot, and by the emission of a train of sparks gives evidence of lively combustion. Nor is there a village smithy where nails are not daily forged by the application of the same truth, the draught of the bellows, directed on them as they are hammered on the anvil, sufficing to raise them from red to white heat. The oxygen of the air here ignites the carbon of the glowing metal, which at that temperature cannot encounter it without combustion.

It was while lying on a bed of sickness, resulting from overwork and anxiety, that Sir Henry Bessemer, by one of those brain-leaps which seem to bridge some incomplete circuit of thought, divined the possibility of utilizing this latent force on a large scale. The conversion of cast-iron into malleable metal by the consumption of its own carbon-fuel, under the influence of a powerful pneumatic blast, was the idea thus shaped in his mind, which he next proceeded to test by a rude experiment.

He constructed [we are told*] a circular vessel measuring three feet in diameter and five feet in height and capable of holding seven cwt. of iron, and he ordered a small powerful air-engine, and a quantity of crude iron to be put down at the premises at St. Pancras that he had hired for carrying on his experiments. The name of these premises was Baxter House, formerly the residence of Sir Richard Baxter, and the simple experiment we are now going to describe has rendered that house for ever famous. The primitive apparatus being ready, the engine was made to force streams of air under high pressure through the bottom of the vessel, which was lined with fire-clay, and the stoker was told to pour the metal when it was sufficiently melted in at the top of it. A cast-iron plate—one of those lids which commonly cover the coal-holes in the pavement—was hung over the top of the converter; and all being got ready the stoker in some bewilderment poured in the metal. Instantly out came a volcanic eruption of such dazzling coruscations as had never been seen before. The dangling pot-lid dissolved in the gleaming volume of flame, and the

* "Creators of the Age of Steel." By W. T. Jeans.
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chain by which it hung grew first red and then white as the various stages of the process were unfolded to the gaze of the astonished spectators. The air-cock to regulate the blast was beside the converting vessel, and no one dared to go near it, much less to deliberately shut it. In this dilemma, however, they were soon relieved by finding that the process of decarburization or combustion had expended all its fury, and, most wonderful of all, the result was steel!

The vivid eruption of air and metal here described was, in short, what is now known as the Bessemer process, and by this its first operation was inaugurated a metallurgical revolution. Mr. Bessemer's paper on "The Manufacture of Iron and Steel without Fuel," read by him at the meeting of the British Association at Cheltenham in 1856, embodying the results obtained, electrified the scientific world, and reduced the assembled magnates of learning to the silence of stupefaction. The author claimed to have produced a temperature never before attained in the arts by the mere passage of a stream of cold air through a mass of cast-iron—this great evolution of heat being due to the consumption of the carbon and silicon in the metal itself.

A mere blast of cold air [he declared] forced into melted crude iron, is capable of raising its temperature to such a degree as to retain it in a perfect state of fluidity after it has lost all its carbon, and is in the condition of malleable iron, which in the highest heat of our forges only becomes softened into a pasty mass. But such is the excessive temperature that I arrive at, that I am enabled not only to retain the fluidity of the metal, but to create so much surplus heat as to re-melt all the crop-heads, ingot-runners, and other scrap that is made throughout the process, and thus bring them, without labour or fuel, into ingots of a quality equal to the rest of the charge of new metal.

There was no attempt at discussion on this sensational address, but, within three weeks of its delivery, Mr. Bessemer and his partner sold £26,500 worth of licences for the use of his patent.

A second experiment took place at Baxter House on Sept. 1, 1856, in presence of a number of practical and scientific experts. One ironmaster at first refused to believe that the metal he had seen run liquid into the mould could be anything but ordinary cast-iron, until a blow heaved at it with an axe by Mr. Bessemer without indenting its surface, and an equally fruitless attempt to abrade it with the file, conclusively established its true character. "We must alter our methods," said those present, reluctantly convinced of the unwelcome truth.

But the prospects of the new invention were suddenly darkened, when trials made at various works, even under the supervision of the patentee, resulted only in the production of unsound metal, "rotten hot and rotten cold," as one manufacturer contemptuously

termed it. The vaunted discovery was regarded as a burst bubble, or, in the words of a contemporary, as "a meteor that had passed through the metallurgical world, but had gone out with all its sparks."

A further series of costly experiments, extending over two years, revealed at last the cause of failure. It was remembered that the first trial had been made with Blenævon iron, an exceptionally pure quality, and on reverting to its use success once more ensued. Phosphorus, largely present in ordinary English ore, was, it was then learned, the deleterious ingredient not removed by the process, and the use of iron made from Swedish ore or the Cumberland hematites, was found to ensure complete success. The attempt to discover a means of dephosphorizing inferior metal was abandoned for the time, to be subsequently renewed by another inventor.

The new method was by this time perfected in the contrivance of the ingenious mechanism of the Bessemer converter. A bottle-shaped recipient, capable of holding a charge of from five to fifteen tons of metal, is suspended on an axis so as to swing vertically or horizontally at will. It is laid in the latter position to receive its charge, which is so calculated as not to cover the tuyeres or air-nozzles in the bottom, some twenty in number, as long as it is so placed, this precaution being necessary to obviate their being clogged by the metal before the blast is turned on. The latter, at a pressure of fifteen to twenty cubic metres of air per ton per minute, acts automatically as soon as the converter is erected, and, the "blow" runs its course in from twenty to thirty minutes. Firebrick composed of "ganister," powdered stone of silicious composition, is the material used for lining the converter, into which the cast-iron is now generally turned direct from the smelting-furnace, thus combining its reduction and conversion in a single operation.

Mr. Bessemer, at the Institute of Civil Engineers, May 24, 1859, thus described the result of turning on the blast:—

The process is thus in an instant brought into full activity, and small though powerful jets of air spring upwards through the fluid mass. The air expanding in volume, divides itself into globules, or bursts violently upwards, carrying with it some hundredweight of fluid metal, which again falls into the boiling mass below. Every part of the apparatus trembles under the violent agitation thus produced, a roaring flame rushes from the mouth of the vessel, and as the process advances, it changes its violet hue to orange, and finally to a voluminous pure white flame. The sparks, which at first were large like those of ordinary foundry iron, change to small hissing points, and then gradually give way to soft floating specks of bluish light, as the state of malleable iron is approached. . . . The heat during the process

has risen from the comparatively low temperature of melted pig-iron, to one vastly greater than the highest known welding-heat by which malleable iron only becomes sufficiently soft to be shaped by the blows of the hammer ; but here it becomes perfectly fluid, and even rises so much above the melting-point as to admit of its being poured from the converter into a founder's ladle, and from thence transferred to several successive moulds.

The apparatus by which this transmutation is effected is scarcely less wonderful than the process itself.

Those who have never seen this machinery in operation [says the author of "Iron in all Ages"] can form but a faint idea of its exquisite adaptation to the purposes to be accomplished. A Bessemer converter, weighing with its contents from twenty to thirty tons, is moved at will on its axis by the touch of a man or boy, and receives in response to the same touch a blast so powerful that every particle of its many tons of metallic contents is heated to the highest temperature ever known in the mechanic arts. The honour of inventing this machinery is all Mr. Bessemer's own.

The "blow," if allowed to work itself out by consuming all the self-contained fuel of the metal, converts the latter into malleable iron, more completely decarbonized than steel. This intermediate state should consequently, according to theory, be reached by arresting the process at a given stage. In practice, however, the point cannot be determined with sufficient nicety, even though the aid of the spectroscope, in which the yellow sodium line is conspicuous, has been called in to analyze the progressive phases of gaseous combustion. The simpler expedient of recarbonizing the iron is resorted to, and an addition of fresh pig-iron was originally made to the charge for this purpose. Another metal was, however, subsequently found more efficacious. The effect of manganese in promoting the production of steel was discovered as far back as 1839, by the unfortunate Josiah Heath, who having left a loophole for piracy by a trifling verbal oversight in the wording of his patent, wore out fortune, health, and life itself in the unsuccessful attempt to maintain it through fourteen years of litigation. The idea was worked out by Robert Mushet, who in 1857 took out a three years' patent for recarbonizing Bessemer iron by the German metal, spiegeleisen, a compound of iron and manganese. This is the method now in general use, and Sir Henry Bessemer has settled an annuity of £300 on the inventor, whose legal right of course lapsed with the triennial term of his patent.

The first trial of the metal produced at Baxter House was made by Messrs. Galloway of Manchester, who substituted it for ordinary steel in their workshop without its detection by the operatives.

Thus emboldened, they entered into partnership with the patentee for the erection of works at Sheffield, where they soon began underselling the trade by £20 a ton. Orders naturally flowed in, and rival manufacturers found themselves compelled to take out licenses for the process at the rate of £1 per ton on rails, and £2 on all other forms of steel. By the sale of these royalties Sir Henry Bessemer was at one time in receipt of an income of £100,000 a year, and had in 1879, after the expiry of his patent, realized £1,057,000. The works at Sheffield were sold at the close of the fourteen years' term of partnership for twenty-four times the amount of the original paid-up capital, and "each of the five partners," says Mr. Jeans,* "retired with eighty-one times the amount of his original subscribed capital, or an average of nearly cent. per cent. every two months—a result probably unprecedented in the annals of commerce."

Such were the pecuniary results of the Bessemer process to the inventor. Its effect on the market was immediately to lower the price of different classes of steel from £50, £60, and even £90, to £11, £12, and £18 per ton. This reduction has been continuous, and Mr. Bessemer's prediction in 1864, that steel rails would one day sell as low as £4 10s. a ton, was more than verified in 1886, when they dropped to £3 7s. 6d. The increase in demand has been proportionate to this reduction in price, and the 40,000 to 50,000 tons of steel, which represented the total British manufacture for 1855, makes a very poor show beside subsequent figures. Thus the make of Bessemer steel alone, which in 1868 amounted to 200,000 tons, had grown in 1878 to 807,000, and in 1885 to over two million tons between rails and ingots. A capital of £2,140,000 is now invested in Bessemer plant throughout the United Kingdom, and as far back as 1878 over 100 converters were at work. New industrial centres have sprung up in the districts producing ores suitable for conversion, and Barrow-in-Furness, which from a fishing village with but 300 inhabitants in 1845, had expanded in 1875 to a population of 42,000, is an instance of such growth. The Barrow Steel Works, situated in its neighbourhood, form in themselves an operative city, for here 3,000 workmen are employed in a factory, which consumes 300,000 tons of pig-iron a year, and with its sixteen great blast-furnaces, to which as many converters are attached, can turn out 2,000 tons of steel a week. The Company, of which the Duke of Devonshire is chairman, pays a dividend of 20 per cent. per annum, and employs, including its miners, 10,000 workmen.

The United States, with their 204,000 square miles of coal-

* "History of Steel."

fields, are Bessemer manufacturers on a still larger scale, and produced in 1886 two million tons of ingots and one and a half million tons of rails, making an aggregate of three and a half million tons. A new city in Indiana, called into existence by the happy juxtaposition in its neighbourhood of high quality ore and anthracite coal specially adapted for the furnace as it is a sort of natural coke, recognizes the inventor as the author of its being by bearing the name of Bessemer. The total production of Bessemer steel throughout the world amounted in 1882 to over four million tons, at a saving of £40 per ton, and 3,300 converters had been erected.

The actual scale of the Bessemer process is of great practical utility. Thus large plates produced by it are relatively cheaper than smaller ones, instead of as formerly, very much more costly, while their superiority is represented by the fact that every riveted joint diminishes their resisting power from 100 lbs. to 70 lbs. In ordnance construction, again, the advantage of being able to cast masses of metal weighing from ten to twenty tons is self-evident, obviating such elaborate expedients as building up a gun piecemeal, or forging it from a coil of metal.

The superior quality of the Bessemer steel has been proved by various tests. Its high tensile strength was established by a series of experiments at Woolwich Arsenal, where, according to the report of Colonel Eardley Wilmot, R.A., it was found to bear a strain of from 150,000 lbs. to 160,000 lbs. to the square inch, while boiler plates made from it resisted a pressure of from 68,314 lbs. to 73,000 lbs., as compared to one of 45,000 lbs. to 57,120 lbs. borne by those of other manufacturers. Its extensibility is equally remarkable, and a bar 3 inches in diameter may be doubled when cold under the hammer, without showing a trace of fracture, though it has been extended on the outside of the fold from 12 to $16\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and compressed on the inside from 12 to $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, creating between its previously equal sides a difference in length of $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. A striking proof of its ductility was given by Mr. Parks of Birmingham, when he undertook to treat it as though it were copper, and actually converted a disk of steel $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch thick; into a cup, by punching it through a die, reducing its diameter from 23 to 11 inches, and hollowing its flat surface into a concavity of 10 inches deep.

The tendency of the metal to form bubbles owing to inequality of contraction in cooling, was at first counteracted by the addition of silicon, but was more radically corrected by Sir Joseph Whitworth's method of compressing liquid steel in cylindrical moulds, when the enclosed column loses one-eighth of its height, and gains in homogeneity of structure.

The uses in which the new metal has supplanted iron are

growing year by year. In shipbuilding its combination of lightness and strength enables a greater rate of speed to be obtained, and larger profits consequently to be realized. The steel-built steamer, *Servia*, constructed on the Clyde for the Cunard Company in 1881, attained the speed of $22\frac{1}{2}$ statute miles an hour, representing a considerable economy on every voyage. Steel vessels formed a quarter of the total tonnage of shipping built in 1883, and this proportion is likely to increase.

But it is in railway construction that the superiority of Bessemer steel over iron is most strikingly shown. An iron rail, exposed to heavy traffic, is so rapidly ground away by the crushing force of the locomotive wheel, that it requires to be shifted, so as to bring its second face into play, once in every three months, thus entailing, in addition to the cost of renewal, serious inconvenience from the partial interruption of the line. Yet when Mr. Bessemer, in 1861, suggested the use of steel rails to Mr. Ramsbottom of the London and North-Western Railway, the latter exclaimed in horror, asking if he wished to see him tried for manslaughter. The rails, nevertheless, after being subjected to a variety of tests, were laid down at Crewe, where the bulk of the up-traffic passed over them, on the day of the Prince of Wales's marriage, March 10, 1863. When taken up in 1881, they were still serviceable, though the second face was nearly worn down, while iron rails in the same position wore out both faces in six months. Already 16,000 miles of British railway are laid with steel, and when the substitution shall have been effected over the total length of 25,000 miles, it is calculated that an annual saving of twenty millions sterling will be effected. The maximum production of steel rails in England was reached in 1882, when 1,235,785 tons were manufactured: but this was surpassed in America in 1886, with the larger figure of 1,500,000. Steel sleepers have also been introduced with advantage, and locomotives are largely constructed of the same metal.

The Bessemer process was secured for fourteen years by no less than thirty patents, taken out in the triennial term 1855-57. They form but a small fraction of the whole number of patents—120 in all—taken out for various inventions by Sir Henry Bessemer, who has paid the Patent Office £10,000 in fees, his specifications filling two, and his drawings seven bulky volumes of its literature.

About the time that he achieved his great discovery, a young foreign student in London was engaged in investigating problems of practical physics. Economy of waste heat was the direction principally taken by the researches of Charles William Siemens, and the result was the invention of the regenerative gas-furnace perfected about 1861, in which, by an arrangement

of accumulators or brick chambers for stopping the heated air, a very high temperature is reached, enabling steel to be produced by what is called the "open-hearth" process. This consists in melting pig-iron in a dish-shaped recipient or reverberatory furnace, forming a "bath" of molten metal, to which iron ore or steel scrap are added as decarbonizers, deficiency of carbon being afterwards supplied, as in the Bessemer process, by a dose of spiegeleisen. Cast-steel is thus produced, in quantities varying from 5 to 15 tons at each operation or "heat," according to the size of the furnace, with the expenditure of but one-sixth the fuel used in previous methods. To the use of iron ore as a decarbonizer, according to Sir William Siemens' original design, that of steel scrap, or wrought-iron, was added by another inventor, and both methods, respectively known as the "pig and ore" and "pig and scrap" processes, are now generally used in combination, the joint name Siemens-Martin, compounded of the patronymics of the two patentees, being applied to the system.

The superiority of "open-hearth" over Bessemer steel, is a moot point, denied by American manufacturers. A Siemens-Martin furnace is, however, a useful auxiliary to Bessemer works, as it utilizes all waste metal, rail-ends and scrap steel, while it may also be turned to profitable account in re-melting worn-out steel rails. Over 150 such furnaces have been constructed in England, and the Landore Siemens Steel Company, established in 1867, manufactures by this method on a very large scale. The production of open-hearth steel is rapidly gaining ground, having risen from 77,500 tons in 1873, to 461,965 tons in 1884. The combined effect of the open-hearth and Bessemer methods on the industry of the world, has been to increase its steel production fifty-fold within the last quarter of a century.

But the Bessemer process, though mechanically complete, required to be supplemented by some means of extending its range so as to include inferior ores containing a large percentage of phosphorus. Of English ores, only the hematites, forming but 12 per cent. of the entire, were available for conversion, and this fact had largely enhanced their price. To correct this defect, it was necessary to provide a "base," or substance capable of combining with an acid, in order to remove the phosphorus evolved in the shape of phosphoric acid. This problem was solved by two young men, aged respectively twenty-five and twenty-six, Mr. Sidney Gilchrist Thomas, a scientific chemist of London, and Mr. Percy C. Gilchrist, his cousin and partner in research. From the so-called "basic," or Thomas-Gilchrist process patented by them in November, 1877, some anticipate results scarcely inferior to those of the original Bessemer, called in contradistinction to it the "acid" process.

Lime, in the form of a hardened concrete, is the basic material substituted for ganister in lining the Bessemer converter, a small quantity, mixed with blue billy or other iron oxide, being also added to the charge of metal in the later stage of the process known as the "overblow." Even in the case of pig-iron containing phosphorus in the proportion of 1·5 to 2 per cent, its complete elimination is the result, as it passes into the slag in the shape of phosphate of lime.

Sir Lowthian Bell* has pointed out that the yearly make of Cleveland iron contains an amount of phosphorus which, while deteriorating the value of the metal by the sum of four millions, is in itself worth a quarter of a million. This product renders basic slag, containing from 15 to 20 per cent. of phosphoric acid and 40 per cent. of lime, highly valuable as manure, being found, especially for root crops and on clay soil, equal to the same weight of mineral superphosphates or ground coprolites.

From ores highly charged with phosphorus, such as those of Cleveland and the Moselle, metal can be produced by this method equal to that yielded by the best Spanish ores. For the year ending October, 1886, the total make of basic steel and ingot iron was 1,313,631 tons, an increase of 368,314 tons, or 38 per cent. over the previous year. Of this total only 258,466 tons were made in England, while Germany, Austria, and Luxemburg manufactured nearly quadruple that amount, or 883,859 tons.

The invention of the basic process forms the last of the four epochs into which as many great innovations in iron and steel manufacture have divided the middle period of this century. The hot-blast prepared the way for the Bessemer and Siemens-Martin processes, to the former of which the basic modification promises to give an ever-widening extension. Thus each is not so much the rival as the adjunct and corollary of the other. It is a somewhat singular circumstance that while modern advances in the steel trade have all been worked out in England, the three principal inventors were of foreign extraction. Huntsman was born of German parents, Bessemer's father was a Frenchman, and Sir William Siemens, born at Lenthe in Holland, was English only by adoption. Something of British tenacity added to their inherited qualities helped, no doubt, to place these men in the forefront of mechanical discovery.

Of minor and more recent improvements, perhaps the most noteworthy is that of Mr. Gjers of Middlesborough, who introduced in 1882 a method for rolling steel blooms into rails by their own initial heat. Transferred before cooling to "soaking ovens," lined with heated firebrick, their high internal tempera-

* "The Chemical Phenomena of Iron Smelting," 1870-72.

ture becomes equally diffused through their mass until they are sufficiently softened throughout to be rolled at once, without fresh heating in the furnace.

While the "special steels" manufactured by the new method are gradually ousting iron from use for all constructive purposes, Sheffield is still *facile princeps* in the cutlery trade, for which the more costly "crucible steel," carefully fused in covered vessels, is alone used. This is the quality also produced at the great Krupp factory at Essen, the larger castings being obtained by the co-operation of squads of workmen, drilled to act with automatic precision in pouring the contents of a number of crucibles into a single mould. Not only have Sir Henry Bessemer's patent rights been evaded here under a frivolous pretext, but the elaborate drawings prepared by him for the firm, under the idea that his privileges were to be respected, were availed of without any acknowledgment; and as his invention was also pirated in France, he has derived little benefit from its adoption on the Continent.

The contest for supremacy in the iron trade lies, however, entirely between England and the United States, who are running neck and neck for first place. Production of pig-iron, the raw material of all further manufacture, is the standard of comparison, and while it is believed that that of England for 1886 will not exceed 6,800,000 tons, that of America for the same year comes up to 5,600,000 tons, a figure which on that side of the Atlantic "beats the record."

The steel trade of the United States is declared, by one of the authorities of that country, to be "in an eminent degree the child of protective legislation." * Fostered by the Morrill tariff of 1861, it made such rapid growth that, while in 1861 there were but thirteen steel factories in the country, there are now a sufficient number to turn out in a single year $3\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of Bessemer steel alone. The protective duties, without which the trade in its infancy could never have stood up against British competition, are graduated for different products, amounting on some to as much as 50 per cent. American manufacturers are at a further advantage in the quality of the native ore, of which fully one-third is available for conversion by the acid Bessemer process. Indeed, were not the great mineral resources of the country in ore and fuel counterbalanced by the distances separating these products from each other and from the coast, it might be feared that the tables would eventually be turned on the older country, and American products in metal, as well as in food, disastrously swamp the English markets. As it is, the contin-

* "Iron in all Ages." By James M. Swank.

gency is probably remote, for so largely does transport handicap outward trade, that even in England, with its restricted areas, it has been found impossible to carry on the steel rail manufacture profitably save at an actual seaport, as goods for exportation will not bear the added cost of inland carriage.

Meantime, so largely do the requirements of the United States outstrip even their own vast producing power, that they are still our best market, taking in the year just passed (1886) one-fourth of the total British exports of iron and steel. And it was on the other side of the Atlantic that, about the middle of that year, the first glimmer of light on the commercial horizon indicated the lifting of the cloud of depression that had so long darkened the world. Although it was only the local iron trade to which, under the influence of a sudden increase in railroad construction, the original impulse was given, it was known by all mercantile authorities that the stimulus must necessarily communicate itself to the markets of this country. So entirely has this forecast been verified that the year, whose early months marked the very nadir of commercial lethargy, closed with a movement in the iron trade, the infallible indicator of national prosperity, which is compared to the great "boom" of 1879-80. The increase in exports for November alone amounted to 10,000 tons, while the total of 3,389,197 tons for the shipments of the year, despite the inactivity of its earlier months, showed a gain of 258,515 tons over those of 1885. The figures of the exports to the United States separately show how entirely this expansion is due to their demand, which more than doubled that of the preceding year, since the 397,688 tons of 1885 had grown to 803,632 tons in 1886. The item which bulks most largely in this total, is the steel rail in a partially completed state, technically termed a "bloom," in which condition, owing to tariff distinctions, it is at present prices more profitable to import it, to receive its final manipulation in the American rolling mills. The activity of this trade is shown by the fact that the shipments of steel blooms and billets to America have increased from 14,644 for 1885, to 105,680 tons for the past year. The Board of Trade returns for 1886 show how sensible has been the improvement for its later months, since a large deficit in its earlier period remained to be made up. Thus against total exports of iron and steel for 1885, value £21,710,738, we have to set £21,722,951 for 1886; and against £2,092,816 worth of pig-iron in the former year, £2,252,944 in the latter. The increase in shipments to the United States was from £328,373 to £771,795, that in unwrought steel, principally rail blooms, being from £244,974 to £642,572.*

* The improvement has been continuous during the first four months

Among remote customers for steel rails are Japan and China, the former having given two orders during the year for 10,000 tons to a Sheffield firm, and the latter having just begun to come into the market for the same article. Australasia and Canada, too, have increased their demand for them, counterbalancing a falling off in some of the other colonies.

Measured by droop in prices the depression, a recovery from which is evidenced by these cheering symptoms, only reached its deepest deep in July, 1886. Cleveland pig-iron then touched the figure of 29s., the lowest it had fallen to for over thirty years, while the higher quality of Scotch iron sold for £1 18s., and hematite metal for £2. Steel rails fell to £3 7s. 6d., steel plates to £5 5s., and iron ship-plates to £4 5s. per ton. Meantime, though the decline in production had been continuous since the maximum of 8,498,000 tons was reached in 1882, it had not kept pace with the shrinkage of demand; and stocks had gone on steadily increasing, so that from 1,698,978 tons at the close of 1883, they had grown to 2,352,169 by the close of 1885.

The reason of this lies in the conditions of all great industries, rendering arrest of production ruinous. A great blast-furnace so far resembles a living organism, that its functional activity cannot be suspended at will; and once "blown out," the process of "blowing in," as relighting is technically termed, is a tedious and delicate one. Its interior has to be partially built up with a wooden scaffolding to receive the ore and fuel, lest in their crude state they should fall down and choke the air-pipes through which its burning breath is drawn. The blast is then turned on so gradually that it is sometimes days, or even weeks, before the furnace is once more in full activity. As, moreover, a social catastrophe is involved in any large suspension of labour, while the inactivity of machinery represents heavy pecuniary loss, ironmasters in ordinary times of depression prefer to keep their furnaces in blast and accumulate stock in anticipation of a future recovery of prices, rather than face the consequences of cessation. So strongly does this feeling prevail in Germany, that manufacturers there, during the last year, have been producing cheap goods for export to this country at an actual loss to themselves, hoping to recoup themselves eventually, on the renewal of demand in their own markets, where the protective tariff gives them a command of prices.

Many English ironmasters, on the other hand, were beaten out of the field by the long period of stagnation culminating in

of 1837, the value of total exports, £7,403,750, showing an increase of nearly half a million over the figure for the previous year, £6,946,977. Unwrought steel is set down at £729,420, as opposed to £385,098 for 1886.

the first half of 1886 ; and of 421 furnaces alight at the opening of that year, but 366 were still in blast on the 30th September. Thus the subsequent recovery came upon a market which had curtailed its make by an amount equal to the whole producing power of Scotland, tending to a speedier adjustment of the equilibrium of demand and supply. Before the opening of 1887, the "blowing in" of eleven furnaces, principally in the hematite centres, gave cheering promise for its future ; while a general rise of 3s. per ton on pig-iron showed that the heavy stocks, so long overheld, were beginning to slide off the hands of producers. It is noteworthy, as showing the continuance of the metallurgical revolution in progress, that the improvement has been restricted to steel products, as opposed to those of finished iron ; and that the increased demand for the former has more than counter-balanced the continuous falling off in the latter class of goods. Meantime, the low average price of steel throughout the year—£7 10s. per ton all round—shows that it is the cheaper "special steels" that have been most largely dealt in, as opposed to the finer and more costly crucible metal. The general buoyancy, however, extended also to the Sheffield trade ; and the *Times* correspondent, writing thence on January 7, 1887, described a general increase of activity, to which the improvement in the state of Ireland in recent months, slight as it is, has contributed its quota.

The iron trade, which, classified by value of exports, ranks third among national industries, surpassed only by the cotton and woollen manufactures, is, from its more numerous ramifications, a still surer index of commercial prosperity. While its recovery means to toiling thousands and millions the difference between comfort and destitution, it is not too much to say that there is not an individual throughout the length and breadth of the land who is not more or less directly affected by it. So closely are the interests of all classes intertwined in the complex woof of modern society, that a strain upon one of its threads weakens the whole texture ; and every furnace blown out in the North tells not only upon all trades and professions, but on the higher life of art and literature, of thought and culture. The great pulse of fire that quickens the heart of England cannot be slackened by a single beat, without an injurious reaction on every outcome of national vitality ; and those pillars of flame that gird her central horizon are so many beacons, that flare to heaven their record of her onward march in the van of progress.

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. V.—THE VENERABLE RICHARD WHITING,
LAST ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY.

THE view from the Roman camp of Masborough, on the Mendip Hills of Somerset, is one to be remembered. The country is displayed before the eyes like a map. To the east the Mendips, like mighty waves of the sea, fall and rise in a succession of vales and hills till they are lost in the distance. Westward the prospect is more varied and attractive. The ground, which at the spectator's feet had just attained to the dignity of a mountain, sinks away to the level country which lies between it and the waters of the Bristol Channel. From this plain there rises an oddly formed hill, crowned with a tower, which cannot fail to arrest attention. Neither the glancing of the sunlight from the surface of the sea, some fifteen miles away, nor the glimpse that is caught between the trees of the grey towers and gables of the great cathedral church of Wells, nor yet the sight of the spire of Doultling, calling up memories of St. Aldhelm, can long restrain the eye from turning once again to gaze on the hill and square-shaped tower which stands so prominently out of the landscape. It is not, however, its natural peculiarity and situation, though these, indeed, are more than remarkable, that constitutes for most the chief attraction. It speaks to the mind as well as to the eye, for it is Nature's monument, pointing out a spot of more than ordinary interest. The dim shadows of tradition seem to hover over the hill and recall a past beyond the records of history; but, more than all, it calls to mind a deed of desecration and blood which was perpetrated in the evil days of Henry VIII.'s reign. In the hollow at its foot is Glastonbury, a name linked to the first memories of the Christian faith in England, and at the tower on its top, Richard Whiting, the last abbot of the monastery, with two of his monks, suffered death for conscience' sake. In these days, when the first steps have been taken in the process of the canonization of the Christian heroes who died for the faith in the persecutions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, every record is of interest. In this belief, the story of the life, trials, and final suffering of the Venerable Richard Whiting, last abbot of Glastonbury, is here briefly told.

Richard Whiting was born early in the second half of the fifteenth century, and probably about the year 1460.* The civil

* It is stated he was about eighty years of age when he was martyred, which would have placed his birth about this year. The fact that he took his degree of M.A. at Cambridge in 1483 is the earliest record we have of his life.

war between the Houses of York and Lancaster was then at its height, and his boyhood must have been passed amid the popular excitement caused by the Wars of the Roses, and by the varied fortunes of the reign of Edward IV. His family was connected by blood with that of Bishop Stapleton of Exeter,* the well-known benefactor of Exeter College, Oxford. In its principal branch it was possessed of considerable estates in Somerset as well as Devon, but Richard Whiting came from a younger and less important part of the family, which, amongst other property, held certain lands as tenants of the great abbey of Glastonbury, in the fertile valley of Wrington. His name was not unknown in the annals of religious houses. About the time of Richard Whiting's birth, another Richard, probably an uncle, was *camerarius* or chamberlain in the monastery of Bath,† an office which in after-years the second Richard held in the abbey of Glastonbury. Many years later, at the beginning of the troubles of the religious houses in Henry's reign, another Whiting, Jane, daughter of John, a near relative of the abbot, "was shorn and had taken the habit as a nun in the monastery of Wilton;"‡ whilst later still, when new foundations of religious life had been laid in foreign countries, three of Abbot Whiting's nieces became postulates in the English Franciscan house of Bruges.§

We know nothing for certain about the childhood and youth of Richard Whiting, and can only conjecture that he, like the sons of most of his neighbours, received his early education and training within the walls of his future monastery. The learned antiquary Hearne says that "the monks of Glastonbury kept a free school, where poor men's sons were bred up as well as gentlemen's, and were fitted for the universities."|| It was probably in early youth, as was then the custom, that Richard joined the community of the great Benedictine monastery of the west country, passing from the school into the novitiate. Report did not at this time speak too well of the discipline maintained within its walls. John Selwood the abbot had held the office from the year 1457, and under his rule, owing doubtless to the demoralizing influence of constant civil dissensions, the good name of the abbey had suffered. Still, we may conclude that rumour, with its many tongues, had in its usual way magnified the disorders, since after a careful examination,¶ ordered by Bishop Stillington, and carried out by four ecclesiastical dignitaries unconnected with the diocese, we find no record of stringent injunctions imposed, and Selwood continued to rule his abbey for twenty years afterwards.

* B. Mus. Add. MS. 28, 838.

† R.O. Chan. Inq. P.M.

|| Hist. of Glastonbury : Preface.

† Reg. Beck. Bath et Wellen, f. 311.

§ Oliver's Collect. p. 135.

¶ Reg. Still., Bath et Well, f. 82.

From Glastonbury Whiting was sent to Cambridge,* to complete his education, and his name appears amongst those who took their M.A. degree in 1483.† About the same time the register of the university records the well-known names of Richard Reynolds, the Brigettine monk of Sion, of John Houghton and William Exmew, both Carthusians, and all afterwards noble martyrs in the cause of Catholic truth, for which Whiting was also to be called upon to sacrifice his life. The Blessed John Fisher also, although no longer a student, still remained in close connection with the university, when Richard Whiting came from Glastonbury to Cambridge to complete his education.

After his degree had been taken the young Benedictine monk doubtless returned to his monastery, and there in his turn would be occupied in teaching the boys entrusted to the care of the Glastonbury religious. For this work his previous training, his stay at the university in preparation for his degree in Arts, would have specially qualified him, and in all probability he was thus engaged till his ordination, some fifteen years later. During this period one or two matters of importance to the monks of the abbey may be briefly noted.

In 1493, John Selwood, who had been abbot for thirty-six years, died. The monks having obtained the king's leave to proceed with the election of a successor,‡ met for the purpose, and made their choice, without apparently having obtained the usual approval of the bishop of the diocese. This neglect was brought about possibly by their ignorance of the forms of procedure, as so long a time had intervened since the previous election. It may be also that the long-continued absence of the Bishop of Bath and Wells from his See caused them to forget his rights. At this time Bishop Fox held the post, and on hearing of the election of John Wasyn without his approval, he applied to the king for permission to cancel the election. This having been granted, he successfully claimed the right to nominate to the office, and on January 20, 1494, by his commissary, Dr. Richard Nicke, Canon of Wells, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich, he installed Richard Bere in the abbatial chair of Glastonbury.§

* Probably to "Monk's College." Speed, speaking of Magdalen College, Cambridge, says it "was first an hall inhabited by monks of divers monasteries, and therefore heretofore called Monks' College, sent hither from their abbies to the universitie to studye. Edward Stafford, last Duke of Buckingham, &c., bestowed much cost in the repair of it, and in 1519 . . . new built the hall, whereupon for a time it was called Buckingham College; but the Duke being shortly after attainted, the buildings were left imperfect, continuing a place for monks to study in, until the general suppression of monasteries by King Henry VIII."—SPEED'S *History of Great Britain*, 1632, p. 1050.

† Cooper, *Ath. Cantab.* p. 71. ‡ Pat. Rot. 8 Henry VII. p. 2, m. 11.

§ Reg. Fox. Bath et Wellen, p. 48. Pat. Rot., 9 Henry VII. 26.

In the third year of this abbot's rule, Somerset and the neighbourhood of Glastonbury was disturbed by the passage of armed men—insurgents against King Henry VII.'s rule and the royal troops sent against them—which must have sadly broken in upon the repose of the monastic life. In the early summer of 1497 the Cornish rebels who had risen in resistance to the heavy taxation of Henry, passed through Glastonbury and Wells on their way to London. Their number was estimated at from six to fifteen thousand, and the country for miles around was at night lighted up by their camp fires. Their poverty and need was most urgent, and although it is recorded that no act of violence or pillage was perpetrated by this undisciplined band, still their support was a burden on the hospitality of the religious houses and the people of the districts through which they passed.

Hardly had this rising been suppressed than Somerset was again involved in trouble. Early in the autumn of 1497 Perkin Warbeck assembled his rabble forces—"howbeit, they were poor and naked" *—round the city of Taunton, and on the 21st September the advanced guard of the king's army arrived at Glastonbury, and was sheltered in the monastery and its dependencies. The same night the adventurer fled to sanctuary, leaving his 8,000 followers to their own devices; and on the 29th of this same month Henry himself reached Bath and moved forward at once to join his other forces at Wells and Glastonbury. With him came Bishop Oliver King, who, although he had held the See of Bath and Wells for three years had never yet visited his cathedral city, and who now hurried on before his royal master to be enthroned as bishop a few hours before he in that capacity took part in the reception of the king. Henry had with him some 30,000 men, when on St. Jerome's day he entered Wells, and took up his lodgings with Dr. Cunthorpe in the deanery.† The following day, Sunday, October 1, was spent at Wells, where the king attended in the Cathedral at a solemn "Te Deum" in thanksgiving for his bloodless victory. Early on the Monday he passed on to Glastonbury, and was lodged by Abbot Bere within the precincts of the monastery.

The abbey was then at the height of its glory, for Bere was in every way fitted for the position to which the choice of Fox had elevated him. For great things and small he had a watchful care, and under his prudent administration the monastic buildings and church received many useful and costly additions. At great expense he built the suite of rooms afterwards known as "the King's lodgings," and added more than one chapel to the time-honoured sanctuary of Glastonbury. His care for the poor was

* B. Mus. Cott. MS. Vit. A. 16, f. 1667.

† "Hist. MSS. Report," i. p. 107.

manifested by the almshouses he established, and the thought he bestowed on the prudent ordering of the lowly spital of St. Margaret's, Taunton. Beyond this, Bere was a learned man, as well as a careful administrator, and even Erasmus submitted to his judgment. In a letter written a few years later this great scholar records how he had long known the reputation of the Abbot of Glastonbury. His bosom friend, Richard Pace, the well-known ambassador of Wolsey in many difficult negotiations, had told him how to Bere's liberality he owed his education, and his success in life to his judicious guidance. For this reason, Erasmus, who had made a translation of the sacred Scriptures from the Greek, which he thought possessed a "more polished style" than St. Jerome's version, submitted his work to the judgment of the Abbot. Bere opposed the publication, and Erasmus bowed to the Abbot's opinion, which in after-years he acknowledged as correct.* Henry, who ever delighted in the company of learned men, must have been pleased with the entertainment he received at Glastonbury, where the whole cost was borne by the Abbot.† It is possibly, by reason of the knowledge the king then derived of the great abilities of Bere, that six years afterwards, in 1503, he made choice of him to carry the congratulations of England to Cardinal John Angelo de Medicis, when he ascended the pontifical throne as Pius IV.

The troubles of Somerset did not end with the retirement of the royal troops. Though the country did not rise in support of the Cornish movement, it appears to have somewhat sympathized with it, and at Wells Lord Audley joined the insurgents as their leader. For this sympathy Henry made them pay; and the rebel's line of march can be traced by the record of the heavy fines levied upon those who had been supposed to have "aided and comforted" them. Sir Amyas Paulet—the first Paulet of Hinton St. George—was one of the commissioners sent to extort this pecuniary punishment, and from his record it would appear that nearly all Somerset was fined. The abbots of Forde and Cleeve, of Muchelney and Athelney, with others, had extended their charity to the starving insurgents, and Sir Amyas made them pay somewhat smartly for their pity. Somehow Glastonbury appears to have escaped the general penalty; probably the abbot's entertainment of the king saved the abbey, although some of the townsfolk did not escape the fine.‡ This severe

* Ep. lib. xviii. Ep. 46; Warner's Glaston. p. 213.

† The Wardrobe accounts show that whilst the king had to pay somewhat heavily for his stay at Wells, his entertainment at Glastonbury cost nothing.

‡ R.O. Chapter House, Misc. Box. 152, No. 24. See also Somerset Archæol. Soc. 1879.

treatment must have had more than a passing effect. Its memory would have been still fresh in the minds of the people of Somerset, and have acted as a warning, when forty years afterwards Henry VIII. attacked the liberties of the Church, and in destroying the monasteries robbed the poor of their patrimony.

Meantime Richard Whiting had witnessed these troubles, which came so near home, from the seclusion of the monastic enclosure in which he had been preparing for the reception of sacred orders. The bishop, Dr. Oliver King, had not remained in his diocese after the public reception of the king. He was engaged in the secular affairs of the kingdom, and his episcopal functions were relegated to the care of a suffragan, Dr. Thomas Cornish, titular bishop of Tinos,* and at this time Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Wells, and chancellor of the diocese. From the hands of this prelate Dom Richard Whiting received the minor order of acolyte in the month of September 1498. In the two succeeding years he was made sub-deacon and deacon, and on the 6th March, 1501, he was elevated to the sacred order of the Priesthood.† The ordination was held in Wells by the same Dr. Cornish in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, by the cathedral cloisters—a chapel long since destroyed. It was a large ordination, comprising a Benedictine from the monastery of Bath, a Carthusian from Witham, and five seculars as priests, together with thirteen deacons, seven sub-deacons, and ten acolytes.

For the next five and twenty years we know very little about Richard Whiting. It is more than probable that his life was passed entirely in the seclusion of the cloister and in the exercise of the duties imposed upon him by obedience. In 1505 the register of the University of Cambridge shows that he returned there, and took his final degree as Doctor in Theology. In his monastery he held the office of "Camerarius," or Chamberlain, which would give him the care of the dormitory, lavatory, and wardrobe of the community, and place him over the numerous officials and servants necessary to this office in so important and vast an establishment as Glastonbury then was.

In the month of February, 1525, Abbot Bere died, after worthily presiding over the monastery for more than thirty years. A few days later, on February 11, the religious in holy orders, at that time forty-seven in number, met in the chapter-

* Stubbs' *Regist. Ang.* Thos. Cornish "Tinensis," Suff. of Wells 1486-1513; Master of St. John's Host. Wells 1483; Provost of Oriel Coll. Oxon. 1493; Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Wells, 1497; Chancellor of Wells, 1499; Precentor, 1502; Vicar Chewe Mag., 1505; do. Oxbridge, 1489; do. Wokly, &c. &c. He was also Suffragan of Exeter 1487-1505.

† *Reg. O. King*, Bath, &c.

house to elect a successor. They were presided over by their Prior, Dom Henry Coliner, and on his proposition it was agreed that five days were to be left for consideration and discussion, and that the final vote would be taken on the 16th. On that day, after a solemn Mass *de Spiritu Sancto* had been celebrated at the high altar of the conventual church at an early hour, the "great bell" of the monastery called the monks together once more into Chapter. The proceedings were begun by the singing of the "Veni Creator," with its versicle and prayer, and then Dom Robert Clerk, the sacrist, read aloud the form of citation to those having a right to vote, followed by a roll-call of the names of the monks of the monastery, both of these having remained fixed to the doors of the chapter-house since the last meeting. The reading of the document and list having been concluded, the book of the Holy Gospels was carried in turn to each of the monks, who laying his hand upon it and kissing it, swore to make choice of him whom in conscience he thought most worthy. Then forthwith the Prior, in his own name and in that of the community, read a protest against any taking part in the coming election who through suspension or otherwise were debarred by law from so doing. And after this, one Mr. William Benet, acting as the canonical adviser of the community, read aloud the constitution of the General Council, "*Quia propter*," and carefully explained the various methods of election to the brethren. After which the religious with one mind determined to proceed by the method of compromise (*per formam compromissi*), which placed the choice in the hands of some individual of note, and unanimously appointed Cardinal Wolsey to make choice of their Abbot.

The following day the Prior wrote to the Cardinal of York, begging him to accept the charge. He, after having obtained the royal permission,* and allowed a fortnight to go by for inquiry and consideration, on March 3,† in the chapel of his palace at York Place, declared Richard Whiting the object of his choice. The Cardinal's commission to instal the elect was handed to the deputation from the abbey, Dom John Glastonbury the cellarer and Dom John Benet the sub-prior, and it spoke in the highest terms of Whiting. He was described as "an upright and religious monk, besides a provident and discrete man; a priest commendable for his life, virtues, and learning. . . . He has shown himself" watchful and circumspect "in both spirituals and temporals, and he has knowledge and determination to uphold the rights of his monastery."‡ This instrument, drawn up by a notary and signed by the Cardinal and three

* Pat. Rot.

† Hearne's "*Adam de Domerham*," No. 7, Ap. xcvii.

‡ *Adam de Domerham, ut sup.*

tracting from the people of Somerset the fines levied for their supposed sympathy with Perkin Warbeck and the Cornish rebels. All the Abbot's witnesses testify that he had always borne the highest character, not alone in Somerset, but elsewhere beyond the limits of the diocese, and that none had ever heard anything but good of him. One of those that so testified was Dom Richard Beneall, a native of Bristol, and for nineteen years an inmate of the monastery of Glastonbury, who said that Dom Richard Whiting had all those years been reputed a monk of exemplary piety.

When this lengthy and strict scrutiny was finished the Commissioners on the Cardinal's part declared the confirmation of the elect. Then after the usual oath of obedience to the bishop of the diocese, Bishop John Clarke, had been taken by the Abbot, he received the solemn blessing in his own great Abbey Church from Dr. William Gilbert, Abbot of Bruton and Bishop of Mayo in Ireland, at that time acting as suffragan to the Bishop of Bath and Wells.* A few days afterwards the formalities of the installation were completed by the restitution of the Abbot's temporalities.†

To Whiting himself the sudden change from a subordinate and minor office to that of head in so important a monastery must have been as startling as unwelcome. He had clearly not been one to seek for power or expect preferment, and now it had pleased Providence to place upon him the burden of a large religious house, with its thousand interests and requirements, to create him a peer of Parliament, and make him master of great estates. Four parks, teeming with game, domains and manors of great extent and number, bringing to the monastery an income of about £3000 a year in money, gave him a position and influence of the highest importance in Somerset, and even in England. "The house is great, goodly, and so princely as we have not seen the like," ‡ writes those whom, some years later, Thomas Cromwell sent to seize the land for Henry.

The antiquary Hearne has described for us the Abbot's dwelling-house as it existed on his visit to the town in 1712, and as such a description helps us to fill in the picture of Abbot Whiting's surroundings, and so more vividly to realize his life at Glastonbury, we cannot refrain from quoting a portion of it:

It stood [he says] south of the great hall, and the main of the

* The whole of the facts here recorded about Abbot Whiting's election are to be found in a document at the end of the Register of Bishop Clarke, Bath and Wells diocese. We have given a detailed account of the election, &c., to show the extreme caution then used in these matters.

† Pat. Rot. 16, Hen. VIII., p. 1, m. 38. ‡ State Papers, i. p. 620.

canonized, rested in the chapel newly finished by Abbot Bere. Then the Chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea, with its halo of legend, attracted large numbers of pilgrims, and the head of St. Dunstan, the relics of St. Patrick and St. Gildas, with others, each in their own separate chapels, combined to make Glastonbury an object of veneration and renown.

Into this noble sanctuary the good people of the town crowded on that March morning in the year 1425 to hear what selection the great Cardinal had made for their future lord and father. And as the voices of the monks died away with the last "Amen" to the prayer of thanksgiving to God for mercies to their House, Mr. Richard Watkins, the notary public, at the request of the Prior and his brethren, turned to the people, and from off the steps of the great altar proclaimed in English the due election of Brother Richard Whiting. Then as the people streamed forth from the church bearing the welcome news, the monks returned to Chapter for the completion of the required formalities. And first, the free consent of the elect himself had to be obtained, and he remained unwilling to take the burden of so high an office. He had betaken himself to the guest-house, called "the hostrye," and thither Dom William Walter and Dom John Winchcombe repaired, as deputed by the rest, to bring him to consent. At first he remained determined to refuse, and at last demanded some little time for thought and prayer; but a few hours after, "being," as he declared, "unwilling any longer to offer resistance to what appeared the will of God," he yielded to their solicitations, and accepted the dignity and burden.

Then on his acceptance being notified to the Cardinal, he sent two commissioners to conduct the canonical investigations as to the fitness of the elect for the office. On March 25 these officials arrived at the monastery, and early on the morning following, the Prior and monks came in procession to the Conventual Church, that they might summon any to appear and state any reasons they might have knowledge of which ought to debar Whiting from being confirmed as Abbot. After this the like obligation was laid in Chapter on the monks, and once more, at noon, the decree was published to a "great multitude" in the church, and afterwards in public fixed against the great doors of the Abbey Church.

At three in the afternoon of March 28, as no one had appeared to object against the election, the procurator of the Abbot Dom John, of Glastonbury, produced his witnesses as to age and character. Amongst them was Sir Amyas Paulet, of Hinton St. George, who declared that he had known the elect for eight-and-twenty years, which was just the time when Henry VII. had visited Glastonbury, and Sir Amyas had been occupied in ex-

tracting from the people of Somerset the fines levied for their supposed sympathy with Perkin Warbeck and the Cornish rebels. All the Abbot's witnesses testify that he had always borne the highest character, not alone in Somerset, but elsewhere beyond the limits of the diocese, and that none had ever heard anything but good of him. One of those that so testified was Dom Richard Beneall, a native of Bristol, and for nineteen years an inmate of the monastery of Glastonbury, who said that Dom Richard Whiting had all those years been reputed a monk of exemplary piety.

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building ran north and south. The front of it was towards the west, and was built almost in the form of a great Roman E.

It was only three stories high, and, as near as I can remember, had ten large stone windows on each floor in the front. To come into this apartment you mounted half a dozen or more large handsome stone steps, which led you into several stately rooms, which for the most part were all wainscotted with oak, the ceilings as well as the sides of the rooms. In divers panels of the wainscot (particularly in the ceilings and over the chimneys) there were neatly carved the arms of England. . . . Up one pair of stairs at the south end of the building stood, as I was told, the abbot's bed-chamber. It was, as near as I can guess, about 18 feet in length and about 14 feet in breadth. It had in it an old bedstead without tester or post, was boarded at bottom, and had a board nailed shelving at the head. This bedstead, according to the tradition of the place, was the same that Abbot Whiting laid on, and I was desired to observe it as a curiosity. The apartment was much out of repair when I saw it. It rained in in many places, by the roofs being faulty in many places. Several panels of the wainscot were shattered. The windows were much broken, and some of them unglazed.*

But, great though his position undoubtedly was, Abbot Whiting's lot had been cast in times of trouble for those who would do their duty to God. Even with his election came the first indication of the gathering storm. Within two months from the day when he was installed as Abbot the creation of Sir Thomas Boleyn as Viscount Rochfort† marked the first step in the King's illicit affection for the new peer's daughter Anne. Four years of wavering counsels as to Henry's desired divorce from Catherine led in 1529 to the humiliation and fall of the hitherto all-powerful Cardinal of York.

Circumstances combined to collect in the social atmosphere at this time dangerous elements fraught with destructive power against the Church in England. The long and deadly feud between the two "Roses" had swept away the pride and flower of the old noble families. The stability which the traditions and prudent counsels of the ancient nobility gave to the ship of State was gone when it was most needed to weather the rising storm of revolutionary ideas. The new peers who were created in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to take the places of the old had no sympathy, either by birth or inclination, with the traditions of the past. Many of them were mere place-hunters and political adventurers eager to profit by every disturbance of

* Hearne's "Glastonbury," p. 72. The house was shortly afterwards destroyed. Hearne was told that no one would occupy it, since misfortune always attended those who had attempted to live there.

† June 18, 1525.

the social order. Their own interests caused them to range themselves in the restless ranks of the party of innovation. Those who have nothing to lose are almost proverbially on the side of disorder and change. The "official" also, the creation of the Tudor monarchs, was by nature restless and discontented. Working for the most inadequate salaries, such men were ever on the look-out for some lucky chance of supplementing their pay. Success in life depended on their attracting to themselves the notice of their royal master, and they competed one with the other in fulfilling his wishes, satisfying his whims, and pandering to his desires.*

At the head of all was, in Henry VIII., a king of unbounded desires, and one whose only code of right and wrong sprang, at least in the second half of his reign, from considerations of power to accomplish what he wished. What he could do was the measure of what he might lawfully attempt. Sir Thomas More, after he had himself retired from office, in his warning to the rising Crumwell, rightly gauged the character of the King. "Mark Crumwell," he said, "you are now entered the service of a most noble, wise, and liberal prince; if you will follow my poor advice, you shall in your counsel given to his Grace, ever tell him what he *ought* to do, but not what he is *able* to do. For if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him." †

Nor, unfortunately, were the clergy of the time fitted to cope with the forces of revolution, or resist the rising tide of novelties. In the days when might was right, and the force of arms the ruling power of the world, the occupation of peace, to which the clergy were bound, called forth the sneers and excited hostile and violent opposition from the party now rising to power. The bishops were, with few honourable exceptions, mere Court officials pensioned out of ecclesiastical revenues. Chosen to their high offices by royal favour rather than because of their special aptitude to look after the spiritual welfare of their dioceses, they appear, perhaps not unnaturally, to have had little heart in their work. As the holding of a See was too frequently regarded as a temporary position, and as an earnest of appointment to another bishopric pecuniarily or socially more advantageous, a bishop's energies were directed to obtain this preferment rather than to the management of his present district. This place-seeking often kept the lords spiritual at Court, that they might gain or maintain sufficient influence to support their claims to

* *Vide* P. Friedmann's "Anne Boleyn," vol. i. p. 27, &c., where this is clearly and admirably well stated.

† Quoted in Foss's "Judges of England," ed. 1857, vol. v. p. 149.

further promotion. It was the King they looked to, not the Church. Too often, also, the bishop of an important See would be occupied in the management of the secular affairs of State, and perhaps paid for these services by the emoluments of his ecclesiastical office. To the King all looked for hope of reward, and to royalty they clung as long as there was prospect of success. The Church had no favours to give except by the King's hands, and "even cardinals' hats were bestowed only on royal recommendation." * Only when declining years made the struggle for position less possible, or when failure to please made absence from Court advisable, did the Bishop in many instances come to spend his remaining years and devote his expiring energies to his flock. The worship of wealth and influence, the struggle after power and position in which too many Churchmen joined, and the employment of energy, which should have been devoted to purposes ecclesiastical, upon the secular business of State, were at the commencement of the sixteenth century constantly at work sapping the very life of the Church in England.

The practice followed in more than one instance of rewarding foreigners by nominating them to vacant Sees in return for services rendered, was also most obviously detrimental to the well-being of the Church. At one time, about this period, the three bishoprics of Salisbury, Worcester, and Llandaff, were all held in this way by those whose only interest in the dioceses appears to have been the fees they obtained from them.

As we have noted incidentally in the case of Bath and Wells, so elsewhere very generally the functions of the episcopate were relegated to suffragans, who not unfrequently did duty for more than one diocese. Upon these auxiliaries, rectories or other ecclesiastical preferments were bestowed in lieu of payment. The bishops themselves took all the fees earned by their auxiliaries, who in their turn left their rectories in the hands of curates. Neglect of duty more or less extended to the entire body of the clergy. The result was lamentable. Dr. Edward Lee, the successor of Wolsey in the archiepiscopal See of York, reports in 1534 that in the whole of his diocese he could find only twelve of the parochial clergy able and willing to preach to their people.†

For many successive years the diocese of Bath and Wells knew its bishops more by report and through the fees paid than from personal contact. From the death of Bishop Beckington in 1464 the work of the See had been almost invariably carried on by commissioners "in spiritualibus" and suffragans. Bishop Still-

* P. Friedmann, i. p. 137.

† R.O. : Box ^R₆₀. Strype, Ecc. Mem. i. p. 291.

ington, who had opposed Henry VII. as Earl of Richmond, and had tried to entrap him at St. Malo's, had, after the battle of Bosworth, been consigned to six years' "gentle imprisonment" at Windsor, and the affairs of the diocese had been more than ever neglected. From not being occupied and neglect, the very episcopal palace at Wells had long been unfurnished, and had fallen into utter ruin and decay. What can be said in defence even of so good a man as Richard Fox? An excellent example in those days, still his episcopal duties sat so lightly upon his conscience, that though he was consecrated as Bishop of Exeter in 1487, removed to Bath and Wells in 1491, and translated to Durham in December 1494, he yet never saw his cathedral at Exeter, nor set foot in his diocese of Bath and Wells.

And beyond the disastrous effect on the clergy of this occupation of bishops in the affairs of State, it had another result. It created a jealous opposition to ecclesiastics in the minds of the new nobility. The lay lords and hungry officials not unnaturally looked upon this employment of ecclesiastics, and their occupation in all the intrigues of party politics, and in the wiles and crafty business of foreign and domestic diplomacy, as conducing to keep them out of coveted preferment. They did not consequently need much inducement when occasion offered to turn against the clergy, and enable Henry to carry out his coercive legislation against the Church.

The state of ecclesiastical disorganization thus briefly sketched was without doubt reflected in the great monastic and religious bodies throughout England. The civil dissensions of the previous century must have told against their discipline, and engendered a spirit of unrest wholly alien to the cloistered life. They had never indeed recovered from the effects of the deadly sickness and plagues which had ravaged the country a hundred and fifty years before, decimating the inmates of the monasteries, and rendering those who survived physically incapable of carrying out their former practices and austerities. Hence, although every document that comes to light tends to show the falsity of the calumnies heaped upon the religious houses by the emissaries of Henry VIII., it is certain that they had fallen from the fervour of earlier days, and that here and there some individual case of serious delinquency might be found. But it is not less certain that the monks as a body were sound, that the system of visitation was kept up in full vigour, and detection and punishment followed fault; and that the communities had not in any way forfeited the affection and esteem of the people who were around them and who knew them best.

Five years after Abbot Whiting had entered on his office the fall of Cardinal Wolsey opened the way for the advancement of

Thomas Crumwell, the instrument or the contriver of the change of religion in England, on the fall of which he built up his own fortunes. For ten years England groaned beneath his sway—in truth a reign of terror unparalleled in the long history of our country. To power he mounted and power he maintained by offering himself as subservient to every whim of a monarch, the strength of whose passions was only equalled by the remorselessness and tenacity with which he pursued his ends.

His old master Wolsey had told Sir William Kingston, almost with his dying breath, that Henry for a whim would imperil one half of his kingdom. "I do assure you," he said, "I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail." Crumwell fully understood before entering on his new service what were its conditions, and neither will nor ability were lacking in their fulfilment. Under his management, at once skilful and rough, he mastered the action of Parliament and paralyzed that of the Convocation of the Clergy, moulding them both to the will of the king. Though the clergy struggled for a time against his determination to be supreme head of the Church of England, and to break with Rome, they finally gave way, and on November 3, 1534, the "Act of Supremacy" was hurried through Parliament. A second Act made it treason to deny this new prerogative.

It is difficult for us to understand how it was possible for the king to secure the passing of these Acts. But in considering them it is necessary to bear in mind the nature of the assembly by which they were voted. In the time of Henry VIII. the House of Commons was not really an elective body at all. The members were representatives of the king's will, and were in fact nominated by him. For this special assembly every attempt was made to secure members pliant to the king's designs.* Mr. Friedmann's researches into the State papers of this period have enabled him to assert that the system of packing the Parliament was carried out very completely at the time of this attack on the supremacy of the Pope. "The House of Lords," writes Chapuys, "has been carefully packed, many of the members having received no writs, others having been excused from attending."†

It is impossible within the narrow limits of an article even to attempt to sketch the chain of events which led to the destruction of Glastonbury and Abbot Whiting's martyrdom. The time has passed when that great act in the drama of the Protestant Revolution called the Dissolution of the Monasteries can be ascribed

* Cf. Cobbett's "Parliamentary History," i. p. 507; P. Friedmann's "Anne Boleyn," i. p. 100, &c.

† Chapuys to Charles V., March 31, 1533, quoted by Mr. Friedmann.

to righteous indignation at the enormities of monks, or even neglect on their part to the ordinary duties of their state in either religious or civil aspect. Though relinquished by some, even instructed persons, with regret, the legend is no longer tenable. The latest and most careful ecclesiastical historian of England has described the suppression simply as an "enormous scheme for filling the royal purse,"* and this is the sum and truth of the matter. As his guilty passion for Anne Boleyn is the key to one half of the acts of the succeeding years of Henry's reign, so is the need of money to gratify his other appetites the key to the other. In this, so far as the king himself is concerned, lies the secret of the fall of Wolsey. And as years went on, rapacity, insatiable and incredibly mean, kept pace with his prodigal extravagance. From the seizure of the first of the lesser religious houses to the fall of Glastonbury, the greatest, the most magnificent, the richest of them all, the money, the plate, the jewels, the gain was the one thought of the king's heart in this business. To this end every engine was devised, conscience was trodden under foot, and blood was spilt. With the evident pretext of falling on the religious houses by making the oath of supremacy intolerable to their inmates, says Mr. Dixon,† there was presented to them

"a far more severe and explicit form of oath than that which More and Fisher had refused, than that which the Houses of Parliament and the secular clergy had consented to take. They were required to swear not only that the chaste and holy marriage between Henry and Anne was just and legitimate, and the succession good in their offspring," but "also that they would ever hold the king to be head of the Church of England, that the Bishop of Rome, who in his bulls usurped the name of Pope and arrogated to himself the primacy of the most High Pontiff, had no more authority and jurisdiction than other bishops of England or elsewhere in their dioceses, and that they would for ever renounce the laws, decrees, canons of the Bishop of Rome, if any of them should be found contrary to the law of God and Holy Scripture."‡

The scheme failed, "for the oath was taken in almost every chapter-house where it was tendered,"§ among the rest, on September 19, 1534, by the Abbot and monks of Glastonbury.

It is easy, at this lapse of time and in the light of fatal subsequent events, to be loud in our reprobation; to wonder how

* Dixon, i. 456. The Ven. John Beche, Abbot of Colchester, is reported to Crumwell as saying: "The king and his council were drawn into such an inordinate covetousness that if all the water in Thames were flowing gold and silver, it were not able to slake their covetousness." (1539, R.O. State Pap. 207.)

† Vol. i. p. 213.

‡ P. 211.

§ P. 213.

throughout England the blessed John Fisher and Thomas More, and the observants, almost alone, should have been found from the beginning neither to hesitate nor waver. It is easy to make light of the shrinking of flesh and blood, easy to extol the palm of martyrdom. But it is not difficult too to see how to Abbot Whiting, no less than to blessed John Houghton and his other holy companions of the Charter House, reasons suggested themselves for temporizing. To most men at that date the possibility of a final separation from Rome must have seemed incredible. They remembered Henry in his earlier days, when he was never so immersed in business or in pleasure that he did not hear three or even five masses a day; they did not know him as Wolsey or Cromwell, or as More or Fisher knew him; the project must have seemed a momentary aberration, under the influence of evil passion or evil counsellors. He had at bottom a zeal for the faith and would return bye-and-bye to a better mind, a truer self, and would then come to terms with the Pope. Meantime the oath was susceptible of lenient interpretation. The idea of the headship was not absolutely new: it had in a measure been conceded some years before, without, so far as appears, exciting remonstrance from Rome. Beyond this, to many the oath of royal supremacy of the Church of England was never understood as derogatory to the See of Rome. It requires, moreover, no very deep reading of the letters and papers of this period to see that the necessity of the Papal Supremacy was but little understood. Even blessed Thomas More declared that, till the question had been proposed, and in a course of study extending over seven years he had examined into it, he had never realized that the primacy of the Apostolic See was a point of vital importance to the Catholic faith. Beyond this, to many the oath of royal supremacy of the Church of England was never understood as derogatory to the See of Rome. Even those who had taken this oath were in many instances surprised that it should be construed into any such hostility.*

However strained this temper of mind may appear to us at this time, it undoubtedly existed. One example may be here cited. Among the State Papers in the Record Office for the year 1539 is a long harangue as to the execution of three Benedictine abbots in which the writer refers to such a view:

"I cannot think the contrary [he writes], but the old Bishop of London [Stokesley], when he was on live, used the pretty medicine that his

* Letters and Papers, viii. Nos. 277, 387, &c., &c., are instances of the temper of mind described above. No. 387 especially is very significant as showing the *gloss* men put on their supremacy oath, distinguishing tacitly between Church of England and Catholic Church, and "in temporalibus," and "in spiritualibus."

fellow, Friar Forrest, was wont to use, and to work with an inward man and an outward man; that is to say, to speak one thing with their mouth and then another thing with their heart. Surely a very pretty medicine for popish hearts. But it worked madly for some of their parts. Gentle Hugh Cook * by his own confession used not the self-same medicine that Friar Forrest used, but another much like unto it, which was this: what time as the spirituality were sworn to take the king's grace for the supreme head, immediately next under God of this Church of England, Hugh Cook receiving the same oath added prettily in his own conscience these words following: "of the temporal church," saith he, "but not of the spiritual church."

Nor from another point of view is this want of appreciation as to the true foundation of the papal primacy a subject for unmixed astonishment. During the last half-century the Popes had reigned in a Court of unexampled splendour, but a splendour essentially mundane. It was a dazzling sight, but all this outward show made it difficult to recognize the divinely ordered spiritual prerogatives which are the enduring heritage of the successors of St. Peter. The dignified titles expressing those prerogatives had passed unquestioned in the schools and in common speech in the world, but from this there is a wide step to the apprehension of the living truths they express, and a further step to that intense personal realization which makes those truths dearer to a man than life.

To some that realization came sooner, to some later: some men there are who see clearly the point at issue and its full import. They are ready with their answer at once without seeking or faltering. Others answer to the call at the third, maybe the eleventh hour; the cause is the same, and so is the reward, though to the late comer the respite may perhaps have been only a prolongation of the agony.

Within a year from the general oath-taking throughout England, and its failure to bring about the hoped-for result, Crumwell, ever fertile in expedients, had organized a general visitation of the monasteries. The instruments he made choice of to conduct this scrutiny, and the methods they employed, leave no doubt that the real object was the destruction of the monasteries under the cloak of reformation. The injunctions are minute and exacting; in detail many were excellent; as a whole, even in the hands of persons sincerely desirous of improving discipline and observance, they must have proved unworkable. In the hands of Crumwell's agents they were, as they were designed to be, intolerable. It was rightly calculated that under the guise of restoring discipline they would effectually strike at

* The Venerable Hugh Cook of Reading.

the authority of religious superiors by the encouragement given to a system of tale-bearing by all and sundry, but especially of seniors by the young ; by other provisions the monasteries were with much show of zeal for religion turned practically into prisons, and generally to reduce them in very deed, if it were possible, to such abodes of misery and unhappiness as the uninformed Protestant imagination pictures them to be.* The moral of this treatment is summed up by John ap-Rice and Thomas Legh, two of the agents, in a letter to Crumwell :

By this ye may see [they write] that they [the religious] shall not need to be put forth, but that they will make instant suit themselves, so that their doing shall be imputed to themselves and no other. Although I reckon it well done that all were out, yet I think it were best that at their own suits they might be dismissed to avoid calumination and envy,† *and so compelling them to observe these injunctions ye shall have them all to do shortly.‡*

Armed with a commission to visit and enforce the injunctions, Dr. Richard Layton, as his own letters testify the most foul-mouthed and foul-minded ribald of them all, came to Glastonbury on Saturday, August 21, 1535. From St. Augustine's, Bristol, whither he turned his steps on the following Monday, he wrote to Crumwell a letter showing that even he, chief among a crew who "could ask unmoved such questions as no other human beings could have imagined or known how to put, who could extract guilt from a stammer, a tremble, or a blush, or even from indignant silence as surely as from open confession" §—even Layton retired baffled from Glastonbury under the venerable Abbot Whiting's rule: "At Bruton and Glastonbury," he explains, "there is nothing notable, the brethren be so straight kept that they cannot offend ; but fain they would if they might, as they confess, and so the fault is not with them."|| After this who shall say that even Layton could not on occasion throw the mantle of charity over the shortcomings of his neighbour?

The same visitor, Dr. Layton, at this period, it would seem, spoke in praise of Abbot Whiting to the King. For this error of judgment, when some time later Crumwell had assured himself of the Abbot's temper, he has to sue for pardon from both King and Minister. "I must therefore now," he writes, "in this my necessity most humbly beseech your Lordship to pardon me for that my folly then committed, as ye have done many times before,

* Cf. Dixon, i. 377-80.

† He means *invidia*—public odium.

‡ R.O. : Crumwell Corr. xxii. No. 18. Written Oct. 1534.

§ Dixon, i. p. 357.

|| Wright, "Suppression of Monast.," Camden. Soc., p. 59.

and of your goodness to mitigate the King's Highness Majesty in the premisses." *

Hardly had the visitors departed than it was found at Glastonbury, as elsewhere, that the injunctions were not merely impracticable, but subversive of the first principles of religious discipline. Whiting, like so many abbots, begged for some mitigation, and Nicholas Fitzjames,† a neighbour, wrote an urgent letter to Crumwell in support of the Abbot's petition.‡ A month later the latter again ventures to present a grievance of another kind, affecting others besides his community; the inconvenience arising from the suspension of all jurisdiction he had been used to have over the town of Glastonbury and its dependencies. There are many "poor people," he says "who are waiting to have their causes tried," and he cannot believe that Henry's pleasure has been rightly stated in Dr. Layton's orders.§

Though there is no reason to suppose that Abbot Whiting acted differently from other of his brethren in acquiescing without remonstrance in the passing of the Act relating to the suppression of the lesser monasteries in February 1536, there can be no doubt that the proceedings taken under it, and beyond it (in the suppression of many greater monasteries also), must have filled the minds of men of Whiting's stamp with deep anxiety, as revealing more and more clearly the settled purpose of the King. "All the wealth of the world would not be enough to satisfy and content his ambition," writes Marillac, the French ambassador, to his master, Francis I. To enrich himself he would not hesitate to ruin all his subjects.|| The State papers of the period bear ample witness to the justice of this sweeping statement.¶ The monasteries which were yet allowed to stand were drained of their resources by ever-increasing demands on the part of Henry and his creatures. Farm after farm, manor after manor were yielded up in compliance with requests that were in reality demands: pensions in ever-increasing numbers were charged on monastic lands at the asking of those it was impossible to refuse.

Abbot Whiting was allowed no immunity from this species of tyrannical oppression. The Abbey, for instance, had of their own free will granted to Sir Thomas More a corrody or annuity. On his disgrace Crumwell urged the King's "pleasure and commandment" that this annuity should be transferred to him under the

* R.O.: Crum. Corr. vol. xx. No. 14

† Probably a relative of Judge Fitz-James, and grandfather of the first monk professed at St. Gregory's, Douay.

‡ Wright, &c, p. 64.

§ R.O.: Crum. Corr. xiii. f. 58.

|| Inventaire analytique. Corr. politique de MM. Castillon et Marillac, 1537-1542. Ed. J. Kaulek. No. 242.

¶ The fifty-two volumes of Crumwell's Correspondence in the Record Office contain abundant evidence of this.

"convent seal." For a friend Crumwell asks (and for the King's vicegerent to ask was to receive) "the advocacy of our parish church of Monketon, albeit that it was the first time that ever such a grant was made." A second request for the living of Batcombe, Whiting was unable to comply with, since another of the King's creatures had been beforehand and secured the prize. In one instance an office which Crumwell had already asked and obtained from the Abbot, he a few months after demands for his friend "Mr. Maurice Berkeley," and because the place was already gone, requests the Abbot will in lieu thereof give the rents of "his farm at Northwood Park." Whiting took an accurate view of the situation: "If you request it, I must grant it," he says; and adds, "I trust your servant will be content with the park itself, and ask no more." *

To understand the closing acts of the venerable Abbot's life, it is necessary to premise a few words on suppression in its legal aspect. There seems to be abroad an impression that the monasteries were dissolved by Parliament, and accordingly that a refusal of surrender, such as is found at Glastonbury, was an act, however morally justifiable as a refusal to betray a trust, and even heroic when resistance entailed the last penalty, yet in defiance of the law of the land. And, for instance, in this particular case of Glastonbury, that when insisting on its surrender the King was only requiring that to be given up into his hands which Parliament had already conferred on him. However common the impression, it is not accurate. What the Act (27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28) of February 1536 did was to give to the King and his heirs only such monasteries as were under the yearly value of £200, or such as should within a "year next after the making of" the Act "be given or granted to his Majesty by any abbot, &c. So far therefore from giving to the King the goods of all the monasteries, the Act distinctly recognizes, at least in the case of all save the lesser ones, the rights of their present owners, and contemplates their passing to the King's hands by the cession of the actual possessors. How this surrender was to be brought about was left to the King and Crumwell, and the minions on whose devices there is no need to dwell. Before a recalcitrant superior, who would yield neither to blandishments, bribery, nor threats, the King, so far as the Act would help him, was powerless.

For this case, however, provision was made, though but indirectly, in the Act of April 1539 (31 Hen. VIII. cap. 13). This Act, which included a retrospective clause covering the illegal

* Record Office: Crum. Corr. xiii. Nos. 59 to 65; Letters of Abbot Whiting.

suppression of the greater monasteries, grants to him all monasteries, &c. &c., which shall hereafter happen to be dissolved, suppressed, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, given up, or come into the King's Highness. These terms seem wide enough, but there is an ominous parenthesis referring to such others as "shall happen to come to the King's Highness by attainder or attainders of treason." The clause did not find its way into the Act unawares. We shall see it was Crumwell's care how and in whose case it was to become operative. And with just so much of countenance as is thus given him by the Act, with the King to back him, the monasteries of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester, from which no surrender could be obtained, "were, against every principle of received law, held to fall by the attainder of their abbots for high treason." *

The very existence of the clause is, moreover, evidence that by this time Crumwell knew that among the superiors of the few monasteries yet standing there were men with whom, if the King was not to be balked of his intent, the last conclusions would have to be tried. To him the necessity would have been paramount, by every means in his power, to sweep away what he rightly regarded as the strongholds of the Papal power in the country, and to get rid of these "spies of the Pope."† Such unnatural enemies of their prince and gracious lord would fittingly be singled out first, that their fate might serve as a warning to other intending evil-doers. Perhaps, too, Whiting's repute for blamelessness of life, the discipline which he was known to maintain in his monastery, and his great territorial influence, may all have gone to point him out as an eminently proper subject to proceed against, as showing that where the crime of resistance to the King's will was concerned there could be no such thing as an extenuating circumstance, no consideration which could mitigate the penalty.

In the story of what follows we are continually hampered by the singularly defective nature of the various records relating to the closing years of Crumwell's administration. This holds good in particular with regard to the three Benedictine abbots who suffered in 1539. We are therefore frequently left to supply links by conjectures, but conjectures in which, from the broad facts of the case, and such documentary evidence as remains, there is sufficient assurance of being in the main correct.

It was in the autumn that final steps began to be taken in regard to the monastery of Glastonbury and its venerable Abbot. Among Crumwell's "Remembrances" of things to do, or to speak to the king about, still extant in his own hand-writing,

* Hallam, "Constit. Hist." i. 72. † R.O.: Crum. Corr. xv. No. 7.

about the beginning of September this year occurs the following : "Item. For proceeding against the Abbots of Reading, Glaston and the other in their countries." * From this it is clear that some time between the passing of the Act in April and September these abbots must have been sounded, and that compliance was not to be expected. By the sixteenth of this month Crumwell's design had been communicated to his familiar Layton, and had elicited from him a reply in which he abjectly asks pardon for having praised the Abbot at the time of the visitation. "The Abbot of Glastonbury," he adds, "appeareth neither then nor now to have known God, nor his prince, nor any part of a good Christian man's religion." † Three days later, on Friday, September 19, the Royal Commissioners, Layton, Pollard, and Moyle, suddenly arrived at Glastonbury about ten o'clock in the morning. The Abbot had not been warned of their intended visit, and was then at his grange of Sharpham, about a mile from the monastery. Thither they hurried "without delay," and after telling him their purpose, at once examined him "upon certain articles, and for that his answer was not then to our purpose, we advised him to call to his remembrance that which he had forgotten, and so declare the truth." ‡ Then they at once took him back to the abbey, and when night came on proceeded to search the Abbot's papers, and ransack his apartments "for letters and books, and found in his study, secretly laid, as well a written book of arguments against the divorce of the King's Majesty and the Lady Dowager, *which we take to be a great matter*, as also divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfeit life of Thomas Becket in print; but we could not find any letter that was material."

Furnished with these pieces of evidence as to the tendency of Whiting's opinions, the inquisitors proceeded further to examine him concerning the "articles we received from your lordship" (Crumwell). In his answers appeared, they considered, "his cankered and traitorous mind against the king's majesty and his succession." To these replies he signed his name, "and so with as fair words as" they could, "being but a very weak man and sickly," forthwith sent him up to London to the Tower, that Crumwell might examine him again."

The rest of the letter is significant of the purpose they knew their master would regard as most important :

As yet we have neither discharged servant nor monk; but now, the

* B. Mus. Coll. MS. Titus, B. i. f. 446 a.

† The whole of this account is from the letter of the Commissioners to Crumwell, in Wright, p. 255.

‡ R.O. : Crum. Corr. xx. 14; Ellis, 3rd series, iii.

Abbot being gone, we will, with as much celerity as we may, proceed to the dispatching of them. We have in money £300 and above; but the certainty of plate and other stuff there as yet we know not, for we have not had opportunity for the same; whereof we shall ascertain your lordship so shortly as we may. This is also to advertise your lordship that we have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which the Abbot had hid secretly from all such commissioners as have been there in times past; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same; whereby we think that he thought to make his hand by his untruth to his King's Majesty.

A week later, on September 28,* they again write to Crumwell that they "have daily found and tried out both money and plate," hidden in secret places in the abbey, and conveyed for safety to the country. They could not tell him how much they had so far discovered, but it was sufficient they thought, to have "begun a new abbey," and they conclude by asking what the king will have done in respect to the two monks who were the treasurers of the church, and the two lay clerks of the sacristy, who were chiefly to be held responsible in the matter.

On the 2nd October the inquisitors write again to their master to say that they have come to the knowledge of "divers and sundry treasons" committed by Abbot Whiting, "the certainty whereof shall appear unto your lordship in a book herein enclosed, with the accusers' names put to the same, which we think to be very high and rank treasons." The original letter, preserved in the Record Office, clearly shows by the creases in the soiled yellow paper that some small book or folded papers have been enclosed. Whatever it was, it is no longer forthcoming, and, as far as can be ascertained, is lost or destroyed. Just at the critical moment we are deprived, therefore, of the most interesting sources of information. In view, however, of the common sufferings of these abbots, who were dealt with together, their common cause, the common fate which befell them, and the common cause assigned by contemporary writers for their death—viz., their attainder "of high treason for denying the king to be supreme head of the Church," as Hall, the contemporary London lawyer, phrases it, there can be little doubt that these depositions were much of the same nature as those made against Thomas Marshall, Abbot of Colchester. The following is only a sample of these depositions; they were made on November 4, 1539, at the very time the inquiries were being made about Abbot Whiting. Both abbots were then in the Tower together. The deponents declare:†

The abbot was divers times commoning and reasoning against the

* Wright, p. 257.

† R.O. State Papers, v. 207.

King's Majesty's supremacy and such ordinances as were past by Act of the Parliament concerning the extinguishing of the Bp. of Rome's usurped authority; saying the whole authority was given by Christ unto Peter and to his successor the Bishop of Rome to bind and to lose, to grant pardons for sin, and to be Chief and Supreme Head of the Church throughout all Christian realms, immediately next under Christ. And that it was against God's commandment and his laws that any temporal prince should be head of the Church. And also, he said, that the King's Highness had evil counsel that moved him to take on and to be chief head of the Church of England, and to pull down these houses of religion which were founded by his Grace's progenitors, and many noble men, for the service and honour of God, the commonwealth and relief of poor folks. And that the same was both against God's law and man's law.

Whilst Layton and his fellows were rummaging at Glastonbury, Abbot Whiting was safely lodged in the Tower of London. There he was subjected to searching examinations. A note in Crumwell's own hand, entered in his "Remembrances," says: "Item. Certain persons to be sent to the Tower for the further examination of the Abbot of Glaston."*

At this time it was supposed that Parliament, which ought to have met on November 1 of this year, would be called upon to consider the charges against the Abbot. At least Marillac, the French Ambassador, who shows that he was always well informed on public matters, writes to his master that this is to be done. Even when the assembly was delayed till the arrival of the King's new wife, Ann of Cleves, he repeats that the decision of Whiting's case will now be delayed. He adds that "they have found a manuscript in favour of Queen Catherine, and against the marriage of Queen Anne, who was afterwards beheaded," which is objected against the Abbot.† Poor Catherine had been at rest in her grave for four years, and her rival in the affections of Henry had died on the scaffold nearly as many years before Layton and his fellow-inquisitors found the written book of arguments in Whiting's study, and "took it to be a great matter" against him. It is hardly likely that, even if more loyal to Catherine's memory than there is any possible reason to suppose, he would stick at a point where More and Fisher could yield and would not give in to the succession. But as in their case, it was the thorny questions which surrounded the divorce, the subject all perilous of "treason," which brought him at last, as it brought them first, to the crown of martyrdom.

It is more than strange that the ordinary procedure was in this

* B. Mus. Coll. MS. Titus, B. i. f. 441 a.

† "Inventaire Analytique," *ut sup.* No. 161.

case never carried out. According to all law, Whiting and the abbots of Reading and Colchester should have been arraigned for treason before Parliament, as they were members of the House of Peers, but no such "bill of attainder" was ever presented, and in fact the execution had taken place before the Parliament came together.

The truth is, that Whiting and the other abbots were condemned to death as the result of the secret inquisitions in the Tower. Crumwell, acting as "prosecutor, judge, and jury," * had arranged for their execution before they left their prison. What happened in the case of Whiting at Wells, and with Cook at Reading, was a ghastly mockery of justice, enacted merely to cover the illegal and iniquitous proceedings which had condemned them untried. This Crumwell has written down with his own hand. He notes in his "Remembrances" : †

"Item. Counsellors to give evidence against the Abbot of Glaston, Richard Pollard, Lewis Forstell, and Thomas Moyle." "Item. To see that the evidence be *well sorted* and the indictments *well drawn* against the said abbots and their accomplices." "Item. How the King's learned Counsel shall be with me all this day,‡ for the full

* Froude, Hist. iii. p. 432.

† *Ut sup.* ff. 441 a and b.

‡ In curious concord with the care of Crumwell in devoting the whole of one of his precious days to the final settlement of the indictment against the abbots, is the solicitude of his panegyrist Burnet (from whom, be it said, in fact though unwittingly, even Catholics have derived their ideas of so many men and events of the Reformation period) to "discover the impudence of Sanders" in his relation in the matter of the abbots' suffering for denying the King's supremacy, and to prove that they did not. It would take up too much space here to repose the mingled "impudence" and fraud of his own account of the matter. It may suffice to quote Collier on this point: "What the particulars were (of the abbots' attainder) our learned Church historian (Burnet) confesses 'he can't tell; for the record of their attainders is lost.' But, as he goes on, 'Some of our own writers (Hall, Grafton) deserve a severe censure, who write it was for denying, &c., the King's supremacy. Whereas if they had not undertaken to write the history without any information at all, they must have seen that the whole clergy, and especially the abbots, had over and over again acknowledged the King's supremacy.' But how does it appear our historians are mistaken? Has this gentleman seen the Abbot of Colchester's indictment or perused his record of attainder? He confesses no. How then is his censure made good? He offers no argument beyond conjecture. He concludes the Abbot of Colchester had formerly acknowledged the King's supremacy, and from thence infers he could not suffer now for denying it. But do not people's opinions alter sometimes, and conscience and courage improve? Did not Bishop Fisher and Cardinal Pool, at least as this author represents them, acknowledge the King's supremacy at first? and yet 'tis certain they afterwards showed themselves of another mind to a very remarkable degree. . . . Farther, does not himself tell us that many of the Carthusians were executed for their open denying the King's supre-

conclusion of the indictments;” and then, to sum up all: “Item. The Abbot of Glaston to be *tried* at Glaston, and *also executed* there.”

But amidst these cares Crumwell never forgot the King’s business, the “great matter,” the end which this iniquity was to compass. With the prize now fairly within his grasp, he notes:

“The plate of Glastonbury, 11,000 ounces and over, besides golden. The furniture of the house of Glaston. In ready money from Glaston, £1,100 and over. The rich copes from Glaston. The whole year’s revenue of Glaston. The debts to Glaston, £2,000 and above.” *

Layton has borne witness to the state of spirituals in Glastonbury; Crumwell gives final testimony to the Abbot’s good administration of temporals. The house by this time had, according to Crumwell’s construction, come to the King’s Highness by attainder of treason. It remained now to inaugurate the line of policy on which Elizabeth improved later, and after, in the secret tribunal of the Tower condemning him without trial for cause of conscience in a sentence that involved forfeiture of life and goods, to put him to death, if Sir John Russell is to be believed, for common felony, the “robbing of Glastonbury Church.” For the moment it is difficult to be serious in such a case.

The circumstances of Whiting’s last journey homeward must now be told. It is difficult to credit many of the oft-repeated statements in the second and subsequent editions of Sander’s “Schism.” † They seem to be of a traditionary character, to

macy [which it may be added they had previously admitted], and why then might not some of the abbots have the same belief and fortitude with others of their fraternity?” (“Eccl. Hist.” ii. 173). Hence, counter to Burnet’s method of making Abbot Whiting suffer for “burglary” and imaginary treasonable connection with the Pilgrimage of Grace, he has no scruple flatly to assert “neither bribery nor terror nor any other dishonourable motives could prevail” with the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury. “To reach them, therefore, another way, the oath of supremacy, was offered them, and upon their refusal they were condemned for high treason” (p. 164). Nothing need be added to the words of this high-minded Protestant historian reflecting on the baseless assertions of the so-called historian of the Reformation period.

* *Ibid.* f. 446 a.

† The original edition of Sander simply says that the three abbots and the two priests, Rugg and Onion, “ob negatam Henrici pontificiam potestatem martyrii coronam adepti sunt.” In the second and later editions this is cut out, quite another reason is assigned for their death, and the long legendary narrative about Whiting is, without any warning that the account is not that of Sander, inserted in the text. Le Grand (“Defence,” iii. p. 210) says he has himself copied a MS. account of Whiting from which he believed the editor of Sander drew his facts. He adds that the MS. is of undoubted authority.

embody the gossip of the countryside current half a century later; in some points running near enough to the truth, in others partaking of legend; such as the sensational scene, wanting alike in sense and probability, in the hall of the palace on the Abbot's arrival at Wells; the assembly prepared to receive him, his proceeding to take the place of honour among the first, the unexpected summons to stand down and answer to the charge of treason, the old man's wondering inquiry what this meant, the whispered assurance that it was all a matter of form to strike terror—into whom or wherefore the story does not tell.

If it is hard to believe that Henry and Crumwell could amuse themselves by ordering the enactment of such a farce, it is more difficult still to conceive of Whiting as the unsuspected victim of it. As we have seen under Crumwell's hand, his fate was already settled before he left the Tower. In the interrogatories, preliminary but decisive, he had there undergone, the Abbot had come face to face with the bare duty imposed on him by conscience at last. He must himself have known to what end the way through the Tower had led, from the time of More and Fisher to his own hour, those who had no other satisfaction to give the King than that which he could offer. It is not impossible, however, that hopes may have been held out to him that in his extreme old age and weakness of body he might be spared extremities; this supposition seems to be countenanced by the account given below. Is the suggestion too horrible that Henry may have remembered Wolsey's end,* and have reflected that the death of the Abbot in similar circumstances, before the last penalty was paid to his law, would render useless the pains taken to make a terrible example. It is probable that the following passage, hitherto apparently unnoticed, from an unknown writer, represents much more accurately the real facts of the case, than the pseudo-dramatic presentment of the editor of Sander :

Mr. Whiting, Abbot of Glastonbury, going homewards from London, had one Pollard appointed to wait upon him, who was an especial favourer of Crumwell, whom the Abbot neither desired to accompany him, neither yet dared to refuse him. At the next bait, when the Abbot went to wash, he desired Mr. Pollard to come wash with him, who by no means would be entreated thereunto. The Abbot seeing such civility mistrusted, so much the more such courtesy was not void of some subtilty and said unto him : "Mr. Pollard if you be to me a companion, I pray you wash with me and sit down ; but if you be my keeper and I your prisoner, tell me plainly, that I may prepare my

* Wolsey died in the end of fright. Dr. Brewer writes : "His despondency and waning health anticipated the sword of the executioner, and disappointed the malice of his enemies." (Introd. Cal. Letters and Papers, vol. iv. p. 613.)

mind to go to another room better fitting my fortunes. And if you be neither, I shall be content to ride without your company." Whereupon Pollard protested that he did forbear to do what the Abbot desired him only in respect of the reverence he bore his age and virtues, and that he was appointed by those in authority to bear him company of worship's sake, and therefore might not forsake him till he did see him safe at Glastonbury.

Notwithstanding all this, the Abbot doubted somewhat, and told one (Thomas) Horne, whom he had brought up from a child, that he misdoubted somewhat but that Judas having betrayed his master, and yet though he were both privy and plotter of his master's fall, yet did he sweare most intolerably he knew of no harm towards him, neither should any be done to him as long as he was in his company; wishing besides that the devil might have him if he were otherwise than he told him. But before he came to Glastonbury, Horne forsook, and joined himself unto his enemies." *

Some two months after the venerable Abbot had been conveyed to London, he was brought back on his homeward journey. He reached Wells on November 14, where there awaited him (Russell is warranty for the fact) "as worshipful a jury as was charged here these many years. And there was never seen in these parts so great an appearance as were here at this present time, and never better willing to serve the King."† Besides the care taken over the indictments, care had been evidently bestowed to make all secure on the spot. The duty of the jury at Wells was marked out in their charge; they might refuse to take the part assigned to them at their peril. No words are wasted over the sentence. Russell in his report to Crumwell does not so much as even mention it: "The Abbot of Glastonbury was arraigned, and the next day put to execution, with two other of his monks, for the robbing of Glastonbury church."‡

On this "next day" (November 15, 1539) the aged Abbot was taken in his horse litter to Glastonbury.§ In his case there

* Sloane MS. 2495, in British Museum. It is an early-seventeenth-century Life of Henry VIII. It gives some particulars which agree with those given by Le Grand about Whiting, and may perhaps be taken from the same source.

† Russell to Crumwell: Wright, p. 260.

‡ Hearne the antiquary stated of Whiting that "to reach him the oath was offered to him at Wells," and that refusing it, he had the "courage to maintain his conscience and run the last extremity" (Hist. of Glast. p. 50). These are the words of Collier, ii. p. 164. The "offering" the oath at Wells is probably a misunderstanding on the part of Hearne.

The editor of Sander, consistent throughout, writes: "*Glasconiam dimissus est, nihil minus tamen cogitans quam tam celerem sibi vitæ exitum.*" A priest approaches to hear his confession; he prays to be spared for a day or two to prepare for death, and to be allowed to say good-bye to his monks; he sheds tears, &c. In preference to this narrative, which savours, like the rest, of the improbable, the report of Pollard is here followed.

was no mercy, no pity. The venerable man, who in a long life had passed through obedience and through honours alike blameless, now bowed under the weight of eighty years, was tied on a hurdle like a common felon. Thus he made his last journey; over the stones the horses rudely dragged the Abbot of Glastonbury through the streets of the town which had owned him for its lord, past the abbey gateway, to the top of the round hill, to the foot of its ancient tower. In his last moments he was deprived, it seems probable, of the consolation he might have derived from a farewell of the two of his spiritual sons who were the companions of his sentence—John Thorn and Roger James.*

On the summit of the Tor, overlooking the town of Glastonbury, in full view of the towers and gabled roofs of his beloved monastery, the worthy pastor of a house that, among all others in England, had been the home of saints, Abbot Whiting, in the chill of that bleak November morning, kneeled beneath the gallows waiting his final struggle for the crown of martyrdom. Even then he was not allowed to die in peace. There, with all the ghastly apparatus around—the gallows, the boiling cauldron, the butcher's table, and the knife, Pollard pestered him yet once more with "divers articles and interrogatories;" "but he could accuse no man but himself on any offence against the King's Highness, nor he would confess no more gold nor silver nor any other thing more than he did before your lordship in the Tower." Then "he asked God mercy and the King for his great offences towards his Highness." And thereupon took his death very patiently, and his head and body bestowed in like manner as I certified your lordship in my last letter."†

The executioner did his work, the body of the venerable Abbot was speedily cut down and quartered, and the head cut off.

"One quarter standeth at Wells [writes Russell on the following day, November 16], another at Bath, and at Ilchester and Bridgwater the rest; and his head upon the abbey gate at Glaston"—an example, as a scribbler in Henry's service has put it, "of the rewards and ends of traitors, whereby subjects and servants might learn to know their faithful obedience unto their most dread sovereign lord the King's Highness."

* Dr. F. G. Lee ("Hist. Sketches," and Append. v. p. 419) says: "From a MS. in the handwriting of the late Mr. Sharon Turner it appears that, in looking over certain transcripts from the family collections of the house of Russell, he found the draft of a letter from Sir J. Russell to Crumwell, in which the former admits that the Abbot was intentionally executed alone, so as to prevent his receiving any sympathy or aid from his two spiritual sons in the Order, who were executed on the same day, and because of his stubbornness and obstinacy."

† Wright, p. 261.

both God's goodness and the King's, and stuck hard by the Bishop of Rome and the Abbot of Reading in the quarrel of the Romish Church. Alas! what stony heart had ——— Whiting to be so unkind to so loving and beneficent a prince, and so false a traitor to Henry VIII., king of his native country, and so true, I say, to that Cormorant of Rome."

Once again in reference to all three abbots: "Is it not to be thought, trow ye, that forasmuch as these trusty traitors have so valiantly jeopardied a joint for the Bishop of Rome's sake, that his Holiness will after their hanging canvass them, *canonise them, I would say, for their labours and pains. It is not to be doubted but his Holiness will look upon their pains as upon Thomas Becket's, seeing it is for like matter.*"

May God grant this may be a true prophecy!

FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET.

ART. VI.—PIUS VII. AT SAVONA.

Le Pape Pie VII. à Savone, d'après les minutes des lettres inédites du Général Berthier au Prince Borghese, et d'après les Mémoires inédits de M. de Lebzeltern, conseiller d'ambassade autrichien. Par H. CHOTARD, doyen de la faculté de lettres de Clermont. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1884 an interesting manuscript was discovered at Lyons. On examination it proved to be the minutes of a series of letters from General Berthier, the gaoler of Pius VII. at Savona, to Prince Borghese, the governor of Piedmont. M. Chotard, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Clermont, made a careful study of it, and published the result of his labours in a paper contributed to the "Bulletin de l'Académie de Clermont." In the course of this article he spoke of the mysterious mission of M. de Lebzeltern to Savona, on which Berthier's minutes threw very little light. One of M. Chotard's readers, however, drew his attention to the fact that M. de Lebzeltern's daughter was in possession of her father's unpublished memoirs, and that in these a full account of the mission was given. M. Chotard obtained the memoirs, and found that they contained exactly what he had been seeking. His first idea was to publish them, but permission was refused. He was, however,

allowed to make extracts, and these he gave to the world in a second article. The two articles were afterwards woven together to form the volume named at the head of the present paper.

The restoration of the Catholic religion in France was one of the earliest acts of Napoleon as First Consul. He saw clearly that his vast schemes could not be realized unless he identified himself with the past as well as with the future, and united the principle of order with the principle of progress. Hitherto Religion and the Revolution had been in conflict, and chaos had been the result of their struggle. The man who should yoke them both to his car would be a mightier ruler than the world had ever seen. The restoration was no penitent prodigal's return, but the demand of a conqueror for the hand of a vanquished queen. The Concordat, the offspring of their alliance, reproduced the features of its ill-matched parents. The coronation ceremony, too, was its fitting symbol. The place was the venerable cathedral of Notre Dame ; the celebrant was the successor of St. Peter ; yet the act was the consecration of the overthrow of the ancient monarchy. Such a union could not be lasting. Brought about by fear, it was dissolved by violence. After the peace of Tilsit in 1806, Napoleon decreed that the ports of Europe should be closed against the English. Pius VII. dared to disobey. No emperor, he said, had any authority over Rome : the capital of the Christian world must be open to every nation. Napoleon insisted, but the Pope remained firm, and even threatened. Then were written those famous words : " What does Pius VII. mean by denouncing me to Christendom ? Will he put my dominions under an interdict ? Will he excommunicate me ? Does he think that the arms will drop from the hands of my soldiers ? " Early in 1808 the French troops occupied the Holy City, and soon afterwards the Papal States were formally united to the French Empire. On June 10, 1809, the imperial decree was proclaimed in Rome. This act was speedily followed by the publication of the Bull *Quum memoranda illa die*, excommunicating Napoleon. On the night of July 5, the Holy Father was forcibly removed from the Quirinal, and hurried off to Grenoble. Thence he passed through Valence, Avignon, and Nice, and finally reached Savona on August 16, where he remained until July 19, 1812. The prefect of Montenotte was at first appointed to take charge of him, but on September 27 was superseded by General Berthier.

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A man, to be fitted for the situation of governor [of St. Helena], ought to be a person of great politeness, and at the same time of great firmness—one who could gloss over a refusal, and lessen the miseries

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A man, to be fitted for the situation of governor [of St. Helena], ought to be a person of great politeness, and at the same time of great firmness—one who could gloss over a refusal, and lessen the miseries

of the *détenus*, instead of eternally putting them in mind that they were considered as prisoners.*

It is but fair to state that the man whom he chose to keep watch over Pius VII. exactly answered to this description. Berthier was the brother of the Prince of Wagram, Napoleon's chief of the staff. He was emphatically a gentleman. His naturally pleasing manners had been cultivated by residence at Court, and a military training had fitted him to obey and to command. He carried out to the letter the rigorous orders of his master, and yet carefully avoided giving offence to his captive. M. Chotard, however, does not sufficiently notice that the patience of Pius, rather than the kindness of Berthier, was the cause of their good understanding. Berthier was not, indeed, a Sir Hudson Lowe, but the saintly pontiff was a far easier charge than the fallen emperor. In selecting Savona, Napoleon had written: "*Il y avait du reste une assez grande maison.*" This was the episcopal palace. Here Pius VII. was to be lodged and provided with every comfort compatible with strict supervision. But these intentions were by no means carried out. The apartments allotted to the Pope had long been untenanted, and contained only a little lumber. The intendant, M. de Salmatoris, whether from absence of orders or want of goodwill, never provided what was wanted. Some furniture was borrowed from the bishop and the inhabitants of the town, but was never returned. The Holy Father really occupied only one room, where he slept and worked. His few attendants were badly lodged in the garrets. When winter came on, the captives suffered much from the cold. The windows had no shutters, and did not fasten tight; there were no carpets on the inlaid and tiled floors. Long negotiations were needed to procure some additional bed-covering. Even the chapel shared in the general squalor. There was, indeed, a great display of state as far as the number of attendants was concerned, but the altar was bare, the linen in tatters, the furniture worn out, and the supply of candles scanty. Berthier sometimes tried to mend matters, but his efforts were not successful. He is certainly to be blamed for not insisting on obedience to his orders.†

* "*Napoleon in Exile; or, a Voice from St. Helena.*" By Barry E. O'Meara, vol. i. p. 89. I quote from this work to show what poetical justice was meted out to Napoleon for his treatment of Pius VII. Even the minute details will, I believe, be not without interest. They are like the "undesigned coincidences" which so forcibly prove the genuineness of the Sacred Writings.

† In a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, Count Bertrand says: "You told me, sir, that the Emperor's room was altogether too small, that Long-

No cardinal was permitted to accompany the Holy Father to Savona. Pacca, his faithful Secretary of State, had indeed been arrested with him, and had accompanied him as far as Grenoble; but there they had been parted. The only ecclesiastic who shared his captivity was his High Steward, Mgr. Doria. This prelate proved very successful in eluding the vigilance of the guard. Berthier suspected him, and watched him closely, but the wily Italian could never be detected. Pius himself, though he made use of him, never had any trust in him. Another member of his household, Porta, the doctor, was also useful in introducing secret letters, and was, moreover, the Pope's confidential secretary. Berthier tells us very little about the Bishop of Savona. Both the Holy Father and the General showed great reserve in their dealings with him. In truth, his position was a very difficult one. M. Chotard says that he showed himself a worthy son of Pius and a worthy subject of Napoleon, and that he faithfully rendered to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and to God the things that were God's; but we must confess that his conduct oftener reminds us that no man can serve two masters.

The daily life of the captive Pontiff presented little variety. He rose early, and said Mass, at which the General and his officers assisted. After Mass those who had been present were permitted to kiss his foot. During this ceremony careful watch was kept to prevent the presentation of any letter or petition. The morning was spent in reading and writing. His dinner was substantial, as he enjoyed good health and had a good appetite, in spite of his captivity and advanced age. After dinner he walked in the garden, and gave his blessing to the townspeople from the balcony of the palace. In the evening he took another walk, and again bestowed his blessing. His supper was light, and his labours were often prolonged far into the night. He was not forbidden to leave the precincts of the palace, but had he done so, he would have been strictly guarded, and consequently, to avoid this humiliation, he preferred not to go out. It was no doubt very wearisome to have to pace up and down the same

wood House was altogether bad. . . . If the house where he is be inconvenient, why has he been left there for these two years?" "The quantity of wood and coals allowed not being nearly sufficient, Count Montholon desired me to represent to the Governor," &c. &c. His Excellency said that he "did not see any necessity for so many fires, and that he did not like to humour any person's whims." "The Governor's proposals," Napoleon said, "are all a delusion. Nothing advances since he came. Look there"—pointing to the window—"I was obliged to order a pair of sheets to be put up as curtains, as the others were so dirty I could not approach them, and none could be obtained to replace them." ("Napoleon in Exile," vol. ii. 475, 31, 175; i. 74.)

walks, surrounded by high walls, but unless he took exercise his limbs became swollen.*

On Sunday evenings a reception was held, to which the Bishop and his canons, the General, the prefect, and the mayor were invited. At these réunions all appearance of restraint was avoided; the conversation was lively and agreeable, so that all parties looked forward to them with interest. No opportunity, however, was given for holding communication with the outer world. All letters addressed to the Holy Father were opened and read by Berthier, and only those were given which contained no information of importance—all others were forwarded to Prince Borghese at Turin. Once or twice the *Moniteur* was sent to the Pope, and then only because it contained something which Napoleon wished him to see.†

The greatest rigour was exercised in the admission of visitors. Not only Frenchmen and Italians, but even strangers with recommendations from their ambassadors, found difficulty in obtaining permission to go to Savona. And even when they arrived there they had to undergo an examination by Berthier, who allowed no one to see the Holy Father without an authorization from Prince Borghese. Thus, the venerable Bishop of Lodi, who was anxious to look upon "the Father of Christians" once more before he died, could not obtain admission until after a long delay. It was not till after ten months' captivity that the Pope could receive Cardinal Spina, whom he loved, and then only in the company of Cardinal Cazelli, whom he suspected. But in spite of every precaution it was plain to Berthier that his captive was well supplied with information from without. His keen eye detected the changes in the Pope's demeanour according as the news was favourable or otherwise, and whenever he himself communicated any news he found that he had been anticipated. What was to be done? No blame attached to the Holy Father: he had never undertaken not to receive any forbidden messages.

* "Saw Napoleon. . . . Ankles and legs a little swelled. Great want of sleep at night. Explained to me several reasons which convinced me that Corvisart had been right in prescribing to him exercise on horse-back, which I strongly recommended myself, and in as forcible a manner as possible. Napoleon replied that, under the present restrictions, liable to be insulted by a sentinel if he *budged* off the road, he could never stir out, neither did he think that I myself, or any other Englishman placed in my situation, would avail himself of the privilege to ride, fettered with such restrictions." ("Napoleon in Exile," ii. 223.)

† "A proclamation was issued yesterday by Sir Hudson Lowe, prohibiting 'any person from receiving or being the bearer of any letters or communications from General Bonaparte, the officers of his suite, his followers or servants of any description, or to deliver any to them, under pain of being arrested immediately, and dealt with accordingly'" (*Ibid.* i. p. 48).

Berthier's letters are full of regrets on this subject. He was most anxious to carry out the Emperor's orders, and at the same time he was full of respect and veneration for Pius. His days became miserable : his sleep was troubled ; he was ever in a state of perplexity as to whether he had been too strict or too indulgent. Apart, however, from endeavouring to communicate with the outer world, the Pope gave little trouble. He seldom complained. He recognized the difficulty of Berthier's position, and he felt that a change of gaolers would only make matters worse. On some occasions, however, he protested strongly against Napoleon's conduct. When Mgr. Gregori, the Vicar of Rome, was arrested, the Holy Father told the General that "a mean advantage had been taken of his (the Pope's) calmness ; he had been tossed about for the last five years ; a salve had been applied, not to heal, but to hide the wound. Never had there been an instance of such violence in Rome ; the bureaux and papers of the Holy See had never before been touched ; those papers did not belong even to the Church, but to the Pope, who was its head ; for himself, he was old and had little time to live ; but a mean advantage was taken of his patience and it was useless thenceforth to try to palliate matters to him ; he had waited for five years, and for five years he had been in prison and in chains ; nevertheless, he had remained calm and tranquil, and had not shown any public sign of irritation, or sought pity for his fate. He had never taken any decision without reflection ; . . . but now his patience was at an end ; he had lost all hope ; submission had become useless, and perhaps injurious to the Church ; he had made up his mind, and history would defend him " (Letter of Feb. 4, 1810). He followed the course of the Austrian war with great interest, and scarcely concealed his desire for the defeat of France. Nevertheless, he ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung on Dec. 2, 1809, for the peace, and also for the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation. The Austrian marriage was a great blow to him. Austria was his only hope, and henceforth she was to be in permanent alliance with his captor. He was indignant that no application was made to him to declare the invalidity of the civil marriage with Josephine. However, some days after the celebration of the ceremony he declared that he was glad that it had taken place.*

* There is some difficulty here. It is not easy to reconcile Berthier's account of the Holy Father's opinion with the following : " On the eve of the coronation, Pius VII. received a curious and touching visit from Josephine. . . . The Church had never blessed her union with Napoleon, and whatever Catholic instincts she had combined to make her feel what a false position she would occupy on the morrow. . . . The anger of Napoleon was obliged to yield to the determination of Pius. . . . During

But the affairs of the Church naturally aroused his greatest interest. On December 10 a deputation of the Corps Législatif had an audience to congratulate the Emperor. The president, in course of his address, remarked : " Religion will not cease to lean on the throne which has restored it, and the successor of St. Peter will ever be dearer and more venerable to us for having blessed the successor of Charlemagne." To this Napoleon made no direct reply, but observed : " I have overcome many obstacles. I and my family shall always be ready to sacrifice our dearest affections for the welfare of the nation. With the help of God and the constant love of my people I shall overcome everything that may oppose my great designs." Berthier took to the Pope the *Moniteur* containing the report of these speeches. Pius read it slowly and with reflection, and then passed it on to those who were with him. He appeared to be much affected and downcast. He said that " he should have much to answer, but that no question had been put to him." Then he remained silent during the whole evening. A general gloom came over the company ; the Bishop of Savona was in consternation ; Doria hung down his head ; while Porta, as though reproaching the Holy Father, said : " This is the result of the excommunication." Some days afterwards the Pope recovered his spirits a little, but a heavier trial was in store for him. By the *senatus consultum* of February 17, 1810, the Roman States were declared to be an integral part of the French Empire. They were to form two Departments, and to send deputies and senators to Paris ; Rome was to be the second city of the empire ; and the Prince Imperial, if there should be one, was to bear the title of King of Rome. As for the Pope, he was to have a palace in the Holy City and in Paris, and in other parts of the imperial dominions ; a revenue of two million francs a year was allotted to him ; the expenses of the cardinals and the Propaganda were to be defrayed out of the imperial exchequer ; no foreign authority was to have any control over the spiritual affairs of the empire ; the Popes were to swear to take no action against the Four Gallican Propositions, and these were declared to be common to all the churches of the empire. Berthier was ordered to communicate this *senatus consultum* to the Holy Father.

His Holiness [he wrote, February 26, 1810] was very much excited about it ; of course he expected as much : was not his Imperial

the night preceding the coronation, Cardinal Fesch privately united Napoleon and Josephine in the chapel of the Tuileries, M. de Talleyrand and General Berthier being witnesses." (" Life of Pius VII.," by Mary H. Allies, p. 80.) The General Berthier mentioned is, I presume, the brother of the Governor of Savona.

Majesty the master? But how could he tolerate that the Emperor should provide for the cardinals and Propaganda? What would the Papacy become? What mattered to the Pope the prerogatives left to Rome, and the liberty to reside wherever he pleased?

He became so excited that he rose from his chair and walked up and down. The General vainly tried to pacify him; he answered, "We shall see"—his usual expression of anguish at each fresh blow that he received. He thought much over the *senatus consultum*, and spoke of it with great indignation.

His Imperial Majesty (March 8, 1810) was meddling with matters which did not concern him: he was encroaching on the domain of religion; why was he exhuming the follies of the past? Napoleon, acting the part of Louis XIV., was indeed a strange spectacle; . . . to go back to 1682 was to confound different ages, and to ignore the progress of thought: why seek a weapon which had been rusted by time? After all, might was right: why not openly avow it?

This time, however, the Emperor wanted to know the Pope's opinion. Accordingly, Berthier, who did not understand Italian well, sounded the Holy Father by means of the bishop. Thus we have now (February 27, 1810) the genuine answer of the Pope to Napoleon's speech and the *senatus consultum*. He would not make any public statement or protest, but he gave his private opinion on each head. He declared:

1. That the Church had been unjustly deprived of her possessions;
2. That, even though a part should be restored, he would always lay claim to the remainder;
3. That, if he were allowed to act freely as Pope, he would fulfil his functions even in the catacombs;
4. That he could not approve that the expenses of the Sacred College and of Propaganda should be defrayed out of the imperial exchequer;
5. That he would never accept any revenue for himself;
6. That he could never approve of the oath concerning the Gallican propositions.

Such was the Holy Father's answer. He spoke according to his convictions; but in order to satisfy his reason, he set himself to study the history of the councils of the Church. He borrowed books from the bishop, and read day and night. He worked so hard that Berthier feared that his health would suffer; but for some unknown reason he abruptly put an end to his studies.

Soon afterwards, early in May, the governor's prudence and temper were put to a severe test. The Chevalier Louis de Lebzeltern, councillor of the Austrian embassy in Paris, presented himself at Savona. He had no letter of introduction, but he

showed a passport signed by Fouché, Duke of Otranto, and he demanded an audience of the Holy Father, to arrange certain religious affairs connected with Austria. Berthier's orders were strict, but he yielded so far as to grant permission, on condition that witnesses should be present during the interview. To this M. de Lebzeltern demurred. His business was private; the Emperor knew and approved of his mission, and had told him that the Pope was free. For some days neither would give way. At length, when the envoy was on the point of returning to Paris, Berthier sent for him, and an exciting scene took place. The General complained bitterly of the way he had been treated by the Emperor and his Ministers, and in his rage he went so far as to tear off his epaulettes, and dash them to the ground. After a time he grew calmer, and his last words were: "Go; see the Pope." Lebzeltern remained with the Holy Father an hour and a half, and as he came out he told Berthier that his Holiness had been very reasonable, and would grant all the dispensations required by the Austrian Government. But the General noticed the troubled countenance of the Pope. He also noticed that the Holy Father worked hard all the evening, took no supper till eleven, and kept his light burning until two in the morning. No doubt he was transacting the Austrian business. Some days afterwards a letter reached Savona authorizing the envoy to see the Holy Father privately. Two more audiences were consequently granted, and then Lebzeltern took his departure. Berthier tells us no more about the visit. Perhaps he was not sorry to remain in the dark. It was no part of his duty to inquire into the business of visitors to his captive. All that he had to do was to demand their letter of introduction; if they had one, he admitted them; if they had not, he stopped them. But what the Governor did not care to know is of great interest to us, and fortunately the Memoirs are available just where the letters are silent.*

Napoleon's glory reached its summit in the beginning of the year 1810. The continent of Europe was at his feet. The daughter of the Cæsars had accompanied the trophies of Wagram, and thus a most powerful foe had become his ally. Whatever genius and force of arms could do he had done. One thing, however, was yet wanting to him: the venerable Church still stood in his way. Her temporal dominions, indeed, were petty provinces of his empire; the Pope was his prisoner; the College of Cardinals was an ornament of his Court; the bishops and

* A short account of M. de Lebzeltern's visit, based upon his correspondence with Metternich, will be found in Miss Allies' *Life of Pius VII.*, pp. 206-8.

priests were his religious police; and yet the Church was not in his power. It was as the "air invulnerable"; he dealt his weightiest blows against it, and it came together again, while he was exhausted by his efforts. This invisible, unconquerable opponent harassed him continually. He had tried to play the part of the Church's champion, and to become the Church's master, and he had failed. Although he affected to despise it, the sentence of excommunication really galled him. Perhaps, too, the sad and gentle face of the captive of Savona haunted him in the midst of his triumphs. Moreover, the Austrian Government, having Catholic subjects, urged the necessity of setting the Pontiff free. M. de Metternich took every opportunity of putting before Napoleon religious and political reasons for the independence of the Holy See. He pointed out that Germany would never recognize a French Pope, or even a Pope in the power of France. Spain and Portugal, too, were already protesting, and in France signs of discontent were not wanting. Napoleon himself did not wish to prolong the Holy Father's captivity. He wished to bring him to Paris. With the Pope as his tool, he would be the ruler of Christendom; he would send out missionaries into every land, and would combat the Protestants of England and the schismatics of Russia. The cardinals and prelates were already assembled in Paris; the congregations and religious tribunals were established there; the archives removed from Rome were at hand; everything was ready—the Pope had only to come. But Metternich's arguments were not without effect. Napoleon agreed that an envoy should be sent to Savona to find out how far the Holy Father was prepared to yield. No definite instructions were to be given, but it was understood that the renunciation of the temporal dominions and the withdrawal of the excommunication were to be essential parts of the negotiations. A member of the Austrian embassy was entrusted with this important mission. In choosing M. de Lebzeiter, Napoleon wished to pay a compliment to his imperial father-in-law, and also to conciliate Pius VII. The envoy and the Pope had long been friends. As far back as 1800 M. de Lebzeiter had been an attaché of the Austrian embassy in Rome; he had vigorously supported the power of the Holy See, and had consequently been suspected by the French authorities. After the arrest of the Holy Father he had been expelled from Rome, and it was he who carried to Germany a copy of the Bull of excommunication. Such a man was not likely to be partial to Napoleon. Under the pretext of visiting the Pope for the purpose of transacting some Austrian business, he started from Paris on May 7, and arrived at Genoa on the 12th; thence he proceeded by sea to Savona, narrowly escaping capture by two English frigates.

were cruising in the neighbourhood. His difficulties in approaching the Holy Father have already been described.

The first interview with the captive Pontiff took place on May 16. Pius was very pleased to see his old friend again, especially as no one else was present. He spoke of his troubles since they had last met, and sympathized with Lebzeltern in what he too had suffered. The envoy in his turn gave an account of the recent events, the treaty of Vienna and the marriage with Marie Louise. To his surprise he found that the Pope knew all, but the narrative had the advantage of leading up to the real object of his mission. Napoleon wanted to come to an understanding. This announcement astonished and pleased the Holy Father. His old affection for the Emperor revived for a moment :

“ God grant,” he said, “ that his marriage may secure the peace of Europe. No one desires his happiness more than I do, and I desire it with all my heart. He is a prince who combines eminent qualities ; may God grant that he may recognize his true interests. He holds in his hand the pacification of Holy Church, and in conferring the greatest good upon religion, he will draw down the blessing of Heaven upon his family and upon his peoples, and will transmit a glorious name to posterity.”

But this bright prospect only turned the Pope's thoughts to his own miserable position and his difficulties with Napoleon.

“ I ask nothing for myself,” he then added ; “ I am old, and have no wants ; I have sacrificed everything to my duty, and I have nothing to lose ; hence no personal consideration can turn me from the path traced out by my conscience, or make me desire the slightest alleviation for myself. I do not want any pension or honours ; the alms of the faithful will do for me. Other Popes have been far poorer, although far worthier than I. Believe me, I have no single desire outside this narrow enclosure, which you have been the first to enter alone ; but I earnestly demand that my communications with the bishops and the faithful should be re-established.”

M. de Lebzeltern observed that the Emperor was calmer since his marriage, and that the Pope should give his Majesty the opportunity of an honourable retreat.

“ I urged,” he says, “ every argument likely to make the Sovereign Pontiff feel the necessity of escaping from his disadvantageous position, and of putting himself in the way of profiting by the chances which the future might bring. His complete and touching resignation, when force deprived him of his states, his possessions, and his prerogatives, had been the effect of the sublime virtues which Christendom revered in him. But at the present time this very passiveness was stultifying itself in an obscure corner of the empire, and he would some day regret the opportunities which he was losing.”

He assured the Holy Father that he himself, Metternich, and their master, the Emperor Francis, were all devoted to his cause ; and he then proceeded to state what he thought might be the terms of peace. Napoleon insisted on retaining possession of Rome ; he did not perhaps demand a formal renunciation on the part of the Pope, but he required that his Holiness's conduct should be perfectly passive, and should amount in fact to an acknowledgment of the Emperor's suzerainty. Moreover, Napoleon required that the sentence of excommunication against him should be withdrawn. If the Holy Father conceded these two points, Lebzeltern believed that the Emperor would liberate his Holiness, and that the spiritual difficulties might be arranged. Pius was much affected by the action of Austria.

"How glad I should be," he said, "to owe an arrangement to the good services of your Court ! Let the Emperor permit me to return to Rome ; let him surround me with a suitable number of persons for my consistories and councils ; let my relations with the faithful be perfectly free. I cannot indeed compel him to restore what he has taken from me ; very well, then—I will protest, but I will keep quiet."

This did not satisfy Lebzeltern. Protests would only lead to further difficulties, whereas silence after so many previous declarations would not invalidate the Pontiff's rights ; and, besides, who could tell what the future might bring ? At the present moment insistence on the temporal power would destroy the spiritual power, and Rome without the Pope would become a desert city. The Holy Father listened attentively, and replied :

"I will not take any revenue or honours. Let Napoleon leave me in peace in Rome, exercising the functions of my ministry. . . . Let him make no attack on my spiritual rights, and give me no occasion to explain my position, and I will say nothing."

But there was greater difficulty about the withdrawal of the excommunication.

"You think," said the Pope, "that it is for me to take the first step ; but what step can I take ? He is excommunicated by my Bull : even without it he would be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated as a persecutor of the Church and her ministers." Lebzeltern had now to use all his diplomatic skill. "Were I in your Holiness's place, I would write the Emperor a letter in terms of mildness and moderation, but full of dignity, demanding my freedom and the power to exercise my apostolic functions ; I would invoke his aid for this purpose, and this letter I would publish to the world. This step would not compromise the head of the Church, the Vicar of Christ, who is always ready to forgive ; whereas it would greatly embarrass Napoleon. It would be a clever stroke, which would infallibly break in his hands the weapons of calumny which he uses against you." "Listen to me, Lebzeltern,"

said the Pontiff. "You see plainly that I am ready to grant a good deal, and that it is no merely temporal consideration which stands in the way of an arrangement; but in all that concerns the *jus divinum* and my conscience you see me calm and resigned in my captivity. It would be a thousand times more bitter—I would mount the scaffold rather than deviate in the least from my duties. But I should betray them if I were to remove the excommunication without sufficient reason, and I should be accused of weakness; and as for the letter that you speak of—a sort of encyclical—it might be followed by such important consequences in the case of a man of his character, who might perhaps find the means of altering my words and of publishing them to my detriment, that I cannot make up my mind to it without mature deliberation with my council." The Holy Father's emotion was great, and Lebzeltern tried to calm him by admitting the force of his arguments, and yet advising him to make some advance. At last the Pope recovered himself: "if Napoleon expresses his wish to be reconciled with the Church, and gives proof of his sincerity *by some act*, this matter can be arranged, and certainly no one desires it more than I do." With this the first audience ended.

Lebzeltern did not see the Holy Father again until May 18. Pius wished for twenty-four hours' reflection, but he had only twenty-four hours' torment and fatigue. Now, more than ever, he felt the need of a trusty adviser, and none was at hand. But there was One, invisible indeed, but ever present, Whom he could ask for light and strength. Prayer alone brought him comfort. When the envoy entered, the Holy Father at once complained of his isolation. Lebzeltern took advantage of this to urge the necessity of coming to some arrangement, but he only provoked further menaces against the Emperor.

"As for me, said Pius, whether I live solitary and confined, or be a hundred feet underground, is just the same to the world and to me. Must there not be martyrs where there are persecutors? Why push me to extremes? The measures with which I threaten him will have more effect than you think."

He confirmed this by quoting a number of instances in the history of the Church, especially the cases of Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Innocent IV.

"Most Holy Father," replied Lebzeltern, "permit my sincerity to make you observe that these examples are not applicable to the present times. Your Holiness is too near heaven to notice the tares which have sprung up over the whole earth. There are very few who think as in the days that you refer to, and of these only a small number have the courage of their opinions. Even pious persons hold that the instances cited by your Holiness tell against the too extensive power of the Popes. In France your interdicts would be the subject of gossip and of insolent newspaper articles, and would only excite here and there some desires, some silent and barren regrets, which would

soon be forgotten. I should betray your confidence if I did not submit the whole truth to you, such as I know it. What effect did your first excommunication produce?"

After an animated discussion it was understood that the excommunication should be withdrawn, provided that the Emperor furnished some pretext sufficient to justify the Pope in his own conscience and in the eyes of the faithful. Now came the question of the return to Rome. Lebzeltern explained that the Emperor had given up his plan of establishing the Holy See at Paris, and had now fixed on Avignon. But the Holy Father would not hear of this arrangement; his See, his diocese, was at Rome, and nowhere else would he consent to go.

"I have already told you what I am disposed to do on my side; what more does he want? Does he want me to acknowledge him as Emperor of the West? Very well, I will do so. Does he want me to crown him as such in Rome? Very well, I will crown him. This will not be opposed to my conscience, from the instant that he is reconciled to the Church and ceases to persecute her; but I require him to have some consideration for her Head, who is the spiritual chief of Christendom."

"Most Holy Father," answered Lebzeltern, "you grant me too much not to grant me more; it would be necessary to allow your subjects to obey the existing authorities, and to withdraw your prohibitions on this point."

A gesture, which the Pope could not suppress, showed how much he felt this stipulation. He remained silent for some moments, and then replied:

"It would be better to say nothing to them." [And he added:] "This might be capable of arrangement if we come to an agreement about the rest."

Some other business relating to the Gallican propositions, the support of the sacred congregations, the nomination of non-Italian cardinals, and the selection of certain persons necessary to enable the Holy Father to fulfil his functions as Pope, terminated the interview.

On May 20 Lebzeltern had his third and last audience. It took place in the evening, and lasted till a late hour. He found the Holy Father in a strange state of mind—not, indeed, withdrawing what he had granted, yet regretting his concessions, and hoping that the Emperor would not be satisfied. When Lebzeltern showed him the résumé which he had drawn up of their former discussions, Pius stood up, and said in a tone of solemnity and majesty:

"I have disclosed to you many opinions which I would never make known to any one else. I am not sorry for having done so, because I am confident that you will never betray me. Nevertheless, listen

to me: I authorize you to express nothing but the following, which indeed you have seen and heard for yourself—namely, that you found me resigned to the decrees of Divine Providence, into Whose hands I exclusively and humbly entrust the defence of my cause and my destiny, firm and immovable in all that concerns my conscience and divine right. Speak of my calmness and serenity in my prison, of my conviction that the troubles which menace the Church should be attributed to their real author. Say that my most ardent desires are that the Emperor should be reconciled to the Church, that he should reflect that the glories of this world are no security for eternal happiness; that he should put an end to his persecutions; that he should provide me with the means of performing the sacred duties of my ministry and of freely communicating with the faithful; that he should not deprive them of the assistance of their common Father, and that for this purpose he should place me in the See of St. Peter. Add that I earnestly and truly desire a reconciliation, but never at the expense of my conscience; that, finally, I should consider it a signal blessing from Heaven that Austria should become the means of bringing us together. Say boldly that I have no personal animosity, no ill-feeling against Napoleon; that I forgive him with all my heart for the past; that nothing would cause me so much pain as that he should believe me capable of feelings which God forbids, and which find no access to my heart or to my mind. There, continued the Holy Father, that is all that you can declare, if you do not want to drag me into worse complications; that is all that I can express in this seclusion to which I have been condemned.

He then went on to express his distrust of the Emperor's good faith, and to threaten further spiritual penalties. As he spoke his whole manner became menacing; his voice was loud, and the usual calmness of his brow was changed into an expression of offended dignity. Lebzeltern in his turn looked doubtful and troubled; what was to be the outcome of their meeting? The Holy Father noticed his appearance, and remembering what had been said about the uselessness of spiritual weapons, became calmer, and said in his usual mild tone:

However, do not be afraid; I will not take any extreme measures without necessity—you know that my character is opposed to them. . . . I hope that God will grant me strength to bear my cross patiently. Do not fear any imprudent action on my part. If you only knew the anguish of my nights as well as you know the anguish of my days, you would understand better the changes in my dispositions and in my language.

In this last interview we see the whole character of Pius. The troubles of the Church, much more than his own, made him anxious for peace. He was ready to go to any lengths short of betraying the Church's essential rights. But when he yielded he feared that he had gone too far. Then it was that he felt his loneliness and the misery of his position. No wonder that he

sometimes broke out into denunciations of Napoleon, and yet even in the midst of these he does not conceal his paternal affection for the man who had caused all his woes. In parting with the friend whose visit had been so welcome, we see him calm and majestic, suffering yet resigned, earnestly desiring the peace of the Church, but determined not to relinquish her rights.

Lebzeltern returned to Paris, and submitted the result of the mission. The Holy Father would tacitly acknowledge his suzerainty of the Emperor over Rome, and would withdraw the excommunication, if some pretext were given, but he insisted on residence in Rome, and the free exercise of his spiritual power. These terms, however, did not satisfy Napoleon, and thus the mission failed. Lebzeltern had done all that could be done, but success was impossible; the Emperor demanded what the Pope could not grant.

The next visitors to Savona were Cardinals Spina and Cazelli, and the Holy Father's nephew, Monsignor Chiaramonti. Berthier has very little to say about them, except that the cardinals were not satisfied with the Pope, nor the Pope with them, especially with Cazelli. Soon afterwards Berthier was relieved of his post; and as this paper began with his appointment, so now with his departure we bring it to a close.

The subsequent history of Pius VII. is well known. Savona continued to be his prison until June 19, 1812, when he was removed to Fontainebleau. There, in a moment of weakness, he yielded to Napoleon's demands, but only at once to retract. The campaign of 1814 set him free; and at last, on May 24, the feast of Our Lady Help of Christians, he entered the Eternal City amidst the joyous acclamations of his subjects :

O dies felix ! memoranda fastis,
Qua Petri sedes fidei magistrum
Triste post lustrum reducem beata
Sorte recepit !

Retribution had already fallen on his persecutor. Napoleon had signed his abdication on April 28 in that very palace of Fontainebleau which had so lately been the prison of the Pope. The brief stay at Elba and the Hundred Days were followed by another abdication and another exile : St. Helena was to atone for Savona.

At length the end came to the Emperor and to the Pontiff. Napoleon passed away in middle age, shorn of his imperial titles and conquests, a prisoner on a barren islet in mid-Atlantic. Pius soon followed, but full of years, in peaceful possession of his honours and his States, a Sovereign in his palace in the capital of the Christian world. It was as Our Lord had said : " Whosoever shall fall upon that rock, shall be broken ; but upon whomsoever it shall fall, it shall grind him to powder."

T. B. SCANNELL.

ART. VII.—THE MEMOIRS OF COUNT BEUST.

Aus Drei Viertel-Jahrhunderten: Erinnerungen und Aufzeichnungen. Von FRIEDRICH FERDINAND GRAF VON BEUST. Two vols. Stuttgart: Cotta. 1887.

Memoirs of Friedrich Ferdinand Count von Beust. Written by himself. With an Introduction containing Personal Reminiscences of Count Beust's Career as Prime Minister of Austria and Austrian Ambassador in London. By Baron HENRY DE WORMS, M.P. Two vols. London: Remington & Co. 1887.

THE greater part of Count Beust's career was devoted to the championship of a failing cause—that, namely, of Austria and Southern Germany, as against the rising power of Prussia. When the great battle of Hapsburgh against Hohenzollern was decided in favour of the latter by the policy of Bismarck and the strategy of Moltke, Count von Beust left the service of his native Saxony for that of Austria, and had the rare good fortune to achieve in his later years a distinct success, which went far to counterbalance the failure of his earlier policy. He will be remembered in history as the statesman who re-organized the Austrian Empire after the disaster of Sadowa, and by granting Home Rule to Hungary closed the long-standing quarrel between Austria and Magyar, which had been one of the chief sources of Austria's weakness in her hour of trial. Count von Beust left his Memoirs ready for the press when he died last October at Altenburg, and they form a very important contribution to the rapidly accumulating materials for the history of our own time. His recollections extend back to the fall of the first Napoleon, and his Memoirs close with his own retirement from public life in 1882. They thus cover a period of three-quarters of a century, as their German title indicates.

Though Von Beust belonged by birth to the little kingdom of Saxony, his family had many historical associations with Austria. Four of his name fell fighting in the Austrian ranks at Muhldorf in 1322; another served under Montecuculi, and another took part in Sobieski's famous relief of Vienna. His father was attached to the Saxon Court, then in enforced vassalage to the first French Empire, when Friedrich Ferdinand, the future Chancellor of Austria-Hungary, was born at Dresden in 1809. He was a sickly, irritable child, and he notes in his memoirs that, even in 1845 a life insurance company made difficulties about giving him a policy; but for all that, he lived to the age of

seventy-seven, and after a busy, active life, he was able to work at his Memoirs almost up to the day of his death. His first recollections of great events begin with the year 1813, when he was only four years old. His parents had left Dresden, and had gone to pass a summer and winter at the château of Zöpen, near Leipzig, a country seat belonging to his father.

To this change of residence [he says] I owe my ever-vivid recollection of an event of world-wide and historical celebrity, the battle of Leipzig. I was then in my fifth year. The battle lasted from the 16th to the 18th of October. The days of that week are engraved upon my memory. On Saturday, the 16th, Prince Schwarzenberg opened a cannonade close to our house, by which all the panes of glass on the side nearest to the guns were shattered into fragments. I soon grew reconciled to the battle, as we were told that we were to have no lessons during its progress. On the following day (Sunday) I was playing in the yard, when suddenly two officers appeared on horseback. My parents, who were at church with my brothers, were summoned in the greatest haste. The officers were Russians, and they came for worse things than merely to quarter themselves upon us. All the animals that were in the stables—horses, cows, and sheep—were dragged away. I can still see the maids crying as the soldiers were leading off the finest of the cows. The yard was full of armed men; we had been taken to an attic, from which we could distinctly see the Bashkirs shooting with arrows at our windows. On the the third and decisive day, the 18th of October, I remember that a Prussian officer entered and embraced my father with the words: "The king has come over." The Saxon troops had gone over to the allies—too late for the king, too soon for themselves. In connection with this incident I attach a few historical facts that I learned at a more advanced age. The change of sides above referred to during the battle has been justly condemned from a military point of view, but this condemnation was only expressed later on. If we except the French historians, the mistake was less apparent to contemporary writers. I ventured to say "too soon," because the fate impending over Saxony remained the same, whether the army were disarmed after the battle or joined the hostile forces. That other effects might result, or that the cause of the king could yet be saved, was the mistake of those who conducted the troops to the allies. To this we must add the feeling of the country, which was bitterly opposed to the French. The people, otherwise undemonstrative in those days, showed this feeling so openly, even before the lost battle, that the Queen said to Napoleon, on her arrival at Leipzig: "Vous nous avez fait perdre ce que nous avions de plus précieux, l'amour de nos sujets."

In 1819, six years after Leipsic, the Beust family left Zöpen for Dresden, and young Beust began to attend the classes at the Kreuzschule, which he left in 1826, coming out at the head of the school, and then proceeding to the Hanoverian University of

Göttingen. The university was then at its zenith, and Beust notes, with evident pride, the names of the professors whose courses he followed. Those of Eichhorn, Bouterweck, Sartorius, Heeren, and Blumenbach, occur on the list. He was only a year at Göttingen, but that year had a decisive influence on his subsequent career, and on his political views. He worked hard, and attended six lectures daily. Those of Sartorius, on politics, inspired him with a strong desire to take to diplomacy as his life's work, and at the same time the tone of thought in the University was distinctly Liberal. "The connection of Hanover with England," says Beust, "slight though it was politically, developed among the students English ideas and modes of thought, and in this sense I can truly say that I have been a Liberal from my youth upwards." From Göttingen he went with one of his brothers to study at Leipsic. For the first two years of his course there he took matters very easily; but in the third year he made up for lost time by hard work, and very hard it was. The tutor came every day at six A.M., and from that time until ten P.M. only two hours were allowed for food and exercise. No wonder, he adds, that at the end of the year he and his brother both passed the law examination in the first class.

He was now twenty-one, and he began to think of executing the project formed at Göttingen of entering upon a diplomatic career. But there were obstacles in the way. A Minister was in power at Court with whom to be suspected of Liberalism was a deadly sin, and young Beust reluctantly made up his mind to give up politics, and try to obtain a professorship at Leipsic. But before his arrangements were completed, the revolution of 1830 at Paris had produced a change in European politics, of which the effects were soon felt in Saxony. A more Liberal Minister was soon in power at Court, and then by the interest of his family young Beust was appointed to a minor post in the Foreign Office, and felt that he had his foot on the first round of the ladder by which he hoped to mount to fame and power.

His first mission to a foreign Court was a mere piece of ceremony. In 1833 the Prince Regent of Saxony, afterwards King Frederick Augustus, married a Bavarian princess; the event was preceded by a solemn proposal of marriage, and Beust was appointed to accompany to Munich the high Court official entrusted with the mission. Although he travelled in a special post-chaise with four horses, the journey from Dresden to Munich took no less than five days. In this same year he spent a long vacation travelling in Switzerland, France, and England; but it was not till three years later that he received his first appointment of importance in the diplomatic service. In 1836 he became Secretary of Legation at Berlin, where he resided for two years.

My lucky star [he says] decreed that in these two years of a very uneventful time the visits to Berlin of the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours took place : a visit that only passed off favourably * owing to the authoritative interference of Frederick William III. with his family and society. How many things have changed in that comparatively short period of thirty years ! When I think of 1836 and 1866—the King of Prussia, fully armed for war, allied against Austria with the last King of Sardinia, who placed himself, as King of Italy, on the thrones of his exiled fellow-sovereigns—and then to reflect on 1836 ! In those days Berlin was, almost more than Vienna, the home of the strictest legitimacy. Some French families were to be found there of very pronounced legitimist views, and on friendly terms with the Court and the aristocracy. The results of the Belgian Revolution, too, were naturally felt at Berlin more keenly than elsewhere : the Queen of the Netherlands being a sister of Frederick William III., one of his daughters being married to Prince Frederick, and one of his sons to Princess Marianne of the Netherlands. Among the embassies in Berlin none were more the centre of everything that was legitimist and absolute than that of King Charles Albert of Sardinia. The envoys of Don Carlos were often to be seen at the Sardinian embassy. And war with Austria ! Who would have ventured—I do not say to speak—but even to think of such an eventuality ! In those days Vienna did not take hints from Berlin ; but nothing took place in Berlin without the knowledge and approval of Prince Metternich, and nobody dreamt of finding in that circumstance anything derogatory to Prussia.

Things have certainly changed since 1836. It was in that year that young Otto von Bismarck came of age, who now poses at Berlin as the arbiter of peace and war in Europe. His entry into political life came much later than Beust's, but before long we shall see these two men engaged in the struggle which ended at Sadowa.

In 1838 Beust was moved from Berlin to the Saxon Legation at Paris, where he remained until 1841. During this period he was twice Chargé d'Affaires at the Legation during the absence of the Minister ; and though there were no negotiations of any importance in progress between the Saxon Court and that of Louis Philippe, his position brought him into close relation with two French Ministers whose names belong to history—Marshal Soult and M. Guizot. He also witnessed some stirring events : the *émeute* of May 1839, the subsequent trial of Barbès and Blanqui, and in the following year the trial of Louis Napoleon for his expedition to Boulogne. In 1841 Beust was promoted to the Legation at Munich, where, although at a smaller capital,

* The feeling against the Orleans princes was of course the result of the strong Legitimist tone of Berlin society.

he was in sole responsible charge of Saxon interests, and had some matters of real importance to bring to a satisfactory issue, especially negotiations concerning the construction of the railway system of Southern Germany. At Munich he married a Catholic lady, the daughter of General von Jordan. He refused to give any engagement as to the children of the marriage being brought up Catholics, and accordingly the ceremony took place in a Protestant church; his bride, herself the daughter of a mixed marriage, apparently offering no serious opposition. After five years spent at Munich, he was appointed resident Minister of Saxony in London. Ever since his university days he had had a decided liking for everything English; and of his residence in London he says:

England is the country where I passed the greatest portion of my career as a diplomatist: two years as Saxon Resident Minister, seven as Austrian Ambassador, and during various intermediate periods as Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation, and on shorter missions. I can truly say that I have always looked upon England as my second home. Whenever I visit my friends in England (a pleasure I cannot deny myself) my heart rejoices at the sight of Dover. Others have doubtless had a similar experience. Whether it be the magnificent hospitality that one finds in England, or the loyal attachment one meets with, there is a homely feeling about the country which attracts the visitor in spite of the dreary monotony of English life and the lack of amusement.

In London and in Paris, Beust had the good fortune to witness important events. The chief of these were the victory of Sir Robert Peel on the question of the corn laws, and his defeat shortly after on the Irish Coercion Bill. But it is more interesting to note that, while he was in London, Beust became aware that the idea of a unification of Germany under the headship of Prussia as against Austria was supported and promoted by an influential circle in England. The most active men in this group were Baron Stockmar, the well-known writer of the "Life of the Prince Consort"; Bunsen, then Prussian Ambassador in London; the Queen's step-brother, Prince Leiningen; and, above all, Prince Albert himself. Beust has more to tell of this movement later on, and what he says is confirmed by the independent testimony of the recently published memoirs of another diplomatist, Count Vitzthum.

The revolution of 1830 had opened for Beust the way to a diplomatic career. 1848—the "year of revolutions"—witnessed his accession to office in the King's Government at Dresden. His first appointment, however, was little more than nominal. Among the effects of the February revolution at Paris was an insurrection in the month of March in Saxony. A

change of Ministry was decided upon, in order to calm the popular excitement, and Beust received a message summoning him to come with all haste to Dresden, in order to assume the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. He travelled night and day, only to learn on his arrival that events had taken a new turn, and that it was considered advisable to have a more Radical Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a man better known to the people. It was naturally felt that Beust ought to have some compensation for his disappointment; the embassy at Berlin was vacant, and he was offered and accepted the post. Before going to Berlin he made a short visit to England. He had a long interview with Prince Albert, and found him full of the idea of German unity in the Prussian sense. The Prince Consort never forgot that he was one of the princes of Germany, and he was always hostile to Austria, and apparently anxious to use the exalted position that his marriage had given him in order to influence events in the Fatherland. At Berlin Beust found the Liberals enjoying a brief hour of triumph, and the Court and the Reactionists generally looking to Austria for help, and eagerly devouring the news of the Radetzki's victories in Italy and of the advance of Windischgrätz on Vienna. The downfall of the Liberals in Austria was followed by a rapid reaction in the rest of Germany—a reaction that was bloodless at Berlin, but cost some severe fighting in the south.

It was during this short stay at Berlin, in 1848, that Beust first met his great antagonist Bismarck. He tells the story of the meeting in characteristic fashion:—

One of my most remarkable recollections is connected with the last days of 1848, when I first met Prince Bismarck. I was acquainted with Herr von Savigny, who was afterwards envoy at Dresden. His house was close to my residence in the Wilhelmstrasse. One morning, when I went to see him he said: "I have a visitor in the house—Herr von Bismarck, of whose doings in the Landtag you must have heard." Immediately after, Bismarck entered in his dressing-gown, smoking a long pipe. Our conversation turned upon the news which had just been received, that Robert Blum had been shot (by the Austrians). I expressed the opinion that from an Austrian point of view this was a political mistake. When I expressed this opinion, Bismarck at once interrupted me with the words: "You are quite wrong; if I have an enemy in my power, I must destroy him." I have remembered this saying more than once.

Beust's meeting with Bismarck was one of the last events in his career in the Saxon embassies and legations. He had been twelve years Secretary of Legation, Chargé d'Affaires, and Ambassador in Munich, Berlin, Paris, and London; it was a good training for a future Minister of Foreign Affairs, and early

in 1849 he was called to fill that post at Dresden, in a new Ministry formed on the resignation of the Ministers who had taken office in the previous March. He believed that by waiting a little he might have assumed office later on under much more favourable circumstances. The prospect was not an inviting one, of beginning his career as a Minister in the midst of the confusion and disorder of a period when revolution was gradually giving way to reaction. But the King made a personal appeal to him for help: "I would gladly have spared you," he said; "but I did not know how to escape my difficulties in any other way." After this, Beust accepted office without hesitation.

He remained Minister of Foreign Affairs and practically Prime Minister of Saxony from 1849 to 1866. During those years his policy was a very simple one. He strove, though, as the event proved, unsuccessfully, to prevent Saxony from being reduced to the position of a tributary State in a Prussianized Germany. The cry of unity or of union has been a very seductive one in the last thirty or forty years of European history. "Union is strength" is an adage that seizes the popular mind, which unfortunately forgets that there are many kinds of union, and that some forms of union produce, not strength, but weakness. In Germany, as in Italy, the cry for unity was used by two astute statesmen—Cavour in the one case, Bismarck in the other—to effect a union which in each instance sacrificed a number of small States to the political aggrandizement of a single Power. A true union is not effected by the trampling out of local liberties, and by the determination that every portion of a great State shall have its institutions, its laws, and its administrations regulated upon one Procrustean principle. Italian unity and German unity have called forth no small enthusiasm here in England, where neither the Pope nor the Austrians were ever very popular; but, looked at from an impartial standpoint, what can the unification of Italy be called but the subjugation and exploitation of the peninsula by Piedmont, just as German unity is simply the subjection of the South German States to Prussia. As long as both Austria and Prussia were members of the German Confederation, neither of them had an assured preponderance, and the smaller States were protected by the very rivalry of their powerful neighbours. Beust held that it was the interest of the smaller States to unite in resisting all attempts to exclude Austria from the Confederation, while he held that no opportunity should be lost to curb the growing power of Prussia. A fallen cause has few friends, and it is easy to say now that Beust was using what influence he had to resist the natural current of events, and that his policy was doomed from the first to failure. But we have no proof whatever that what has occurred is the outcome of the natural current of events; we do

know that there were moments when the cause for which Beust strove unsuccessfully might very easily have been triumphant; and it is at least an open question how far Europe is better, richer, or happier for the triumph of Bismarck, the extinction of many of the smaller States, the practical subjugation of the rest, and the unification of Germany in the interest of Prussian militarism. Beust's position is very well summed up in a speech which he made in 1861 :

It is now [he said] not a question of timid anxiety as to the continued existence of the various Governments; it is still less a question of a dislike on principle of a preponderating power in Germany. You will find all the Governments of the larger German States convinced that States of their importance can exist and flourish *if they subordinate themselves to a confederation* in which they have a share in proportion to their greatness; but that *subordination to a more powerful State*, to which they would have to render implicit obedience, would very seriously diminish their prospect of further existence, and that their incorporation into one State would be inevitable.

The German unity of to-day is strong precisely in so far as Bismarck has abstained from a complete levelling down of all the smaller States into Prussian provinces. But he has gone much farther in this direction than a higher and truer statesmanship would have dictated. Above all, the Prussian barrack-yard ideal has led to very serious sacrifices of the interests of the smaller States for the glorification of Prussia and the Prusso-German Empire.

Beust was hardly installed at the Saxon Foreign Office, in the spring of 1849, when the refusal of that Government to accept the Liberal plan for the reorganization of Germany led to a rising at Dresden and four days of street-fighting—a conflict of which the result was at one time doubtful, and which was only decided by the arrival of Prussian troops. Wagner the musician was active on the side of the insurrection, and malicious people said that this was why Beust never cared for his compositions. The failure of the insurrection naturally strengthened the position of the Government. So far as Saxony was concerned, it was the last wave of the storm that began in 1848.* Beust felt himself, at last, firmly seated in the saddle.

* Here is an amusing incident in the insurrection—an incident which shows how near comedy is to tragedy. Beust and his friends were all but besieged in one of the public offices. "We were told that a man, who would not give his name and who looked rather suspicious, wished to speak to us on urgent matters. Von Abendroth advised us to be cautious, though the man announced that he came from Königstein [where the Court then was]. Rabenhorst took a loaded pistol and handed me another. The man entered with his hand in his coat pocket, and he crept along

He had the full confidence of his Sovereign, and until 1866 he practically ruled and directed the policy of Saxony, one of the most important of the second order of States in the old Confederation. In 1830 a great opportunity presented itself for settling the question of Prussia's position in Germany in a sense favourable to Austria and the minor States; but the opportunity was lost, and never returned. Prussia placed herself in a position which gave Austria a good *casus belli*, at a moment when all the advantages would have been with the imperial troops, and Austria had the magnanimity to allow her to retreat from it with a mere promise to behave better in the future. The facts are these:—the Elector of the little State of Hesse Cassel had attempted to impose new taxes without the consent of the Chamber: disturbances broke out in the Principality, and the Elector appealed to Austria for help to repress them. The diet of the Confederation at Frankfort approved of the application, and Austrian and Bavarian troops prepared to march into Hesse Cassel with this authorization. Prussia had been supporting the malcontent party in the electorate, and now, in direct defiance of the Frankfort Diet, she occupied Cassel with her troops before the allies could arrive. Prussia was clearly in the wrong. She was resisting a decree of the Confederation, and Austria, supported by the minor States, could easily have obtained a decree of Federal execution against Prussia, and marched upon Berlin. Three Austrian corps-d'armée were ready in Bohemia, and these would have been supported by 80,000 Bavarians and 30,000 Saxons. On the Prussian side nothing was ready. But Prussian resolution failed at the decisive moment, and Austrian moderation made a bridge of gold for the retreating foe. Radowitz, the Foreign Minister of Prussia, resigned, and Manteuffel, his successor, signed at Olmütz a convention for the evacuation of Cassel, which Beust rightly describes as less of a Prussian humiliation than an Austrian weakness. "Perhaps," he says, "it would have been better if war had broken out then. It would at least have been shorter than the war of 1866. If Prussia had been defeated, which would certainly have been the case, she would not have been deprived of a single village. The Emperor Nicholas, then at Warsaw, would have taken care of that. But for twenty or thirty years we should have heard no more of the Federal State with a single head."

towards us like the assassin in Schiller's ballad, 'Die Bürgschaft.' Rabenhorst cried out in a voice of thunder: 'If you come a step nearer I will shoot you!' whereupon the unfortunate creature sank down in abject terror, exclaiming: 'If you do not trust me, gentlemen, at least give me a boot-jack!' He had really been sent from Königstein, and the despatch he brought was concealed in his boot."

There are some men who can never forgive a benefactor, least of all when his good deeds consist in having spared them when they were at his mercy. This seems to have been the spirit of Prussia after Olmütz. It was now more than ever the determination of Prussian statesmen to exclude Austria from the Confederation, and of Prussian soldiers to raise the army to such a state of efficiency that it would be at least possible to make a stand against Austria when the question of the reorganization of Germany was to be referred from the council chamber to the battlefield. Bismarck, who was the very incarnation of this policy, did not come prominently upon the scene until ten years later. But long before he was Prime Minister of Prussia he was actively at work against Austria. Beust met him for the second time in Frankfort at the house of Count Friedrich Thun. One of Bismarck's sayings on this occasion suggests a curious commentary on his own policy in the Kulturkampf. The conversation turned upon a member of one of the noble families of Westphalia, who was known to be a very zealous Catholic, and Bismarck said to Beust: "Such firm Catholics are the king's best subjects." Beust protests in his Memoirs that he and Bismarck, though frequently opposed to each other in politics were always excellent friends; but for all that, the memoirs themselves afford evidence of that very personal hostility which their author denies. One cannot wonder that there was at the very least considerable friction and occasional irritation in the relations of these two men. They came into contact and into conflict more than once in the series of negotiations and conferences on the reorganization of the Confederation, which, beginning in 1849, dragged on for some years with no result. There could be no result, for the simple reason that while Austria would have been content to share the headship of the Confederation with Prussia, the Berlin party were determined that at any cost Austria should be forced to withdraw from all share in the politics of the rest of Germany; and this, although if Arndt's song is really to be the watchword of German unity—

"What is the German Fatherland?—
Wherever sounds the German tongue"—

the expulsion of Austria from Germany can only be a prelude to the future dismemberment of the Austrian Empire. A Hohenzollern Empire of Germany, which has several millions of Germans living just outside its borders, clearly does not fully accomplish the idea of German unity which has been kept in the forefront of German politics by Bismarck and his friends since 1866. Beust charges Bismarck with having most persistently worked to bring about a conflict with Austria while he represented Prussia in the Frankfort conferences. These are his words:

An attentive reader of Bismarck's Frankfort reports will look in vain for any serious attempt on his part to come to an understanding with his Austrian colleagues. On the contrary, on April 7, 1852, he rejected a proposal made by Count Thurn with the view of establishing complete equality between the two States as regards their position in Germany. Nor is it sufficiently understood that it was against her interest and her wish that Austria consented to the exclusion of her non-German possessions from the Confederation. We find everywhere that difficulties were raised by the secret hostility which depreciated the advantages of the Austrian alliance, and refused to recognize Austria's right to freedom of action and to the choice of an alliance with another power. On April 26, 1856, Bismarck even asserted that war with Austria was inevitable because it would be useful, as, 'according to the policy of Vienna, Germany is too narrow for us both, and Austria is the only State to which we can lose or from which we can gain.' This was said eleven years before the event. Men are apt to predict what they desire. Prince Bismarck may now boast of his foresight; he may also boast of having directed the events he predicted the way he wished them to occur, though it was the merest chance that they turned out as they did.

Unfortunately for Austria and the minor States, fortunately for Prussia and for Bismarck's policy, those who directed the policy of the Austrian Empire played into the hands of its enemies by violating at once the constitution of the Germanic Confederation and the public law of Europe in the Danish war of 1864. The safety of States, and especially of great States, is intimately connected with a scrupulous observance on their own part of that law of nations which is, after all, only the moral law applied to the affairs, not of individuals, but of political communities. Small States are less open to the temptation of violating this law—it is so clearly their interest to appeal to its protection. The rulers of great States too often imagine that they can afford to disregard it. Austria took a fatal step when, in defiance of the decree issued by the Diet of the Confederation at Frankfort, she joined Prussia in an illegal enterprise against Denmark—an enterprise from which the more unscrupulous of the two allies reaped all the advantage. Bismarck had found at last the pretext for war for which he had been waiting and working for so many years, and the great crisis of 1866 was the result. But even before 1866 Austria had suffered heavy losses, which prepared the way for her later disasters. The plot against Austria developed rapidly from the moment when Cavour and Napoleon III. raised the Italian question at the Congress of Paris, on the pretext—a pretext they had themselves supplied—that the presence of the Piedmontese contingent in the Crimea gave the King of Sardinia the right to be represented at Paris, and the further right to call the attention of the Congress to the rela-

tions of Italy to Austria and the rest of Europe. But it must be admitted that in Italy, as in Germany, Austria played into her enemies' hands, and by numerous sins of omission and commission prepared the way for her own downfall. There is this much, however, to be said for her, that her conduct throughout, faulty as it was, compares very favourably with that of the arch-conspirators on the other side—Napoleon III. and Count Cavour. Beust was very active in 1859, in the eventful days of the outbreak of the Italian war. He was anxious that Germany as a whole should espouse the cause of Austria, at least to the extent of moving a strong army of observation to the Rhine. He was at Paris just before the war, where in a private interview he urged strongly upon the Emperor the danger of arousing the national spirit of Germany by an attack on Austria. He saw quite clearly that when the Emperor went to war "for an idea," the real motive was the perpetuation of the Napoleonic idea in France, while the liberation of Italy was only the pretext. This opinion was largely shared by statesmen and politicians in all parts of Germany, and although they were slow to take any decisive action, by the time that Solferino had been fought the feeling against France had risen very high in most of the German States, and a further prosecution of the war—above all, an attack upon the Trentino—would have been followed by a declaration of the Diet that it was the duty of the Confederation to give effective support to Austria. This was why Napoleon, notwithstanding his promise to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic, halted so suddenly after his great victory, and offered the Emperor Francis Joseph peace on such comparatively moderate terms at Villafranca. The Austrian Emperor was only too glad to bring the conflict to a close. Notwithstanding a long list of defeats from Montebello to Solferino, a considerable army was still in the field; a campaign upon the Rhine might still have more than restored the balance of what had been lost in Italy; but there was the daily increasing danger of a successful insurrection in Hungary, and in her hour of danger Austria, with so many advantages upon her side, had to accept defeat because she had suppressed the liberties of the brave people who had once been her best defence against the foreign foe. Unfortunately for her, she did not take this hard lesson to heart until it had been repeated in the still more disastrous campaign of 1866.

Beust tells, with reference to the Italian revolution, a story which is worth noting here, before pursuing the main thread of our rapid survey of the great changes in progress in Central Europe:

"I cannot [he says] take leave of the year 1860 without recording a not uninteresting episode which was closely connected with the

events in Italy. At the moment when the Sardinian troops were preparing to invade the Papal States, and to support the Unionist movement, Count Seebach, the Saxon envoy, who was on leave, suddenly came to me on a secret mission from the Emperor Napoleon, who took this means of hinting at Vienna, through me, that if Austria wished to oppose the invasion of the Papal territories, he, the Emperor, would not intervene, provided no change was made as to the cession of Lombardy. Napoleon III. was very fond of making those disclosures through indirect channels. He did not observe his constitutional oath very strictly, but he was almost always to be depended upon in negotiations, and Vienna might have obtained guarantees. It might have been a great opportunity, for the article of the treaty of Zurich, relative to the States belonging to the younger branches of the House of Hapsburg [*i.e.*, the Italian Duchies] was still in full force, and in the Venetian provinces affairs were assuming a different aspect."

No action was taken by Austria upon this hint. Beust's remark, that Napoleon III. was "almost always to be depended upon in negotiations," reminds one of the protest made by Mr. Gilbert's hero, that although he could not say he had always told the truth, he had "hardly ever" done otherwise. Austria may have thought that this was one of the occasions on which Napoleon was not to be depended upon, and the probability is that he was playing a double game. All through the year 1860 he was trying to get and keep control of the Unionist movement in Italy, to be able to say to it, Thus far, and no farther. The continued occupation of Rome, and the demonstration of the French fleet before Gaetor, were part of this policy, and it would have been quite in accordance with it to use Austria in an underhand way as a counterpoise to Piedmont in Italy. Wisely or unwisely, Austria declined to be so used.

In the autumn of 1862 Bismarck became Prime Minister of Prussia. In the previous summer, while he was still ambassador at Paris, Beust had met him there, and in his Memoirs he asserts that their intercourse led to a certain understanding between them, although their "views on German affairs did not always coincide." This statement is part of the curious tendency shown throughout the work to minimize Beust's continual disagreement with Bismarck. It looks as if the Saxon Minister, unable to deny that his great antagonist had had the best of the struggle between them, was anxious at least to show that on his side the struggle was not one in which his feeling and ambitions were very deeply involved. Although he was only the Minister of a minor State, his activity in the politics of the Confederation had won for him so prominent a position that Bismarck, on the principle of making no unnecessary enemies, was evidently anxious to conciliate him, and this, it would seem, was the secret of their friendly intercourse at Paris in 1862. However this may be, Bismarck was

no sooner in office at Berlin than he wrote Beust a long letter, in which he told him very frankly what were his plans as to home politics, while denying that he was going to launch out into any adventures abroad. Thus, as to home affairs, Bismarck wrote :

“ My most urgent duty is to preserve and to strengthen the power of the Crown against the increasing influence of the representative Chamber and of the Parliamentary officials. I consider that this task can be accomplished without departing from the positive injunctions of the Constitution. I shall endeavour to spare as much as possible the feelings of sticklers for constitutional forms, and to return as soon as possible to constitutional courses—always bearing in mind, however, that our constitutional oath places ‘ fidelity to the king ’ first.”

No one can deny that, in strengthening the power of the Crown and curbing that of the Prussian Parliament, Bismarck realized his programme to the full. His respect for constitutional forms did not prevent him from levying taxes for four years in defiance of the hostile votes of the Chamber. The success of Sadowa won him more than an indemnity from the Parliament of 1867, and until the Kulturkampf brought the Centre into the field he never again had to feel what a Parliamentary opposition can do. On his foreign policy Bismarck was less explicit in his letter to Beust, and the latter makes a very poor attempt to show that on this occasion Bismarck was not trifling with him. The Prussian used a little judicious flattery, and this in a direction in which Beust’s self-esteem laid him particularly open to attack :

Considering [he wrote] *your knowledge of men and affairs*, I need not assure you that I stand quite aloof from all adventurous plans that have been attributed to me by political novices, and by opponents in the press. The untruthful, distorted, and disconnected reports of supposed sayings of mine, by which people have endeavoured to bring my judgment into discredit, must have been appreciated by you with a full knowledge of the real facts.

Bismarck followed up this letter by inviting Beust to a conference at Berlin, but the Saxon Minister, apparently afraid of compromising himself with Austria, declined the invitation for some time. He was always anxious to stand well with Vienna ; his great mistake was that he was also anxious to stand well with St. Petersburg, and held it to be the interest of Austria to act in harmony with Russia. This comes out in his remarks on the Crimean war, and on the Polish insurrection of 1863—matters into which it is not possible to enter here. Later on, when he was Minister at Vienna, he gave a fatal turn to the policy of Austria in the question of the Servian fortresses, and to this act of his it is in great degree owing that Russia has since then

established herself firmly on the Lower Danube, and that it is easy to foresee the time when the Austrian Empire, pressed upon by a Hohenzollern Germany on the north, and a further extension of Russian tributary States upon the south, will be as it were between hammer and anvil.

But we must go back to the days before 1866. Beust was persuaded to exchange a visit with Bismarck ; he passed a few pleasant days at Berlin, discussing chiefly the French treaties of commerce with Germany, and a little later Bismarck returned the visit at Dresden. But next year, when Beust and his master, the King of Saxony, took up warmly a project proposed by Austria, for the re-organization of the Confederation (a project which would have put Bismarck's own schemes out of the region of practical politics), Beust was very plainly informed that his Prussian friend was disappointed in him, and did not mean to make any further use of him. After this the breach widened very rapidly.

Beust was at London in 1864 as the representative of the Confederation at the Congress on the affairs of Denmark. The only practical result of the Congress was that Prussia and Austria felt thoroughly assured that neither France nor England would stand between them and Denmark. Beust asserts very strongly that England's non-intervention was in great part due to the personal efforts of the Queen, who wished at all costs to avoid a conflict with Germany, and acted in this matter in pursuance of what she felt would have been Prince Albert's opinion on the then existing position of affairs. The victory in Denmark was a very sorry one for Austria, for whom it was the prelude of disasters in the near future : for Prussia it was the first of the three successful campaigns that made the Hohenzollern Empire. Düppel, Sadowa, Sedan, were the stepping-stones to the proclamation of the Kaiser William in the great hall of Versailles on the New Year's Day of 1871.

Beust, in that part of his Memoirs which deals with the Danish war, relates a characteristic anecdote of Bismarck. After pointing out that the Danes would have acted wisely if they had not fought in 1864, but instead of this evacuated Schleswig after making a solemn protest and appealing for protection to the European Powers, and after showing that such a policy would have placed Bismarck in a very difficult position, he tells how he hinted as much to the great Chancellor when he met him at Gastein in 1865. They were talking of the late war, when Beust said : " You are forgetting what might have happened had the Danes refused to fight." " I had taken precautions against that," was Bismarck's reply. " I had made the Cabinet of Copenhagen believe that England had threatened us with active intervention if hostilities should be begun ; although, as a matter of fact, England

had done nothing of the kind." Was there ever a more cynical avowal. Armed resistance on the part of Denmark was necessary to the successful execution of Bismarck's plans, and he encourages that resistance by a deliberate falsehood, and then sends the Prussian army to overpower the hopeless and useless resistance which his own deceitful message has encouraged. Then a year after he talks coolly to Beust of the success of a scheme which began in lying and ended in wholesale murder, for these are the plain, straightforward words in which to describe such policy. But notwithstanding this and such like revelations, Bismarck is, and is likely to remain, the ideal statesman and the hero of not a few Englishmen ; unless, indeed, his abandonment of the *Kulturkampf* tends to diminish his popularity.

Thanks to General La Marmora's revelations, we know how Bismarck, having got Austria to act with Prussia against Denmark, set to work to force his ally to leave Prussia in sole possession of the Duchies, and did this in such a way as to compel that ally to become an armed enemy. Backed by the Italian alliance, Prussia was in a position to make the long-desired attack upon Austria, and win for herself the long-coveted position of the chief Power in Germany. Govone, La Marmora's agent at Berlin during the negotiations that preceded the war, assured his chief that Bismarck experienced the utmost difficulty in persuading King William to consent to a rupture with Austria. This is confirmed by Beust, and the passage is worth noting now when so many people look on the pacific dispositions of the old Emperor of Germany as a tolerably safe guarantee for the continuance of peace in Western Europe. Speaking of 1866, Beust says :

Not one of the German Governments wished for war. Austria did not wish it. The Emperor William assured me at Gastein, in 1871, that he only decided on war after severe struggles and with a heavy heart ; but I needed not this assurance to be convinced of the fact. I leave the question as to whether the same could be said of his Ministry for others to answer. Prince Bismarck certainly cannot be accused of having taken up the idea of war as a sudden inspiration. I was assured by one of his Petersburg colleagues that when he was ambassador in the Russian capital, shortly before he entered the Ministry, he spoke of war with Austria as part of his programme. But I do not attach excessive weight to this or any other oral tradition. Written statements, however, cannot be repudiated, and we often see in his Frankfort reports not only the probability, but the certainty of this war maintained and proved.

When the war broke out the Saxon army fell back into Bohemia, to act with the Austrians under Marshal Benedek. Saxony was rapidly occupied by the Prussians, and Beust being absent with the king in Austrian territory, his beautiful villa near

Dresden was sacked by a Prussian regiment. He notes, somewhat maliciously, that although his house fell into the hands of the insurgents during the *éméute* of 1849, he found on his return to it everything uninjured, with the exception of a *portière*, which had been torn. The Prussian regulars in this instance behaved worse than the Dresden mob. The first days of the war were full of hope. Good news came of the victory of Custozza; and at the Austrian headquarters at Prague every one was talking of a great success to be won in Bohemia, and followed up by the victorious entry of the Austrian and Saxon armies into Dresden. As the Prussian armies came in contact with the advanced forces of the allies, Benedek asked the King of Saxony to remove his Court from the theatre of war to Vienna. Accordingly, a few hours before the decisive engagement Beust and his master, the king, set out on their journey to the capital. The first part of the journey was made in carriages, as railway communication was interrupted. The next day was the day of Sadowa. Beust heard the news of the battle in very striking circumstances:—

We arrived in the afternoon at Brünn. . . . The news from the battlefield was not yet decisive, and we continued our journey to Vienna by rail, not without hope. At 2 a.m. we arrived in the Austrian capital. The station was brilliantly lighted and lavishly decorated with flowers; and we saw the Emperor on the platform in full military attire, but with a face as white as his uniform. He greeted the King with the appalling news of the lost battle.

Sadowa, amongst its other results, made Beust a Minister of the Austrian Empire. But even before he accepted the invitation of the Emperor Francis Joseph to enter the service of Austria, of which he had already deserved well on many occasions, Beust was able to take part in the negotiations and debates which ended in the armistice of Nikolsburg and the treaty of Prague. Early in the morning after his arrival at Vienna he was summoned to a council at Schönbrunn, at which the Emperor presided, and King John of Saxony was present. It was at this council that it was decided to cede Venetia to France. A few days after, he was sent on a special mission to Paris to endeavour to secure a French intervention on behalf of Austria. He received no written instructions; everything was left to his discretion; and the Austrian Emperor gave him an autograph letter as his credentials. The secret of the mission was so well kept that the papers said that "Beust had gone to amuse himself in Paris." He had an interview with the Emperor, but Napoleon was ill and in bad spirits. "I am not ready for war," he said. Beust tried to rouse him to a more enterprising state of mind, and used words which must have seemed prophetic to the fallen Emperor four years later, if he remembered them. "Sire," he said, "I am not asking

you to make war ; after all, I am so German as not even to wish for it ; but it is not in question. You have a hundred thousand men at Châlons ; move them to the frontier, and send a squadron to the North Sea : that is all that is necessary. The line of operations of the Prussian army is so extended that such action on your part must bring it to a halt. At Vienna, at Munich, and at Stuttgart men will take heart again, and Germany will accept your mediation with gratitude. If you do not do this, you will perhaps be yourself at war with Prussia in five or six years, and I promise you that *then all Germany will march with her.*" All that Beust could obtain was that France was to claim a share in the peace negotiations on account of the cession of Venetia, and that the Emperor was to use his good officers in favour of the integrity of Saxon territory. He returned to Vienna, where men were fast losing heart at the news of the further advance of the Prussians, and of symptoms of insurrection in Hungary. Klapka was already with the Prussian army, and a Hungarian legion was being formed under his command. Austria united with Hungary might have continued the struggle, but with Hungary ready to rise against her, Austria had to accept whatever terms Prussia might offer. Vienna had delayed too long the settlement with Pesth, and at last, in the hour of danger, it became almost a capitulation.

With the peace of Nikolsburg the first and longest period of Beust's political career came to a close. The King of Saxony had named him his representation for the peace negotiations, but Bismarck bluntly refused to treat with him, and that he might be no hindrance to the new agreement between Saxony and Prussia, Beust resigned the position of Minister, which he had held since 1849. This resignation opened to Beust a new career, and though a brief, a brilliant one. Within a few weeks he was called to direct the new policy of Austria. He had ceased to be the Minister of King John of Saxony ; he became the Minister and confidential adviser of the Emperor Francis Joseph.

Forced by two unsuccessful wars to withdraw from Italy and from Germany, Austria, under the direction of Count von Beust, set to work to adjust herself to the new state of things, and to reorganize her empire on a new basis. It is impossible to approve of much of the policy of Beust. His high-handed abrogation of the Concordat was both unjust and unstatesman-like. It would have been no difficult matter for him to secure by friendly negotiation a modification of its provisions. He chose instead to court the favour of the Austrian Liberals by simply denouncing it, forgetting, in his anti-Papal zeal, that a concordat is a treaty, and that the arbitrary violation of treaties is a proof, not of statesmanship, but the reverse of it. Again, in

his foreign policy he was far too subservient to Russia. Austria has suffered in the past, and is destined to suffer in the future, for her complicity with Russia in the partition of neighbouring States; and Beust committed the old mistake of supposing that it was better to claim a share of the spoil from the aggressor, than to resist his aggression in the Balkan peninsula. Hence his policy of supporting Servia in the question of the evacuation of Belgrade, the first step in the downward course which has involved Austria in her present difficulties in the East. But the chief act of Beust's Austrian Ministry—the act by which he will be longest remembered—was in the highest degree wise and statesmanlike. He it was who inaugurated the dual system of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, gave self-government to Hungary, and brought to an end the long conflict between the two chief portions of the Empire. It would be a mistake to suppose that Beust could claim, or ever did claim, the whole merit of this transaction. The Hungarian National party had already so far advanced the question that all that was wanted was an Austrian Minister who would deal with them in a conciliatory spirit, and accept as a basis of negotiation the justice of the Hungarian claim for Home Rule. Beust accepted this position. Much of what he has to tell in his Memoirs of the arrangement made with Hungary in 1867 is not very intelligible, unless one supplements it from other sources, and keeps in mind what the Magyar Nationalists had been doing while he was still Minister of Saxony. After the experience of 1859, Austria made an attempt to settle the Hungarian question by establishing a Parliament or Reichsrath at Vienna, with a certain control over the finances and with a responsible Ministry. It was hoped that so large a concession to the Liberals would have satisfied the Hungarians; that as soon as they had a share in the government of their own country, as well as that of the whole Empire, they would moderate their demands to a considerable extent. But although Transylvania—that is, the non-Magyar portion of Hungary—sent deputies to the Reichsrath, the Magyars refused to recognize in any way the Parliament of Vienna. The speech of the Hungarian National leader, Francis Deak, delivered on May 13, 1861, is worth quoting here—it summed up so well the position assumed by the Hungarians: *

In former times [he said] the disputes between the Sovereign and the Hungarian nation arose from two parties giving different interpretations to the laws, the validity of which was recognized by both. At

* I take this speech from my friend, Dr. Eugene Oswald's, little work, "Austria in 1868," which contains a very useful sketch of the history of the Hungarian question up to that date.

present the Austrian Government is trying to force Hungary to accept a constitution as a boon, in lieu of those fundamental laws to which she is so warmly attached. On the side of Hungary is right and justice; on the other side is physical force. During the last twelve years we have suffered grievous wrongs. The constitution which we inherited from our forefathers was taken from us; we were governed in an absolute way, and patriotism was considered crime. Suddenly his Majesty resolved "to enter the path of constitutionalism," and the diploma of October 20, 1860, appeared. That document encroaches on our constitutional independence, inasmuch as it transfers to a foreign assembly (the Reichsrath) the right to grant the supplies of money and men, and makes the Hungarian Government dependent on the Austrian, which is not responsible for its acts. If Hungary accepted the diploma of October 20 she would be an Austrian province. The policy of the Austrian Government is a direct violation of the pragmatic sanction, the fundamental treaty which the Hungarian nation in 1723 concluded with the reigning family. We must therefore solemnly declare that we insist on the restoration of our constitutional independence and self-government, which we consider the fundamental principles of our national existence. We can on no account allow the right to vote the supplies of money and men to be taken from us. We will not make laws for other countries, and we will share our right to legislate for Hungary with no one but the king [*i.e.*, the Emperor Francis Joseph]. . . . We will neither send deputies to the present Reichsrath, nor take any share in the representation of the empire.

Count Andrassy, afterwards Prime Minister of Austria, but then one of the Hungarian leaders, spoke in the same sense :

The nationalities inhabiting the empire [he said] must choose between *centralization* and *federation*. Civilization and absolutism must necessarily go hand in hand. If the principle of *duality* is recognized, and Austria has a free constitution, a union between the empire and Hungary may easily be effected. The Hungarian nation refuses to have anything to do with the lately promulgated constitution. The position of Austria as a great Power is better secured by the principles of *duality* than by the principles of *unity*.*

An address to Vienna was followed by a promise on the part of the Emperor of an extension of local self-government in Hungary, but the administrative and legislative union with Austria and the Parliament at Vienna was to be maintained. The Hungarians indignantly rejected this half-hearted concession, and then came a period of military coercion on the one hand and organized passive resistance upon the other. No deputies were sent to the Reichsrath, and the payment of taxes was refused, and could only be enforced by General Palfy quartering his troops upon the

* "Austria in 1868," p. 14.

people. There was no insurrection—a rising would have been fatal to the national movement—but this passive resistance continued until the events of 1866, and the accession to power of Beust had introduced a new order of ideas at Vienna. But Beust would not have been able to accomplish what he did if the change had not already begun before he became Chancellor of Austria. In the autumn of 1865, when the war-cloud was gathering fast on the northern and southern borders of the empire, Vienna had opened negotiations with Pesth, which broke down on the question of a separate ministry for Hungary. They had this useful result, however, that the Austrian Government conceded the justice of most of the Hungarian claims. Then came Sadowa, and Austria's weakness proved to be Hungary's opportunity. In the anxious days when the Prussian armies were advancing on Vienna, and Austria was appealing in vain for aid to France, Francis Deak published a manifesto which was all but an ultimatum :

A considerable part of the country [it said] is inundated by hostile armies ; only Hungary is yet free from invasion. But Hungary is dead. If not everything, at least much can be done with Hungary. Still, by herself she can do nothing, for her hands are bound. What alone can set them free and breathe life into her is a parliamentary government. If Hungary can yet do anything for the monarchy, it will be when her liberty of action is restored to her, and when a Government is placed over her which is the emanation of the national will, and in which the nation finds a guarantee of its territory and its rights.

It was clear that if the war continued, Hungary could, by merely taking Deak's advice, and remaining inactive, work the ruin of Austria. The day after the manifesto was published the Imperial Government resumed negotiations with the Hungarian leaders. These negotiations at first made little progress. When Beust accepted office at Vienna, it was at the outset as Foreign Minister under Count Belcredi. Before long Belcredi retired, and the late Saxon Premier became Prime Minister of Austria. From the first Beust represented the party of liberal concession, and it was, thanks to him, that the *Ausgleich* or "understanding" with Hungary was successfully arranged. It was not all his work, but without Beust the arrangement would have had to wait a long time for completion. He was aided in his task by the fact that the public opinion of the empire had been won to the side of Hungary. "An agreement with Hungary, even a disadvantageous agreement, is, in short, the lesser evil," said the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna. In the Styrian Diet, Kaiserfeld put forward the argument that without concession to Hungary parliamentary government would be impossible, an argument the full

force of which recent events help us to appreciate. "Peace with Hungary," he said, "means the existence or the non-existence of Austria, and that peace must be concluded without delay. An extended Reichsrath [*i.e.* one Parliament for the whole empire] would produce only national, not political parties, thus making parliamentary government impossible. Only a constitutional Austria is possible."

In December 1866 Beust had gone to Pesth for a few hours, to have an interview with Deak and the other Hungarian leaders. Until then the negotiations had been carried on by letter. This interview had important results, for it led Beust to make a proposal to the Emperor on his return to Vienna, which considerably facilitated the subsequent agreement. He tells us how—

"the next morning, immediately after my return, I was summoned to the Emperor. His Majesty was impatient to know my impressions. I took the liberty of expressing them in the following words: 'I have witnessed,' said I to the Emperor, 'since I have been here, nothing but a useless exchange of rescripts sent to Pesth, and of resolutions and addresses sent here in return. This will not advance matters. Your Majesty has expressed the determination to appoint a Hungarian Ministry under certain conditions, and you have already chosen the men who are to form that Ministry. It would be well if your Majesty were to summon them to Vienna, in order that we might negotiate with them here.' The Emperor took my advice, and Andrassy, Eötvös, and Lonyay, were invited to come to Vienna. This was the beginning—I may say the decisive beginning—of the establishment of the agreement, and in 1867 and 1868 Andrassy said to me more than once: 'If it had not been for you, the agreement would never have been completed.'"

The negotiations resulted in the concession of an Hungarian Parliament at Pesth for Hungarian affairs, with a responsible Ministry, Imperial affairs being referred to the delegations—committees of delegates from the Parliaments of Pesth and Vienna, these committees meeting alternately in either capital; so that even where the common interests of the Empire were under discussion the national feeling of Hungary received full satisfaction. On June 8, 1867, the peace between Hungary and Austria was sealed by the solemn coronation of Francis Joseph with the crown of St. Stephen in the cathedral of Buda. It was a day of triumph for Beust. As he rode across the bridge from Buda to Pesth in front of the newly crowned Emperor-king, the shout of *Eljen Beust* rose up from the crowd so vociferously that he found it difficult to restrain his spirited horse. As he entered the square another cheer broke out, the signal being given by Deak. He feared that the Emperor might not take these plaudits in good part, but after the ceremony was over, Francis Joseph sent for

him, and said, "No Austrian Minister has ever been received in Hungary as you have been. I am heartily delighted."

The question of the success or failure of the system inaugurated by Deak in Hungary has been a good deal discussed within the last twelve months in connection with its bearing on the Irish Home Rule question. In nearly all these discussions one very important point has been left out of consideration. Those who wish to show that Home Rule in Hungary has been a failure allege that in 1867 the Magyars were given a power and influence in the empire out of all proportion to their numbers, while they undertook less than their due share of military and financial burdens; that they were placed in a position to overrule and outweigh the German element in the empire, and that the consciousness of this had tended to keep alive old national rivalries, and may yet lead to a disruption of the empire. I shall not discuss here the question as to how far this is a correct statement of facts. I admit at once that the agreement of 1867 gave Hungary more than her due share of privileges in comparison with Austria and the Cis-Leithian monarchy. But what does this prove? Not that Beust was mistaken in giving self-government to the Magyars in 1867, but that those erred, and erred deeply, who, in the years before 1866, resisted the moderate demands of Deak and the Hungarian Nationalists. Beust, in his Memoirs, points out that the demands of the Hungarians increased considerably in extent after the crisis of 1866. The case of Hungary is one more proof that true statesmanship lies in timely concession, not in the wretched policy which begins with coercion in the day of fancied security, and ends with surrender at discretion in the hour of peril and disaster.

Baron Henry de Worms, the translator of the English version of Beust's Memoirs has prefixed to them a long introduction, abounding in interesting reminiscences of Beust's career, and containing some of his letters. A considerable portion of this introduction is devoted to the comparison of Austro-Hungarian dualism with Irish Home Rule: Baron de Worms insisting that there is no real analogy between the two cases, and quoting, in confirmation of this view, a letter written by Beust not long before his death. But the Baron's argument is vitiated by the fact that he takes Home Rule to mean Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1886. He seems to think he has scored a great logical success when he points out that in Mr. Gladstone's scheme there was nothing to correspond to the "Delegations" in Beust's system. To this we can only reply that in all comparisons between the case of Hungary and that of Ireland it is the principle, and not this or that detail, that is important, and that the Home Rule Bill of 1886 is now as much ancient history as the schemes of

Hungarian autonomy that were discussed at Vienna and Pesth in 1865. But the principle remains. Again, Baron de Worms insists that the dual system was adopted to *unite*, not to divide, Austro-Hungary. But this is exactly what the advocates of Home Rule say in its favour. Baron de Worms is simply misrepresenting the plain facts of the case when he says :

Count Beust wisely sought, by introducing the dual system, and by making Count Andrassy president of the Hungarian Ministry, to avert the dismemberment of the empire whose destinies he had been called by the emperor to control. Where, again, is the parallel between such a state of things and the necessity for a Parliament on College Green ? With regard to the latter, we have the oft-repeated assurance of those chosen to represent and speak for Ireland, that it is the thin end of the wedge which it is hoped will permanently cleave the two countries.*

Now the oft-repeated assurances of those chosen to represent and speak for Ireland are precisely to the contrary effect. Count Beust's letter, quoted by his editor, shows that, however well acquainted he may have been with continental politics, he knew nothing of Ireland. His chief argument only goes to prove that in politics as in morals no two cases are ever precisely and exactly parallel. But all these discussions over details count for little in the face of the broad fact, that, notwithstanding her defeats, the position of Austria is now infinitely stronger than it was twenty years ago, and that Hungary which was a source of weakness to her in 1859, and again in 1866, would be her best defence at the present moment, if the Eastern crisis were to lead to a Russian war. This very year has seen the Magyar Parliament at Pesth voting, without one word of discussion, the credits demanded for the defence of the empire. Austrian statesmen are so satisfied that the principle of decentralization is the only sound one, that the policy of Count Taaffe, the present Prime Minister of Austria, is distinctly one of recognizing and developing to the full the local liberties of the various nationalities that compose the empire.

The settlement of the Hungarian question was the culminating point of Beust's career, and remains the most enduring monument of the days when he directed the fortunes of Austria. Other portions of his policy showed, as has been already remarked, but little statesmanship, and above all his conduct towards the Holy See arrayed against him the Catholic and Conservative party at Vienna. At length a combination of parties forced him to resign. His withdrawal from office was alleged to be caused by ill-health, but the real fact was that he found he was becoming unpopular in Austria. His resignation was followed

* Introduction, p. xlv.

by his appointment as Ambassador in London, whence he was transferred in 1878 to Paris. Failing health at last induced him to retire from official and diplomatic life, and he devoted his last months, at the château of Altenberg, to the composition of his *Memoirs*.

One of the most interesting chapters in the whole work is that which records his conversations with Bismarck when the Emperors met at Gastein in 1871. The German Chancellor spoke freely to his old rival of both past and future. One curious story is well worth quoting, though it would be more satisfactory if we had the name of Beust's well-informed friend:

If I received highly interesting revelations from Prince Bismarck as to the past, his hints about the future were not less so. He foretold the subsequent conflict with the Church of Rome in all its details; which gave me occasion to say that this would please me in one respect, as I should then no longer hear people remark that the Catholics were better treated in Prussia than in Austria. I warned him, however, that although for the time being Austria was not governed by a strictly Catholic Ministry, she might be at a later period, and that she would then be a strong support to the Catholic opposition in Germany. Bismarck then said: "They have treated us villainously in Rome"—which was another favourite expression of his. Some months later, when I was no longer in Vienna, a person who was thoroughly conversant with politics told me what this so-called villainous conduct was. Bismarck was very well disposed to the Catholic Church immediately after the war. He expected to find a support in the Roman Curia, and had proposed to the Pope to remove his residence from Rome to Cologne. If the Pope had had to leave Rome, as at that time appeared highly probable, there was much that was attractive in this idea. An old archiepiscopal See, a famous cathedral, a Catholic population, an intensely Catholic aristocracy—all these were to be found at Cologne; and the garrison was to consist chiefly of Catholic soldiers. Cardinal [then Bishop] Ledochowski was intrusted with the negotiation; but after a time it took such a shape that Bismarck thought the Curia was trying to mystify him. This was the "villainous conduct" of which he complained.

It would be interesting to know if any confirmation can be found for this story of the Cologne project. May we hope that Bismarck will some day give us his own account of it, and with it leave his "*Memoirs*" to the world. Probably, unlike Beust, he will be in harness to the end, and so will have no leisure for such an undertaking. Meanwhile in the official edition of his speeches we have the German Chancellor's own account of his policy, and defence of his conduct. These, however, lack the element of anecdote and inner history of events which give their chief interest to a statesman's *Memoirs*.

Beust's story of his own career is a work which cannot fail to

find a wide circle of readers, and to secure a permanent place in the class of literature to which it belongs. In preparing the English version Baron de Worms has very wisely omitted much that would only be of interest to German readers. His Introduction supplies ample compensation for what has been omitted. Students of foreign politics will find in the two volumes a rich mine of valuable information and suggestive comment; while those who look chiefly for interesting and amusing anecdotes in a volume of Memoirs will not be disappointed with those that Beust has woven into his narrative of a life passed in half the capitals of Europe, in the society of distinguished men, and in the midst of great events.

A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE.

ART. VIII.—THE WORK OF THE LAITY.

1. *Report of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in England for the year 1886. Tenth Report and Manual of the Patronage Work, 1886.* London: 31, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W.C.
2. *Report of the General Conference of the Young Men's Societies of Great Britain, held at Dumfries 1st and 2nd August, 1886.* Liverpool: 50 Manchester Street.
3. *The Love and Service of Christ in His Poor.* By the BISHOP OF SALFORD. London: 27 Wellington Street, W.C.
4. *The Loss of our Children.* By the Same.
5. *The Leakage of the Catholic Church in England.* Four Essays reprinted from the *Month*. London: Catholic Truth Society, 18 West Square, S.E.
6. *The Catholic Church and the People.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Paternoster Square.
7. *Our Losses.* By the Rev. G. BAMPFIELD. London: Burns & Oates.

WITHIN the last two years, a remarkable change has come over Catholic public opinion in this country. Until then, it was usual to assume that our progress was as satisfactory in spiritual as it certainly has been in temporal affairs. Priests and schools were multiplying; religious communities were increasing at a rate little short of marvellous; new and splendid

churches arose on every side. The machinery of religion seemed to be approaching perfection. The position of Catholics in the world left nothing to be desired, as was conclusively shown by a pamphlet entitled "We Catholics," which, as rumour has it, found favour in the most exalted circles.

There were, indeed, those who estimated this external progress at its true value. The overworked priest of the courts and alleys of our large towns, as well as the pastor of a handful of souls in remote country districts, knew too well the other side of the brilliant picture held up to our admiration. Thoughtful laymen, too, who mixed with the poor and knew their wants, could not fail to see a falling away from within, for which the increase from without could not compensate; and this view found expression in a pamphlet, entitled "The Catholic Church and the People," the authorship of which has not been revealed.* Though issued hardly more than two years since, it appeared before its time. The truths it enforced were unpalatable, and they were presented somewhat strongly; the paper was ignored by the Catholic press, and is hardly known among Catholics. The author must, however, feel more than justified in the line he adopted, when he reads, in language hardly less forcible than his own, the similar complaints which have now been admitted into the most respectable and influential of our Catholic papers and reviews.

In July, 1885, a paper by Mr. Edward Lucas appeared in the *Month*, on "The Conversion of England," which is reprinted in the volume on "The Leakage," mentioned at the head of this article. This seemed likely to share the fate of the pamphlet just mentioned, as the Catholic weekly press, which devoted columns to "We Catholics," entirely boycotted the less satisfactory view of our position represented by Mr. Lucas. But an important ally was at hand. I have already said that the real state of affairs was not hidden from the clergy. In the same year, the Bishop of Salford appointed a board of enquiry to investigate the condition of Catholics in Manchester and Salford. The result of this showed that in these two towns alone (which are for all practical purposes one) there were "10,546 children needing different degrees of special care, if we are to save them to the Church and to the Kingdom of Heaven."† An anonymous pamphlet and a Catholic layman could be safely ignored by our newspapers; but the utterances of a Bishop could not be thus suppressed. The *Tablet* and the *Weekly Register* vied with each other in their expressions of horror at the state of things revealed, and in the warmth of their appeals to Catholics

* I have lately learned that in more than one quarter this pamphlet is attributed to me. I did not write it, nor do I know the author.

† "Loss of our Children," p. 33.

to come forward and help to stay the leak. This affords gratifying evidence of the importance which rightly attaches to the utterances of a leader in the Church.

The cue having been given, and the discussion of the matter having thus received episcopal sanction, there has been no lack of interest or suggestion. It is noteworthy that no one has denied the facts on which the agitation regarding the "leakage" is based; and that both priests and laymen are combining to remedy the evil. Our reviews and papers have published a series of articles and letters, some being mere talk, others containing practical suggestions; conferences of priests and laymen have been held, at which certain recommendations were put forward; a well-known priest has expressed his views in a noteworthy pamphlet; and four of the papers which have been contributed to the *Month* now appear in a separate volume. It is something that we have not been deterred in our desire to face the difficulty by the knowledge that this open confession of our shortcomings would give (as it has given) occasion to the enemies of the Church to blaspheme; but we can afford to despise the sneers of the *Church Times* if we are fully set upon remedying what is unsatisfactory in the existing state of affairs.

It is of course certain that this work must rest mainly with the clergy. They, under God, are the shepherds of the flock; and no work can prosper, or, indeed, can be undertaken, without their approval and sanction. But it is easily demonstrable that the clergy alone are unable to cope with the evils which at present exist. To suppose otherwise would be to imply that our clergy have been hitherto neglecting their duty—a conclusion from which we should all of us very properly shrink. But if, with an active body of clergy, more than 10,000 children in one large town are in imminent danger, it is manifest that some other means of reaching the people must be found. What the clergy cannot do, the laity can, to some extent, supply.

It is most important that I should, at the outset, endeavour to guard against any misunderstanding on this point. Two priests of position and ability have put their views on this "leakage" question on record. Provost Wenham simply ignores the laity; Father Bampfield thinks their main duty is to vote supplies. In saying this I do not mean to convey the slightest reflection upon these two able men; on the contrary, I honour them for having treated the matter from the standpoint of "what can *I* do," rather than, as too often happens in like cases, from that of "what can *they* do." But, just as the clergy have a right to address their brother priests and point out to them lines on which they may work, so a layman may not improperly put forth suggestions for the benefit of his brother Catholics. Anything like interference with

priestly duties would of course be as intolerable to the clergy as it would be repugnant to a layman of ordinary intelligence. The layman may be to the priest much what St. John Baptist was to Our Lord. He can "prepare the way and make straight his paths;" he may even preach in the desert and exhort to penance; but all will be with the knowledge that "there cometh after me one mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and loose." In this sense, and in this sense only, can the layman do his part in the great work of saving souls.

The field of lay work is, indeed, quite distinct from that of the clergy; but it seems to me certain, even if we had no other evidence than the figures quoted for Manchester, that it needs assiduous cultivation. And the Bishop of Salford evidently sees this; for the "safeguards and remedies" which he proposes are:—

1. The formation of district or vigilance committees in the missions, to help in bringing every Catholic child to a Catholic school, to take in hand all cases requiring care and attention.

2. The establishment of Catholic homes for destitute children, night shelters, refuges, and industrial or certified schools.

3. The creation of organizations or societies for the benefit and protection of boys and girls after they leave the workhouse or other schools for service.

4. A well-considered system of emigration for Catholic children.

5. Greater encouragement to be given in public elementary schools and elsewhere to temperance and habits of thrift; greater insistence upon the proper reception of the sacrament of marriage; the discouragement of mixed marriages as most dangerous and pernicious; systematic co-operation on the part of confraternities and other parochial societies, such as St. Vincent of Paul's, in visiting the homes of children exposed to danger, getting them to Catholic schools, instructing and interesting them *after* they have left school by means of amusements, of cheap Catholic literature and by friendly intercourse and sympathy.*

With hardly an exception, all these works are matters for the laity at least as much as the clergy, and many of them must depend mainly upon the former. Our priests are overworked; their spiritual duties alone fully occupy their time; house-to-house visitation, in large missions, is simply impossible. To expect them to add to their work such serving of tables as is indicated in many of the remedies proposed above, is to expect an impossibility. All these things need doing; but without lay help they cannot be done.

At the present time there is great need for Catholics to show themselves fully alive to the social needs of the people, and to avail

* "Loss of our Children," pp. 35-40.

themselves of all the aids to civilization which are so abundantly placed at our disposal on every side. I am sorry to occupy space by saying that I do not confound civilization with religion; but it is so important to guard against misunderstanding that protests of this kind are perhaps needful. Take such various works as the improving the dwellings of the poor, the bringing of art to the people, the establishment of recreative evening classes, the providing amusement of various kinds for different grades of folk, the formation of libraries, the establishment of friendly societies and penny banks, the advancement of higher education, the formation of choral societies, the direction of sewing-classes. Every one of these is useful, not only from a social but from a religious standpoint; but how are the clergy to find time for them? "In my young days," said an old priest recently, "it was thought that a priest had done his duty when he had started his school, but now they want a theatre as well!" Now the priests cannot supply this. "Our business is not to teach people to admire art, but to save their souls," said another priest lately. This of course is true; and if it is a choice between the two, art must go to the wall. Yet we are proud to remember that the Church of old days was not only the teacher of religion, but the mistress of art as well; a fact to which our very Board Schools testify by the pictures on their walls.*

A few years back a book called "*John Brown, Working-man*," deservedly attracted some attention. Books of this sort appear so rapidly that there is hardly time to read them, much less to think over them; and yet they often contain, as this does, much food for reflection. In this the Catholic character—who is no very good specimen of his creed—says, in reply to the statement that "the Catholic clergy understand us better somehow"—

"I don't know that, John. They visit us oftener, I know, and the convents are very good for the poor, but sure the Sisters care nothing for us ourselves. They've got their eyes fixed on a great crown of glory, and they use their charity to the poor as one of the biggest stepping-stones to it. The priests are the same; they never try to make us happier here. . . . They never try to civilize us. It's always the same story with them. We may live like pigs, wallowing in our filth. It's no sin, they'll tell you, so long as you go regularly to your priest and attend Mass."

I do not endorse Tim Pearson's remarks, but there is matter for thought in them.

There are many who think they see in the distance—some,

* I learnt quite recently that the Art for Schools Association had supplied a large number of copies of some of Raffaele's Madonnas for the decoration of Board Schools.

indeed, believe it to be near at hand—a little cloud arising which may darken the relations which should exist, and hitherto have largely existed, between the clergy and the laity. How frank and friendly these relations can be and should be may be gleaned from the records of the times when England was Catholic, and may be seen if we cross to our sister island. There the clergy are largely taken from among the people; and, so far as I can judge, there is no fear that they will forget those from whom they have sprung. The affectionate familiarity between priest and people, going hand in hand with the greatest respect for the priestly office, is one of the many noticeable features which strike an English Catholic on his first visit to Ireland, should he have the opportunity of mixing with the people. Whatever may be thought of the political position in that country, there can be no doubt that its strength lies mainly in the united front which the clergy and people, from the archbishops down to the most illiterate peasant, are enabled to present. This is a great source, too, of the strength of the Church in Ireland, as its opposite has been a source of weakness to the Church in France; and its importance, great in a Catholic country, is essential where Catholics are but a handful of the people. It behoves us, then, to consider how this union may best be maintained or promoted in England. That it is in need of support and development the correspondence in Catholic papers from time to time makes manifest.

It is quite certain that the laity might do much more for the Church than they do. Whose fault is it that they do not? There are two views on this point, which I may roughly sum up by saying that the clergy say the laity won't work, and the laity say they are not allowed to work. Both views are, I think, partly true; and yet it seems to me that the greater blame rests with the laity, and for this reason. There are already existing certain recognized organizations of lay work, to which I shall refer at length later on. These at present receive very inadequate support; and until the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, for example, can show a larger number of conferences, and a far more numerous list of members, we laity have little right to complain. If we are not faithful in a few things, we can hardly expect to be made rulers over many things.

With the clergy, it seems to me that the chief difficulty in the way is their failure to grasp the importance of lay co-operation—a failure all the more remarkable because they must be quite conscious that they are physically incapable of coping with the numerous calls which are made upon their time. Father Bampfield, in his interesting and suggestive pamphlet, illustrates what I am saying. His remarks on lay help, so far as men are concerned, are mainly devoted to "its difficulties;" the subject itself

is to be "thoroughly discussed by a conference of *priests*"—which somehow reminds one of the Irish Attorney-General's recently expressed anxiety that Irishmen should be tried by an "independent" jury, who might be trusted to return the verdict which the English Government desired. Perhaps it would be desirable to ascertain if the laity were *willing* to help, before the question of their help came under discussion. Father Bampfield thinks that "voting supplies is the proper work of the laity, their duty, and their glory." This is true; but if the laity are to be limited to this means of co-operation, the means itself will diminish. "Taxation without representation" is not a sound working principle; and those who find the money have some right to know how it will be spent. It is not so long ago since our papers contained a correspondence in which it was bitterly complained that, owing to a change of priest, a church which had been decorated and furnished at no inconsiderable expense in a certain style of art had been metamorphosed to suit the views of the new-comer, who favoured a different system of ornament. It has even been known that handsome Gothic vestments have been cut up into covers for cushions; massive Gothic candlesticks removed to make way for "Roman;" and so on. Are the laity, who "voted supplies" for the first, to do the same for the second, and that without question? And if so, for how long? * When I read Father Bampfield's pamphlet, I could not help thinking, "Lions would have fared better, had lions been the artists."

The laity are, *de facto*, completely in the hands of the clergy. I am not complaining that this is so; no work can go on in a parish without the approval of the priest, and no sane man would suggest that it should. I have said that the laity are most to blame for their inaction; but their position is not always an easy one. Let me take a quite possible case as an illustration. Father X, on being appointed to a mission, finds a layman, Z, who is able and willing to work, and entrusts him with many parochial undertakings. Z trains the choir, perhaps at his own expense, serves at Mass, establishes a library and a club for men and boys, acts as sacristan, "votes supplies"—or rather *gives* them, as far as possible—both to church and schools, Father X warmly approving and supporting all that is done. Perhaps the good Father, in his zeal for his flock, starts a temperance society, and here, too, Z is his right-hand man. And then there is a change. Father X goes to his reward, and Father Y succeeds

* I am not of course disputing the *right* of the priest of a mission to the absolute disposal of the property in his charge. But it would seem that the intention of the donor should receive some consideration; and a layman who saw this ignored might fairly withhold any similar gifts which he might otherwise have made.

him. He sees Z in a prominent position—too prominent, he thinks, for a mere layman to occupy. “He will be wanting to say Mass next,” says Father Y to himself, when Z comes to him, as he was wont to do to Father X, with some tale of a drunkard wanting the pledge, or a family neglecting Mass. When once a feeling of what, in a layman, we would call jealousy is aroused, the affair is practically ended. Z’s position is difficult; he is conscientiously trying to continue in his old lines of work, knowing the while that the old approval and support are no longer his, although he has never been told this. If he is wise, he will leave the parish, for his work is at an end. This is not an impossible picture; and it has two sides, and two results. Father Y will say he has had quite enough of lay help; Z will feel that lay help is not wanted; and, unless he is foolish enough to be zealous, will content himself in his next abode by “voting supplies,” saying his prayers, going to church, and amusing himself—leading the sort of life, in fact, that is led by the majority of pious Catholics—a life which, indeed, would be all that could be desired, if our duty to God did not include our duty to our neighbour.

Before referring to the various channels into which lay activity may be directed, it will be well to glance at what is already being done. We have, in the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, an organization capable of undertaking almost everything that comes within the scope of lay work; and it may well be urged that in promoting the extension of this Society we should be at the same time advancing every kind of social activity. According to the book of rules,

The object of the Society is: 1st, to encourage its members, by example and counsel, in the practice of a Christian life; 2ndly, to visit the poor and assist them when in distress, as far as our means permit, and to afford them also religious consolations, remembering the words of our Master: “*Not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God*” (St. Matt. iv. 4); 3rdly, to apply ourselves, according to our abilities and the time which we can spare, to the elementary and Christian instruction of poor children (whether free or imprisoned), seeing that what we may do for the least among our brethren, Jesus Christ has promised that He will accept as done to Himself; 4thly, to distribute moral and religious books; 5thly, to lend ourselves to every other sort of charitable work which our resources may permit, and which will not conflict with the chief objects of the society.

From this it will be seen, as elsewhere stated in the little book, that although “charitable works are not the primary objects of the Society, they are the principal means made use of to attain that object.” It is worth while to summarize the work for 1886 from the official report for that year.

or wholly supported, and 13 persons were helped to emigrate : the total income during the year was £7106 18s. 10d.

Brought together in this way, the report of work appears very creditable, as indeed it is. But its value must be estimated in proportion to the needs which the Society has to satisfy ; and none know better than the Brothers themselves how inadequately these needs are attended to. Money, indeed, is required ; but men are wanted more than money : for the relief of the temporal necessities of the poor is but one of the duties of the Society, and not the most important of them. There are probably few among the readers of this paper who have not at times been able to take part in some of the works enumerated above ; their work would be more systematic and of greater benefit if they would ally themselves with others of like spirit, and found a conference of the Society. Our great defect in this, as in almost everything else, lies in our want of organization ; and this we must endeavour to remedy.

It is in the "Patronage Work" that there is the greatest development, and the evidence thus given of a greater realization of the need for doing something for our lads is very gratifying. The number of boys under the care of this branch of the work in its various forms was, in 1886, 2370, as against 1187 in 1885, and 814 in 1884. Almost every kind of work among boys and young men can be brought under this designation, which is, in my opinion, both unsuitable and ill-chosen. It has been taken direct from the French language, in which it "implies"—so says the Report—"the affectionate relations which exist between a Brother of St. Vincent de Paul, or a kind Christian master and his apprentice" (the English is doubtful, but the meaning is clear). This would have been all very well if the word Patronage had not already had a recognized meaning in English, and that one entirely opposed to the spirit which should animate the Brothers of St. Vincent of Paul. There is a foreign air about much of the "Patronage" Report which is not attractive to English ears, and would not work with English boys ; and which is, indeed, hardly likely to strike as practical those who know anything of the lads of our large towns. There is just that assumption that boys are like pieces on a chessboard, and will stay where you put them, that is at the bottom of countless failures in work of this kind. It is not so easy to start a "Patronage" as the translator of the scheme seems to suppose. It is assumed that the use of a school-room can be had for the asking, that the boys will go to monthly communion for the telling, that the "few pounds' worth of interesting story-books and games" will be at once forthcoming, and that the lads will allow themselves to be kept in order by "a pious elderly man." Now, every one who has

worked with boys knows that this scheme is built up of assumptions. As a matter of fact, it is by no means easy to get a school-room, or to make it attractive when got; the "few pounds"—there is an airiness in this way of speaking which raises a mournful smile—are not easy to get; and as for the "pious elderly man"—well, I have tried him, and his piety will not stand the wear and tear. I have known him use strong language, and he had great provocation; but his character for piety was gone. But I must not stop to criticize the well-meant suggestions of the "Patronage" committee; they need revision by some one who understands what English and Irish lads are, and who therefore knows that they are not likely "to begin a good life by a wish for the honour of wearing the collar" to be provided for the virtuous, or to be induced, even by the promise of a prize, to "learn by heart the history of the Passion!" Nor would it be well that "if any Patronage boy use *a* bad word he should be at once suspended by the person in charge, and perhaps expelled by the conference from the Patronage Gild." In a word, the boys for whom this scheme is adapted are those already good; for them it *might* do, but it would never attract the careless and irreligious.

It is pleasant to state, however, that the "Patronage" committee does not confine its support to clubs worked on its own lines. A wise liberty of action is allowed to local workers, who would often be unable to carry on their work without the aid of funds supplied by the committee. Lads are helped to emigrate from the same fund, and men's clubs have also been assisted. The actual work among the lads includes the establishment of penny banks, night-schools, lectures, and classes of different kinds, superintendence at Mass, and general encouragement in fulfilling religious duties; the formation of Sunday-schools and libraries; the encouragement of temperance, and the like.

In the Catholic Young Men's Society, founded in 1849 by Dean O'Brien, of Limerick, the spiritual good of the members is the primary aim. "It is a brotherhood of practical Catholics, not a refuge for spiritual waifs and strays;" and its aim is rather to keep together in the practice of virtue those who are already good than to reclaim those who have gone astray, as is manifest from its "fundamental rule" of monthly confession. The temporal advantages of the members are, however, by no means lost sight of, and it is this aspect of its work that more immediately concerns us now. The Catholic Young Men's Society is strongest in the south of Scotland and in the north of England; indeed, in the south, it is almost non-existent, and an attempt has been made to supply its place by a conference of Catholic clubs having its centre in London. The following summary of the kinds of work undertaken by the Catholic Young

Men's Society is taken from its last year's Report: Lectures, dramatic clubs, literary and debating societies, gymnasiums, libraries and reading-rooms, clubrooms for games, classes in reading, French, &c., benefit societies, penny banks, football and cricket clubs, social gatherings, popular concerts, bands. It will thus be seen that by the Catholic Young Men's Society, as well as by the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, the social side of things is fully recognized. The conference of Catholic clubs, to which reference has been made, has been too recently formed to allow of any estimate of its work; but a series of Saturday afternoon excursions has been organized with satisfactory results.

The work of each of these lay societies is distinctly good in quality, but it needs to be greatly increased in quantity; and we may well devote our best energies to the extension of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul. But there are many openings for lay work which do not come within the scope of that Society.¹

It has lately been suggested that much could be done by the establishment of parochial councils, to be formed, of course, with the sanction of the priest, and to work under him, which could take up and organize lay work of different kinds. Such councils would not confine themselves to merely social work; they would aim at organizing the Catholics of their mission into a compact body, which would be available for voting purposes in all parochial matters. Probably no better plan of operation could be devised than that which is suggested in an anonymous pamphlet on "The Education Crisis," published in 1871, as a means of organizing a parish for taking part in the work of raising funds for the support of Catholic schools:

It will be good for the parish priest to gather around him the most influential men of his congregation. Now, this does not necessarily mean that they must be the most monied men; it means rather those who have an influence over others in their own class and walks of life. He will consult with them how to divide his parish or district into small divisions, which can be easily learnt, worked, and canvassed.

The first work of such a body would be the preparation of a census; and this alone, judging from experience, would result, in large missions, in the discovery of many Catholics whose children were going to Board schools, and who were unknown to the priest. Such a council would be able to put forward Catholic candidates for boards of guardians, vestries, school boards, and similar positions; or, if a Catholic candidate were not forthcoming, would bring its influence to bear in favour of those who would support Catholic interests. Such work as this could not be undertaken by the Society of St. Vincent of Paul; but it is very important, if we are to take our right position as

citizens, and to show that the welfare of the State is with us an aim only second to the exaltation of the Church.

A hindrance to the formation of such a council would be found in the terrible bugbear of politics. I generally find that when people object to "the introduction of politics," they mean such politics as they do not themselves approve; but in this case I think the danger is imaginary. No politics are introduced at the conferences of St. Vincent of Paul;* and the council might expressly exclude parliamentary elections from its plan. But through its means a connection might be maintained with the various philanthropic societies which welcome Catholic co-operation, such as the Charity Organization Society, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, the Reformatory and Refuge Union, and the like.† Catholic lay co-operation with these bodies is much to be desired, and is always warmly accepted; and through their means our neglected children are often reclaimed to the Church.‡ Again, we should surely be willing to take our parts in the various and numerous organizations which have for their aim the brightening of the homes and the lives of the poor. The Metropolitan Playgrounds Association, the Society for Preserving Open Spaces, the Kyrle Society, the societies which aim at providing good music for the people, the Art for Schools Association—these are only some of the organizations with which Catholics might well co-operate, showing by so doing that the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of the people comes within the purview of the Church. We want more clubs for men and boys, more societies for women, more amusement for our people, more encouragement of temperance and thrift; but it is to the laity that we must look for the supplying of these wants.

In the volume on the "Leakage of the Church," a proposal for the establishment of homes for Catholic poor working-boys—which has already been taken up in Manchester—is developed at

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† Mr. D. F. Leahy read an important paper on this point at the Low Week meeting of the Catholic Truth Society, which will be found in the *Catholic Temperance Magazine* for this month. I have also touched upon it in the volume on "The Leakage of the Catholic Church."

‡ Many conferences of St. Vincent de Paul are represented by one of their members on the local Charity Organization Society committees.

some length. The expense of such homes is shown not to be great, and those interested in this branch of lay-work will find the facts and figures adduced with careful attention. The great good which may be done among the rough working-girls of our large towns by the establishment of sewing-classes and the like, is also dwelt upon in some detail.

The field of literature, in which Catholics are neither infrequent nor unskilled labourers, has still untilled spots which require cultivation. We want a series of short practical papers and leaflets on the various ways of exercising thrift, on the advantages of banks and benefit societies, on the need for self-culture, the importance of combinations, and other matters of the kind. There is an excellent supply of such publications issued by those outside the Church, most of which are suitable for adoption among ourselves; but there are many who would be more willing to take up these important subjects if say the Catholic Truth Society would follow the example of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and issue a series of leaflets on social matters, suitable for general distribution.

It is well that some of us should take the trouble to become acquainted with the modes of working adopted by non-Catholic organizations. As I have said elsewhere—

There are some who are inclined to be shocked when anything of this kind is suggested; but it is difficult to understand why they should be so. It has been the universal practice of wise men of all kinds and all times, and it has the highest sanction. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri* is a well known saying; and it will be remembered how, in the parable, the lord commended the unjust steward because he had done wisely, for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light. Churches and church festivals have been reared upon the ruins of heathen temples and fallen superstitions; why should we wish to be more wise than Our Lord, and more critical than His Church? *

I may be allowed to give an example of the advantage of this adaptation of ideas. Shortly before Christmas, 1885, an account appeared in the *Echo* of Lady Wolverton's "Needlework Guild," which seemed to me so useful and simple that I wrote for further particulars. I then obtained a dozen of Lady Wolverton's little books explaining that work, which I sent to as many Catholic ladies, calling their attention to it, and asking whether they would be willing to join a similar society, should such be formed under Catholic auspices. At the same time I obtained the Bishop of Southwark's approval of the scheme. The proposal was taken up with an alacrity which I think has never been

* *Month*, May, 1887.

equalled in any Catholic enterprise. In less than six months the Catholic Needlework Guild was established, diocesan committees were formed, with the sanction of the Cardinal Archbishop and many Bishops; and Catholic women of all classes, from the aristocracy to domestic servants, enrolled themselves as members. Special indulgences have now been obtained for the Guild, which has succeeded beyond the expectations of its first workers. I think it worth while to put on record this account of the origin of what is already a widespread and popular Catholic organization, because it shows not only how advantageously a non-Catholic undertaking may be adapted by Catholics, but also how ready folk are to work if they are shown how to set about it. My own share in the work having been confined to the first suggestion of its possibility, I shall, I hope, not be thought vain-glorious in thus referring to it.*

Of the work of organizing clubs of different kinds, it is not here my intention to speak; not because I ignore its importance, but because I have elsewhere written about it at some length.† And the space at my disposal will not allow me to do more than indicate the desirability of our establishing in London some Catholic centre which should embrace such educational work as is carried on with admirable zeal and devotion, and, it is gratifying to add, with proportionate success, at Toynbee Hall and elsewhere. Other humanizing agencies, already utilized freely by those outside the Church, we should be ready and willing to employ. It would not be a great thing for a Catholic lady to invite to her suburban residence for a summer's day some of those who spend their years in narrow streets, with no bright surroundings of trees and flowers, and without any of the thousand prettinesses which go towards making our homes what they are. We might surely, some of us, whose lot is cast in London or in large towns, do something to bring the children of our poor schools into relations with the museums and art galleries, which are indeed open to all who will come to them, but which are as unknown to the boys and girls of our streets and alleys as though they were fenced off from them by impenetrable barriers. We may, with little trouble to ourselves, do something to make the treasures of art and science intelligible, to share the education which we have acquired with those less favoured, but perhaps not less capable of appreciation, than ourselves. These things

* I may just say that the only rule of the Guild is that each member shall, during the year, make two garments for the poor. The general secretary (Miss Calogan, 4, Kildare Terrace, Bayswater, W.) will, I am sure, gladly give all information regarding the Guild.

† *Month*, September, 1885.

priestly duties would of course be as intolerable to the clergy as it would be repugnant to a layman of ordinary intelligence. The layman may be to the priest much what St. John Baptist was to Our Lord. He can "prepare the way and make straight his paths;" he may even preach in the desert and exhort to penance; but all will be with the knowledge that "there cometh after me one mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and loose." In this sense, and in this sense only, can the layman do his part in the great work of saving souls.

The field of lay work is, indeed, quite distinct from that of the clergy; but it seems to me certain, even if we had no other evidence than the figures quoted for Manchester, that it needs assiduous cultivation. And the Bishop of Salford evidently sees this; for the "safeguards and remedies" which he proposes are:—

1. The formation of district or vigilance committees in the missions, to help in bringing every Catholic child to a Catholic school, to take in hand all cases requiring care and attention.

2. The establishment of Catholic homes for destitute children, night shelters, refuges, and industrial or certified schools.

3. The creation of organizations or societies for the benefit and protection of boys and girls after they leave the workhouse or other schools for service.

4. A well-considered system of emigration for Catholic children.

5. Greater encouragement to be given in public elementary schools and elsewhere to temperance and habits of thrift; greater insistence upon the proper reception of the sacrament of marriage; the discouragement of mixed marriages as most dangerous and pernicious; systematic co-operation on the part of confraternities and other parochial societies, such as St. Vincent of Paul's, in visiting the homes of children exposed to danger, getting them to Catholic schools, instructing and interesting them *after* they have left school by means of amusements, of cheap Catholic literature and by friendly intercourse and sympathy.*

With hardly an exception, all these works are matters for the laity at least as much as the clergy, and many of them must depend mainly upon the former. Our priests are overworked; their spiritual duties alone fully occupy their time; house-to-house visitation, in large missions, is simply impossible. To expect them to add to their work such serving of tables as is indicated in many of the remedies proposed above, is to expect an impossibility. All these things need doing; but without lay help they cannot be done.

At the present time there is great need for Catholics to show themselves fully alive to the social needs of the people, and to avail

* "Loss of our Children," pp. 35-40.

themselves of all the aids to civilization which are so abundantly placed at our disposal on every side. I am sorry to occupy space by saying that I do not confound civilization with religion; but it is so important to guard against misunderstanding that protests of this kind are perhaps needful. Take such various works as the improving the dwellings of the poor, the bringing of art to the people, the establishment of recreative evening classes, the providing amusement of various kinds for different grades of folk, the formation of libraries, the establishment of friendly societies and penny banks, the advancement of higher education, the formation of choral societies, the direction of sewing-classes. Every one of these is useful, not only from a social but from a religious standpoint; but how are the clergy to find time for them? "In my young days," said an old priest recently, "it was thought that a priest had done his duty when he had started his school, but now they want a theatre as well!" Now the priests cannot supply this. "Our business is not to teach people to admire art, but to save their souls," said another priest lately. This of course is true; and if it is a choice between the two, art must go to the wall. Yet we are proud to remember that the Church of old days was not only the teacher of religion, but the mistress of art as well; a fact to which our very Board Schools testify by the pictures on their walls.*

A few years back a book called "John Brown, Working-man," deservedly attracted some attention. Books of this sort appear so rapidly that there is hardly time to read them, much less to think over them; and yet they often contain, as this does, much food for reflection. In this the Catholic character—who is no very good specimen of his creed—says, in reply to the statement that "the Catholic clergy understand us better somehow"—

"I don't know that, John. They visit us oftener, I know, and the convents are very good for the poor, but sure the Sisters care nothing for us ourselves. They've got their eyes fixed on a great crown of glory, and they use their charity to the poor as one of the biggest stepping-stones to it. The priests are the same; they never try to make us happier here. . . . They never try to civilize us. It's always the same story with them. We may live like pigs, wallowing in our filth. It's no sin, they'll tell you, so long as you go regularly to your priest and attend Mass."

I do not endorse Tim Pearson's remarks, but there is matter for thought in them.

There are many who think they see in the distance—some,

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or wholly supported, and 13 persons were helped to emigrate: the total income during the year was £7106 18s. 10d.

Brought together in this way, the report of work appears very creditable, as indeed it is. But its value must be estimated in proportion to the needs which the Society has to satisfy; and none know better than the Brothers themselves how inadequately these needs are attended to. Money, indeed, is required; but men are wanted more than money: for the relief of the temporal necessities of the poor is but one of the duties of the Society, and not the most important of them. There are probably few among the readers of this paper who have not at times been able to take part in some of the works enumerated above; their work would be more systematic and of greater benefit if they would ally themselves with others of like spirit, and found a conference of the Society. Our great defect in this, as in almost everything else, lies in our want of organization; and this we must endeavour to remedy.

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† Mr. D. F. Leahy read an important paper on this point at the Low Week meeting of the Catholic Truth Society, which will be found in the *Catholic Temperance Magazine* for this month. I have also touched upon it in the volume on "The Leakage of the Catholic Church."

‡ Many conferences of St. Vincent de Paul are represented by one of their members on the local Charity Organization Society committees.

some length. The expense of such homes is shown not to be great, and those interested in this branch of lay-work will find the facts and figures adduced with careful attention. The great good which may be done among the rough working-girls of our large towns by the establishment of sewing-classes and the like, is also dwelt upon in some detail.

The field of literature, in which Catholics are neither infrequent nor unskilled labourers, has still untilled spots which require cultivation. We want a series of short practical papers and leaflets on the various ways of exercising thrift, on the advantages of banks and benefit societies, on the need for self-culture, the importance of combinations, and other matters of the kind. There is an excellent supply of such publications issued by those outside the Church, most of which are suitable for adoption among ourselves; but there are many who would be more willing to take up these important subjects if say the Catholic Truth Society would follow the example of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and issue a series of leaflets on social matters, suitable for general distribution.

It is well that some of us should take the trouble to become acquainted with the modes of working adopted by non-Catholic organizations. As I have said elsewhere—

There are some who are inclined to be shocked when anything of this kind is suggested; but it is difficult to understand why they should be so. It has been the universal practice of wise men of all kinds and all times, and it has the highest sanction. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri* is a well known saying; and it will be remembered how, in the parable, the lord commended the unjust steward because he had done wisely, for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light. Churches and church festivals have been reared upon the ruins of heathen temples and fallen superstitions; why should we wish to be more wise than Our Lord, and more critical than His Church? *

I may be allowed to give an example of the advantage of this adaptation of ideas. Shortly before Christmas, 1885, an account appeared in the *Echo* of Lady Wolverton's "Needlework Guild," which seemed to me so useful and simple that I wrote for further particulars. I then obtained a dozen of Lady Wolverton's little books explaining that work, which I sent to as many Catholic ladies, calling their attention to it, and asking whether they would be willing to join a similar society, should such be formed under Catholic auspices. At the same time I obtained the Bishop of Southwark's approval of the scheme. The proposal was taken up with an alacrity which I think has never been

* *Month*, May, 1887.

equalled in any Catholic enterprise. In less than six months the Catholic Needlework Guild was established, diocesan committees were formed, with the sanction of the Cardinal Archbishop and many Bishops; and Catholic women of all classes, from the aristocracy to domestic servants, enrolled themselves as members. Special indulgences have now been obtained for the Guild, which has succeeded beyond the expectations of its first workers. I think it worth while to put on record this account of the origin of what is already a widespread and popular Catholic organization, because it shows not only how advantageously a non-Catholic undertaking may be adapted by Catholics, but also how ready folk are to work if they are shown how to set about it. My own share in the work having been confined to the first suggestion of its possibility, I shall, I hope, not be thought vain-glorious in thus referring to it.*

Of the work of organizing clubs of different kinds, it is not here my intention to speak; not because I ignore its importance, but because I have elsewhere written about it at some length.† And the space at my disposal will not allow me to do more than indicate the desirability of our establishing in London some Catholic centre which should embrace such educational work as is carried on with admirable zeal and devotion, and, it is gratifying to add, with proportionate success, at Toynbee Hall and elsewhere. Other humanizing agencies, already utilized freely by those outside the Church, we should be ready and willing to employ. It would not be a great thing for a Catholic lady to invite to her suburban residence for a summer's day some of those who spend their years in narrow streets, with no bright surroundings of trees and flowers, and without any of the thousand prettinesses which go towards making our homes what they are. We might surely, some of us, whose lot is cast in London or in large towns, do something to bring the children of our poor schools into relations with the museums and art galleries, which are indeed open to all who will come to them, but which are as unknown to the boys and girls of our streets and alleys as though they were fenced off from them by impenetrable barriers. We may, with little trouble to ourselves, do something to make the treasures of art and science intelligible, to share the education which we have acquired with those less favoured, but perhaps not less capable of appreciation, than ourselves. These things

* I may just say that the only rule of the Guild is that each member shall, during the year, make two garments for the poor. The general secretary (Miss Calogan, 4, Kildare Terrace, Bayswater, W.) will, I am sure, gladly give all information regarding the Guild.

† *Month*, September, 1885.

can be done, and are done, by those who are not Catholics. Are our duties to the poor less, because our privileges are greater?

But it is time to conclude, and I will do so by grouping the work of the laity under three principal heads as follows :

I. Spiritual: this would embrace Sunday-school and guild work, and such things as supplying the poor with prayer-books, religious pictures, and rosaries, promoting general communions in boys' clubs, and the like, and would in every respect be completely under the direction of the clergy.

II. Temporal: under this head would come not only the relief of the poor in their temporal necessities, but every kind of Catholic social work, such as savings-banks, clubs, providing amusement for various classes, temperance work, libraries, the needlework guild, and in short everything which can tend to brighten the daily lives of the poor.

III. Co-operative: the co-operation whenever possible with non-Catholic societies which aim at the improvement of the condition of the people. The Charity Organization Society may be taken as a type of these, many of which have already been referred to. Under this heading, too, would come the work of poor law guardians, school boards, vestries, and the like.

Is it too much to say that under one or other of these heads every layman and woman who has the will and the heart may find something to do for the love of God and of their neighbour? Is there any one who can urge want of time or the claims of society as an excuse for not helping in some one of the many ways which have been indicated, or in the many other ways which any one who is willing will easily discover for himself? To suppose so would be to assume that we Catholics have less love for our poorer brethren than those around us who are not of the unity of the faith; that we have no wish that the Church should retain her glorious title of "the Church of the Poor;" and that even for society we care so little that we will not do our part towards strengthening the bonds which are being strained until they are in danger of snapping.

There was a time, not so far distant, when Catholics were accredited by those outside the Church with a pre-eminent zeal for the corporal works of mercy. I do not suppose we are now less zealous than we were; but the awakening of those around us and the energy with which they have applied themselves to work, have put our efforts into the background, and we are losing the character for devotion to the poor which we formerly possessed. If we would regain or maintain it, we must stir ourselves afresh. No matter how great our zeal may be or our readiness to work, we shall find in the crowded courts and alleys of our large towns, or in the neglected units of our small ones,

more than sufficient scope for both. And this mention of our large towns brings me to one other suggestion, with which I will conclude.

Many of the English public schools and colleges have of late years taken up a new kind of work. A mission is started in some poor part of London to establish a church, with schools, clubs, and social works of all kinds, the expenses of which are defrayed by the members of some one of these schools or colleges. In South London alone such missions have been planted by five Cambridge colleges, and by Charterhouse, Wellington, and Dulwich schools. In this way another band of union is established between the different classes of society; and even those who, from one cause or another, cannot themselves take active part in the work of civilizing and in a manner Christianizing the community, are enabled by their alms to share in the work. Cannot something of this sort be done among ourselves? How many priests there are who would willingly have in their crowded missions a hall for meetings and lectures, rooms for clubs and libraries, amusements for their boys and young men, social recreation for their girls and young women, but who might as well wish for the moon as for anything of the kind! The needs of our poor and the duties of the more wealthy towards them have lately been brought before the inmates of some of our schools and colleges; and it may be hoped that this will lead to some practical result? If Stonyhurst, or Ushaw, or Oscott, would undertake to subscribe annually some sum towards the support of a working-men's club in the poorer parts of London, or Manchester, or Liverpool, the result could not fail to be beneficial. A blessing to "him that gives and him that takes" could not fail to follow; one more link would be added to the chain which should bind together the different classes of society—a chain which is weakening year by year; we should realize more and more that we are children of the same God and of the same Church, that our aims and hopes and interests are the same, and that it is not so much our duty as our privilege to help one another.

JAMES BRITTEN.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

French Travellers in Central Asia.—Messrs. Capus and Bonvalot, whose impressions of Merv have been already published, have written to the French Geographical Society a more detailed account of their tour in a letter from Samarcand, of November 6, 1886. They left Teheran for Meshed on April 27 in a hired carriage of sufficiently stout build to bear the jolting on a road whose sonorous title of “the Imperial route” is scarcely justified by its character. It follows the foot of the mountains to Shah-rud, Sabzawar and Nishapur, skirting the edge of the “Keber,” or great Salt Desert. Its crystalline surface is strewn with various salts, in which soda and magnesia are prominent, rendering the water bad and cultivation impossible. It is a treeless expanse, identical in its natural products with the Central Asian deserts, and the character of the region is summed up by the travellers in the statement that not a single forest is passed between the bridge of the Mandjil and the Tian Shan.

Persian Towns.—The towns of Northern Persia are [they continue] destitute of character. A few ruined mosques, some fine but dilapidated minarets, attract the attention of the historian, and prove to him that the finest monuments of Asia date no further back than the Mongol dominion. Bastan is the most interesting of these towns, for it preserves some relics of these ancient times, and, among others, an architectural curiosity, a shaking minaret of the character of those one sees at Ispahan. Minarets were probably used as observatories. The population has few points of interest in a moral sense, and we do not hesitate to place it below that of Bokhara and Khiva. The cultivation of opium is an indication of the deterioration of the people, and the Turcomans thoroughly despise them; but since the Russians have occupied their territory, they can no longer put to the proof the effeminate spirit of the Persians. All the villages are fortified, and some of them are surrounded by a triple rampart and a ditch. Meshed, the capital of Khorasan, which we reached on May 25, is the most fanatical city we have yet come across in Central Asia. Every infidel is forbidden to enter that part of the city called “Best,” where repose under gold and blue cupolas the remains of the Imam Reza. From all parts of Persia pilgrims flock to the tomb of this saint. The road from Meshed to Teheran was covered at this time with Arabs from Kerbela, who abandoned everything to visit, with their wives and children, the holy place. Like the pilgrims to Mecca, they often carried with them the corpses of their dead friends, wishing them to repose beside the Imam Reza.

Being refused permission by the Afghan authorities to visit Herat, the travellers proceeded to Sarakhs, where they found the Persian village of that name dilapidated and miserable, but the new Russian town rapidly growing in importance. The Tejend (lower Heri-Rud) was here a considerable stream, but its muddy

water is very bad for drinking. Leaving Sarakhs for Merv on June 20 the party suffered much from the hot wind of the desert, rendering travelling by day impossible.

Velocity of Ocean Currents.—The Académie des Sciences in Paris has received an interesting report from Admiral Bouquet de la Grye, detailing a series of experiments instituted by the Prince of Monaco to test the velocity of currents in the North Atlantic by means of light water-tight caskets or vessels launched into the sea at a considerable distance from shore. Those started off from the Azores in 1885 reached the land after an interval indicating a rate of motion of from two to four miles a day, while later observations indicated a speedier rate of transit. Of 500 launched in deep sea off Cape Finisterre, twelve arrived at the French coast a little below Arca-chon, after an interval indicating an average daily rate of travel of about six miles. Some were of glass and some of copper. The former, floating on the surface, were exposed more to the buffeting of the waves as well as to the influence of the currents; so that it may not be easy to determine how much each of these factors contributed to the actual movement. A number of observations were also carried out to determine the temperature of the ocean at different depths in various localities. In the Bay of Biscay, at a depth of 100 mètres, a lower temperature was found than at a similar depth off the Portuguese coast. One of the circumstances which invest these observations of deep-sea temperatures with peculiar interest is the light they help to throw on the habitat of marine animals and plants, and especially on the migrations of fishes—on those of sardines, for example, which are known to have changed their haunts within living memory.—*Times*, January 25, 1887.

Trade Prospects on the Upper Yang-tse.—The highest point hitherto reached by commerce on the Yang-tse is the Treaty Port of Ichang, 1,000 miles from the sea; but an effort is now about to be made to give effect to the stipulation of the Chefoo Convention that the port of Chung-King, 400 miles higher up, should be thrown open to foreign trade as soon as a steamer should succeed in reaching it. The rapids by which the river is interrupted in passing through the Ichang gorges, have hitherto proved an obstacle to the fulfilment of this condition, but the difficulties thus opposed to navigation have been exaggerated; and Mr. Archibald Little, a merchant of Ichang, having collected the £10,000 required for expenses, is about to have a pioneer steamer specially constructed, with which he will start on an experimental trip. Should it be successful, a great part of the interior of China will be thrown open to British trade, as Chung-King will then come under the regulations affecting treaty ports, exempting foreign merchandize from inland transit dues, and enabling goods to be landed 1,400 miles from the sea on the same terms as at Shang-Hai. The great province of Szechuan, which would be thus opened up, is one of the wealthiest in China, with a population of 30,000,000, and a soil, which while lightly taxed, bears two crops in the year, one of them of poppy. Although the freight to Chung-King is 70s. per ton, and 14s. thence seaward, the traffic on the river

is estimated at 10,000 tons a month in each direction, and some £700,000 worth of foreign goods are annually thus imported, while Szechuan exports eastward goods to the amount of about £10,000 sterling.

Animal Life on the Amazon.—Mr. Simson,* in his account of his wanderings in Ecuador, on the Upper Amazon and its tributaries, gives some details of the exuberance of life on their waters. The turtle, one of the most useful denizens of the great stream, is found on it in such profusion, that, from the yield of one sandbank alone, 40,000 to 60,000 litres of turtle oil, representing a destruction of eight or ten million eggs, are annually manufactured. When we consider, moreover, that the turtle, both on land and water, furnishes an aldermanic banquet to bird, fish, and quadruped, and that myriads of the newly hatched brood are consumed by their voracious neighbours, we can form some idea of the prolific reproduction of the dainty amphibian.

Less innocuous creatures swarm in like profusion, and alligators in some spots crowd the banks to such an extent that they have to scramble over each other's backs to reach the water, and 500 individuals, some ten or twelve feet long, may be counted in a comparatively small space. The rivers discharging into the Atlantic and Pacific appear to be frequented by different species, those of the western rivers having the distinguishing peculiarity of an upper jaw completely pierced by two holes, through which two of the lower teeth protrude.

Jesuit Missionaries in Ecuador.—Mr. Simson gives a striking picture of the devotion of the Jesuit missionaries to their Indian flocks during a terrible epidemic of small-pox, when they never relaxed their ministrations in the most loathsome stages of the disease. "Can the lives of our Protestant missionaries," he asks, "be compared to those of Rome in abnegation? Those who have known both, be it in the East or in the West, will be able to say which lead the lives exemplified by their professed Master."

The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 led to the relapse of the population from all the habits of order and morality instilled by those teachers, whose place was very badly supplied by the ignorant local clergy. The restoration of the Jesuit missions dates only from 1870-71, but a great improvement has already taken place under their *régime*, the Fathers being invested with supreme civil authority in their respective districts. Their plan is to isolate the inhabitants almost altogether from the rest of the world, restricting all trade to a few known and trusted dealers, and thus excluding its demoralizing influences from these savage communities. A large section of the Indians in the Eastern province of Ecuador are still heathens, and all are in a very backward stage of civilization.

Recent Journey through Tibet.—An interesting account of the travels of Mr. Carey, of the Bengal Civil Service, given in the

* "Wanderings in the Wilds of Ecuador." By Alfred Simson. London Sampson Low & Co. 1886.

Pioneer newspaper, is summarized in the *Times* of May 9, 1887. Starting about two years ago, he arrived at Lake Lob in April, 1886, and, having collected a caravan to carry supplies, continued his journey thence. The Altyn Dagh was crossed into Northern Tibet, an almost barren region, in which, for eighty-two days, not a human being was seen. A caravan of Chinese pilgrims who were then met were unable to furnish supplies, and Mr. Carey, at the end of July, left the caravan to seek food for his animals, returning on the 1st of September with a stock of barley. He then proceeded to Yarkand for the winter, left it for India on the 7th of March, and, crossing the Changla Pass, which was deep in snow, arrived safely at Leh, having visited most places of importance in Eastern Turkistan, and seen something of Mongolia, Tibet, and Western China. He was everywhere well received by the people and officials.

Dr. Junker in Central Africa.—The evening meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on May 9, 1887, was noteworthy from the presence of Dr. Junker, recently returned from many years of wandering through the heart of Africa. He began his address by stating that letters had been received from Emin Pasha down to October 26, 1886, acknowledging the welcome arrival of a caravan sent by the speaker, which had given great encouragement and pleasure. The object of his journey, undertaken in 1881, was the exploration in a series of circular journeys of the countries watered by the Wellè-Makua, as well as the solution, by following the course of that river as far as possible to the westward, of the problem whether it sends its waters to the Congo or Lake Tchad. Although few details of these journeys were given, their result, in combination with those of Mr. Grenfell on the Upper Congo, has been to identify the Mobanzi, the great tributary of the latter river, with Schweinfurth's Wellè. Dr. Junker's explorations in this direction extended as far south as the river Nepoko, which he believes identical with Stanley's Aruwimi.

The general system of the traveller, adopted in consequence of the comparatively small number of attendants by whom he was accompanied, was to make his head-quarters at a given point, thence making prolonged excursions into the neighbouring territories. His practice was to send messengers before him to the native potentates to assure them of the peaceful character of his visit, proclaimed by the absence of a military escort, a fact which the wary chiefs took care to verify by sending envoys to meet him before sanctioning his advance. His stations, when intended for permanent occupation, were defended by a fence and hedge of thorns against the attacks of leopards, which are very numerous, and frequently attack human beings, especially the women sent to fetch water. Their habit of returning to their prey if unable to finish it at once renders them liable to be caught in snares, while lions, though equally abundant, are more cautious, avoiding nets of all kinds, so much so that the natives secure themselves at night by spreading light nets over their huts. Hunting is laborious from the great thickness of the grass, and only in December and January, after it

has been burned down, is it possible to take exercise with comfort. The game retreats to the spots spared by the conflagration, and here the elephants, with their feet injured by the fire, fall an easy prey to the Akkas. The grass, growing rapidly again, is in April so tall as to render travelling extremely arduous.

Central African Politics.—The great Monbuttu and Niam-Niam Empires, Dr. Junker stated, have completely fallen to pieces, in consequence of having been divided among the very numerous descendants of their rulers; the people were continually quarrelling, and throughout the whole of the country traversed by Dr. Junker there was not one really powerful king. In Monbuttuland the women painted their bodies with tricolour devices resembling an inlaid floor, and the decoration in this style of the ladies of rank was extremely elaborate and ingenious. The first signs of the Mahdist movement, destined to set the whole Soudan in a blaze, began here in 1882, and the revolt of the Denka tribes cut the traveller off from returning to Bahr-el-Ghazal by way of Meshra-er-Rek. At first Lupton Bey hoped to be able to quell the movement, but receiving no help from the Egyptian Government, and deserted by his own troops, who, being principally Dongolawi and Arabs instead of native Soudanese, sympathized and fraternized with the rebels, he was eventually compelled to surrender. This unfortunate officer, now a prisoner in the hands of the Mahdi's Khalifa, Dr. Junker strenuously defends against the accusations made against him.

Position of Emin Pasha.—When Dr. Junker recognized the impossibility of making his way northwards, he retraced his steps to the East, about the end of the year 1883, and met Emin Bey at Lado (Gondokoro). Here he received the letters sent to him from Europe in the previous May, the last news he was to receive from home for many months. Instead of European news, the beleaguered men now began to receive violent and threatening letters from the Mahdi, containing reports of defeats of the English, to which little credence was given. Immediately after the fall of Khartoum, Emin Bey received an insolent letter from the Emir Karamalla, whom the Mahdi desired to advance against him. This he did continuously, and when, in April, 1884 (?), he had seized Amadi and Makaka, Emin deemed it better to retreat before him, and remove the State archives from Lado to Dufilé. Here he prepared for the worst, when suddenly the rebel leader, for some unexplained reason (probably, the Mahdi's death and the subsequent disorders), stopped his onward movement and returned to the North. At length, on January 2, 1886, Dr. Junker left Emin and Casati, to make his way through Unyoro to Zanzibar, a journey which he accomplished successfully. In his opinion, the reconquest of the Soudan provinces would be comparatively easy, as the people are weary of war and continued disturbances, while the death of the Mahdi has deprived the revolt of its *raison d'être*. The traveller's accounts of Central Africa give good grounds for hoping that Stanley's rescue expedition may be successful, as there seemed by the last information received to be no immediate danger threatening Emin Pasha.

Tippu Tib and Mr. Stanley.—A correspondent in the *Times* of May 17, writing from Matadi, on the Congo, on March 30, gives the summary of a conversation with Tippu Tib, on his relations with Mr. Stanley and the International Association. Questioned as to his motives in consenting to co-operate with the former, and to accompany him to Boma, the ex-slave-trader replied as follows:

I never clearly understood the object or the organization of the International African Association. The other Arab chiefs and myself at first believed, on seeing expeditions organized at Zanzibar, that the Europeans wished to compete with us in the markets there and at Tabora, and export, like ourselves, ivory and other produce. We did not know whether Stanley and the other white chiefs were acting for the King of the Belgians, for Belgium, or for the International Association, and we were always left in doubt on the point. But now that we have seen that such are not the intentions of the whites—that is to say, of the Belgians and English whom we have met on the East Coast—now that they have abandoned this part of Africa, in order to establish by common accord, we are told, between all the great peoples of Europe, a State where everybody may freely trade, we see no further reason to doubt the good intentions of the whites, who have already done so much for Africa.

I confess that at first the idea of becoming a functionary of the Congo State was a singular one to me. But Stanley pointed out that I should have a privileged position; that the State on its side could only gain by seeing its establishments on the Upper Congo supported by the authority which, for many years past I had acquired over the people of the interior, who all knew me through having traded with me; while, as regarded myself, I could not but strengthen my commercial relations, by means of the support which the Congo State would afford to me, as to all who were established on its territory. I perceived the justice of these arguments, and I had, moreover, at heart, to remedy as far as I could the mischief which the Arabs, and the population at the Falls, had done in destroying the station at Stanley Falls.

Native Trade in Central Africa.—The past and present commercial conditions of the continent were expounded by this shrewd and intelligent native, who evidently knows how to conciliate European sentiment. The son of a Zanzibar Arab, Tippu Tib detests the negroes, and professes attachment to the whites, whom he calls his European brothers. His familiar sobriquet is due to a twitching of the eyes to which he is subject, and his real name is Hamed-ben-Hamed.

The circumstances [he said] under which trade is carried on with the East Coast are no longer so favourable as some years back, when I commenced trading with Zanzibar and abroad. Trade at that period had, so to speak, no existence. I established myself at Houron near Tabora, with my old father and my brother, Mohammed Massoudi, wishing first to create in the neighbourhood plantations yielding satisfactory returns, and above all to monopolize the ivory trade by establishing Arab correspondents throughout Central Africa, on the shores of the Lakes, and as far as Nyangwe. The people of the centre, who had no means of disposing of their considerable stocks of ivory, let me have them at a price which enabled me to realize a large profit. In a short time I had monopolized all the sources of ivory production, and all the trade of the Manyema was in my hands. The great difficulty has always been to bring the produce

of Central Africa to the markets of Tabora and Zanzibar. At first this was easy enough, but gradually the people of the centre became aware that they could also gain something by my operations, and commenced imposing heavy tribute on me for right of way through their territories. For instance, the Wa-Kundis, who alone possess the boats necessary for crossing the Malagarazi, exact exorbitant terms for the use of them. Certain tribes sometimes attacked my caravans, causing me heavy loss in men and merchandize. Even on the coast the conditions of trade changed. The Germans were everywhere, and their pretensions rendered business more and more difficult. Great difficulties arose from this state of things, and on all these grounds I concluded that, if the trade of Central Africa could follow another route and reach the coast by sure roads, on which no tribute would have to be paid, and where no difficulties were to be apprehended, everybody would be the gainer. After what I have seen at Banana and Boma I believe I am not mistaken, and that traders like myself can only gain by despatching their produce from Nyangwe by way of the Falls and the Congo.

The wily Arab omitted in this review of commercial changes to notice the effect of restrictions on the slave-trade in annihilating that in ivory. The latter could never be sold profitably if carried for thousands of miles by hired porters, and it was only the device of utilizing the one form of merchandize for the transport of the other that rendered the trade lucrative. On its old footing it can no longer continue to be carried on in face of the advance of European civilization, and Tippu 'Tib is wise in seeking to adapt himself to the altered circumstances of his time.

Progress of the Emin Relief Expedition.—A telegram from St. Thomas of May 23 announced that news had been received at Boma of the departure from Leopoldville of the last detachment of the expedition on its way up the river. One detachment had already started for Bolobo, a station higher up, and the remainder started, all well, on April 29, in the steamers *Stanley* and *Peace*, with the *Henry Read*, the steamer of the Livingstone Mission, towing the hulk of the *Florida* and a number of lighters. The march of the expedition from the navigable portion of the Lower Congo to the Pool was retarded by the necessity for obtaining provisions so as not to encroach on the stores reserved for the portion of the journey between Stanley Falls and Wadelai, as well as by the close order in which the caravan was obliged to march, as a precaution against attacks from the marauders who infest this region. The expedition owing to these causes did not cover more than nine miles a day, but the men supported the fatigue well, and only two or three had to be left behind at Stanley Pool. The interval spent there between their arrival and the departure of the main body on the 29th of April was employed in packing and redistributing the bales on the steamers engaged for the navigation of the Upper Congo, and in negotiations with the Baptist Mission for the use of their steamer *Peace*, which was eventually conceded.

Difficulties of the Route.—The question of the supply of fuel for the steamers is the chief preoccupation of the leaders, and, in anticipation of some difficulty on this head, an advance guard was sent forward to Bolobo, a station on the southern bank of the Congo,

above its confluence with the Kassai. Orders will be successively sent forward to the other stations to revictual the expedition on its passage up the river, in order that the provisions on board may be reserved for the land march. As all the boats are heavily laden, it is calculated that they will take thirty or forty days to reach Stanley Falls, where will begin the most arduous part of the journey, a march of 300 miles through an unexplored country. The appearance of the flotilla, headed by the *Stanley*, flying the English flag with that of the Congo State, causes great excitement among the natives, who flock to the banks to see it pass. The Kassai confluence was passed on May 6, Bolobo would be reached two days later, and Stanley Falls, it was hoped, on June 5.

Present Position of Affairs on Stanley Pool.—Reuter's Agency has received a communication, dated Boma, March 30, describing as follows the progress made since Mr. Stanley, at the head of the first expedition of the International Association, founded Leopoldville, on Stanley Pool, in 1881.

There are now at Stanley Pool nine establishments, containing more than fifty Europeans employed in managing either trading stations or missions. Among others, there are the English Baptist mission, directed by the Rev. Mr. Grenfell, and occupied by three missionaries, including one lady; Bishop Taylor's mission at Kimpoko, with eight missionaries, who will shortly have a steamer of their own wherewith to navigate the pool; and finally, the Livingstone Inland Mission, directed by American missionaries. There are also the French station of De Brazzaville, a factory from Rotterdam established last year, a French factory, and the two Belgian stations of Leopoldville and Kinchassa, containing fifteen Europeans, twenty workmen, and a garrison of Houssas and Bangalas.

Stanley Pool is at present one of the most active colonies of Central Africa, being in some sort the central station, separating the Lower from the Upper Congo. This activity will greatly develop with the construction of the railway from Matadi to Leopoldville. Then will the centre of Africa really be opened up politically as a new State.

Line of Projected Railway.—It is proposed to construct a railway, which, skirting the rapids, shall connect the Lower Congo with the fluvial system of the Upper Congo, the navigable portion of which extends over about 9,500 miles. The line will be from 195 to 200 miles in length. It is not yet known if it will follow the southern bank of the river, or leave it to pass through flatter country. An expedition is shortly expected here from Brussels, which will make the necessary surveys. On reaching Matadi, this expedition will separate into three parties, which will make their way independently towards Leopoldville by the southern bank, each operating at a distance of five miles from the other. On meeting at Leopoldville, the three parties will compare notes, and decide upon the route offering the least difficulties for the proposed railway line. The Falls and Bangala's Country will be then not more than

thirty days' journey from Banana, and a very considerable result will be obtained.

Proposed Introduction of Chinese.—The great difficulty experienced by the Independent Congo State is the acclimatization of Europeans, a difficulty which exists, in fact, through greater part of Africa. The services of many devoted and intelligent men have been lost because they were brought too suddenly into a climate altogether different from that of Europe. The losses have been heavier on the western than on the eastern side, and more numerous still on the Congo itself. At present, however, they are less, because the European managers now in Africa have nearly all previously lived in hot climates. The difficulty remains great, however, as regards non-acclimatized European workmen, who cannot easily withstand the African climate.

It is for this reason that the Congo State has endeavoured to bring over Chinese to Central Africa. When General, then Colone Strauch, Administrator of the Congo State at Brussels, was at Berlin in 1885 to assist in the labours of the Congo Conference, he had some conversation with General Tcheng-ki-Tong, the Chinese Military Attaché, to whom he proposed that 500 Chinamen belonging to the various handicraft trades, joiners, carpenters, gardeners, &c., should be sent to the Congo. They were to receive a fixed salary, a free passage to the Congo and back, and an assurance that in case of death their bodies should be sent to China for interment. The Chinese Military Attaché promised to transmit this proposal to Peking, but no reply has yet been made by the Chinese Government.

Organization of the Congo State.—The Governor-General administers the State with sovereign powers, deciding all difficulties by his personal authority, and is invested even with discretionary power to suspend the execution of the Royal decrees in case of necessity. These are published at Boma, the residence of the Governor-General, in the name of King Leopold, Sovereign of the Congo State. They refer chiefly to the rights of property and enforcement of order, under the civil and criminal code as existing in Belgium, which has been made obligatory throughout the whole of the Congo State. A tribunal has been established at Boma, and a postal service from Banana to Leopoldville, the central office being at the former place. There is no direct telegraphic communication with the Congo State, the nearest station being St. Thomas on the Gaboon. The United States and Belgium are the only two countries which, up to the present date, have accredited Consuls to the Congo State.

Unfavourable Reports from the French Congo.—The French territory in the Congo district is described as a prey to warlike tribes, who incessantly devastate the best parts of the Ogowé basin, attacking exploring parties and caravans, and laying waste the settlements already founded in that region. M. de Brazza, Governor-General of the French Congo, who left Libreville on the coast some months ago for the interior of the colony, was attacked by a strong body of Pahuins, who tried to prevent him from continuing

his journey up the Ogowé. A fight ensued on the river, in which M. de Brazza repulsed his assailants, inflicting on them heavy loss. He himself lost some men, and several others who were wounded, had to be sent back to the coast. M. de Brazza continued his journey, but it was feared he would meet with fresh and serious difficulties as he advanced.

Germans in Africa.—Since the middle of 1884, the date of the first German settlement, the progress of Germany in Africa has been rapid, and she already rules over three extensive regions, with boundaries laid down by treaties with England, France, and Portugal. On the western coast, the Germans possess—first, the Cameroons, giving them the command of the most direct road from the sea towards Lake Tchad; and, secondly, Namaqualand, where Herr Luderitz created a settlement at Angra Pequena. The future of this colony is less promising than that of the Cameroons, but it extends eastwards to the great waterway of the Zambesi. The third and largest colony is that on the eastern coast, extending inland to the three great central lakes, Tanganyika, Nyassa, and Victoria Nyanza, and giving Germany, in a political sense, the command of half Central Africa. Intelligence from Zanzibar states that the Germans are about to establish custom-houses and a centre for political operations at Dar-es-Salam, on the eastern coast, an excellent port, which will become a damaging rival and menacing neighbour to Zanzibar. The Germans do not confine themselves to organizing their influence on the coast; they have sent a number of emissaries from Zanzibar to the great lakes, in order to enter into relations with the chiefs and persuade them that Germany is the only political and commercial Power with whom it will be for their interest in future to be on good terms.

Canadian Pacific Railway.—The first through train on this line reached its ocean terminus at Vancouver on May 24, all previous trains having stopped at New Westminster. The completion of the line was celebrated on the spot with much rejoicing.

Plague of Locusts in Spain.—The district of La Mancha was visited in May and June last by such swarms of locusts as not only to consume all vegetable products, but even to impede and interrupt railway traffic, from the myriads in which they accumulated on the lines, clogging the rails and obliging the trains to travel at a rate of only two or three miles an hour. A subsidy was immediately voted by the Cortes for the relief of the devastated provinces, where all the sustenance of the inhabitants was destroyed.

North Sea and Baltic Canal.—On the 3rd of June the works of the maritime canal from Kiel to Brunsbüttel were inaugurated by the Emperor of Germany, who laid the foundation stone of the first lock at the Baltic end of the new channel. The latter will have a strategic, as well as a commercial importance, and will be defended by strong fortifications. The total cost, including these works, is estimated at £9,800,000 for a length of sixty-one English miles. Its depth of 27ft. 10in. will admit of its being used by the largest ships of the German Navy, as well as by all merchant vessels. The

route to the Baltic from all ports south of the latitude of Scotland will be shortened by 237 nautical miles, representing an average saving of time of twenty-two hours to steamers and three days to sailing vessels; while the difficult task of weathering the Skaw in which some 200 vessels are annually lost, will be obviated. The charges for transit will amount to about 9*d.* per registered ton, and a revenue of some £206,250 is calculated on for about 18,000 ships expected to use the new waterway, out of 35,000 which now annually pass the Sound. It has been pointed out, on the other hand, by Count Moltke, that in very severe frosts the canal may be impassable, even for ironclads armed with ice-riving rams.

Revival of the Soudan Company Project.—An authoritative report on the commercial possibilities of the Soudan has been prepared by Mr. Francis W. Fox, who went out at his own expense to investigate the subject. His opinion is so favourable that he recommends the formation of a Company on the principle of the Borneo Company, but without an exclusive monopoly, for the development of the resources of this vast country. He proposes that arrangements should be made with the principal sheikhs of each district, who should form so many distinct groups, under the direction of resident Englishmen, to guarantee the safety of the roads, and undertake to provide transport. Each tribe, or confederacy of tribes, should have its separate trade route, leading to as many factories on the coast, of which Suakim would be the chief and most centrally situated. The oft-proposed railway from Suakim to Berber, in connection with a system of light-draught steamers on the Upper Nile, is an integral part of the scheme, and Mr. Fox calculates that its construction, on the plan of the *mètre-gauge* surface railways used in India, would not, at present prices of materials, exceed £3,500 a mile. The direct distance is 250 miles, but the railway mileage would be 280, giving a total cost of £980,000. The trade of the Soudan before the war was computed at £2,500,000 a-year, equally divided between imports and exports, and Manchester goods could then be delivered at Khartoum, *via* Suakim, in seven weeks. This trade is only waiting for favourable circumstances to revive, and Mr. Fox says: "There can be no doubt in my mind that a chartered company, properly worked in a quiet and unaggressive manner, would soon be firmly established in the Soudan, and as soon as touch could be got with the Nile at Berber, and steamers could be placed there, the whole Blue and White Nile Valleys would be at the company's feet."

Fertility of the Equatorial Provinces.—Emin Bey wrote from his province, in 1883, that, though no help had been received from Khartoum for five years, cotton, indigo, sugar-cane, and rice were being cultivated, ostrich farms had been started, oxen trained to draught, and the net profit of the province for 1882 was £8,000. He believed that, with a few Europeans to help him, and a small allowance from Khartoum to start with, for the purchase of seeds and agricultural implements, he could soon raise this revenue to £20,000, exclusive of ivory, which is a Government monopoly.

Even the Kordofan deserts are not commercially unproductive, as they yield ostrich feathers, hides, and gum arabic.—*Times*, June 3, 1887.

Manchuria Explored.—An interesting paper was read at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, on Monday evening, June 6, by Mr. F. E. M. James, on his recent travels in Manchuria. The total area of this extensive district is about 380,000 square miles, greater than that of the Austrian Empire, Great Britain, and Ireland put together. It is divided into three provinces, Feng-tien, with 12,000,000 or 13,000,000 of inhabitants; Kirin, with about 8,000,000; and He-lung Kiang, Black Dragon River (the Chinese name for the Amur), with about 2,000,000. The administration is essentially a military one, and as in the two latter provinces, whither criminals are still banished, it is at once feeble and corrupt, they swarm with bad characters. Manchuria is essentially a highland country, traversed by ranges varying from 3,000 feet to 6,000 feet in height, and extending to the north into the Corea, and to the east into the Russian maritime province, as far as the Sea of Okhotskh. Winter, despite the extreme cold, is the best season for travelling, the roads, which, during the rest of the year, are miry and impracticable, being then macadamized by frost.

The crops grown are those which flourish in Northern China, particularly beans, millet, and poppy, the latter to such an extent as to have almost ousted the Indian drug, the imports of which, valued in 1866 at £572,000, had in 1885 declined to £31,000. Manchuria is believed to be rich in iron, silver, and gold, the latter being obtained by washing, while mining is a capital offence. The forests are extensive, containing pine, walnut, oak, and elm, and animals prized for their skins, such as sables and long-furred lynxes, abound in the mountains, which are haunted by tigers as well.

Discovery of an Early Christian Cemetery at Alexandria.—A Christian necropolis has been unearthed from beneath the sand-hills and rubbish-heaps lying right and left of the Ramleh line, about half-way between Alexandria and Mustapha Pasha Station. The City of Nicopolis, so-called from the victory of Augustus over Antony, stood somewhere here, and close by was a little domed building, where Sir Ralph Abercromby breathed his last. The Arabs, in digging for limestone, which they burn in extemporised kilns scattered about, constantly come upon fragments of sculpture, pottery, and other remains among the mounds, and in the same fashion a portion of the cemetery was uncovered. A Roman wall, evidently forming part of an enclosure, can be traced, running parallel to the railway for some distance before turning at right angles towards the sea, and a breach in its circuit gives access to a place where the natives have excavated two or three deep pits, about one hundred yards apart, and about fifty yards from the shore. In one of these a well was discovered, and close to it a doorway cut in the solid rock underlying the mounds. It gives access to an irregular crypt, surrounded by rock-cut *loculi*, measuring about nine feet in length, by four feet to six feet in width, and ranged one above

the other, in two, or sometimes three tiers, fifteen to the right and twenty-three to the left of the central passage. In each were found ten skeletons, apparently of men, the bones being very large. One skull was found to have a circumference of twenty-four inches, and in all the teeth were sound and firmly fixed in their sockets. In another pit, a long gallery was found with a similar set of *loculi* at one side only, and this led again by a blocked-up door into a similar passage, while in a third place was found another excavation, with tiers of *loculi* two or three deep. The only inscription as yet found is too fragmentary for translation, but a palm-branch and other half-obliterated Christian emblems have been traced on the roofs and walls. Terra-cotta lamps have been found with some of the skeletons, one showing an eight-pointed cross, another a priestly figure in the attitude of benediction, and some the letters I.H.S. It is probable that the whole area enclosed by the Roman wall is one vast cemetery, but the circumstances which led to the common burial of so many tall men in the prime of life remain for the present a mystery.

Volcanic Eruption in Mexico.—The continued seismic and volcanic disturbances in the Sierra Madre induced the Governor of Sonora to send exploring parties to investigate their cause. It appears from a New York telegram of June 8, that they report the outbreak of an active volcano in that range, fourteen miles south-east of Bapispe, the crater of which was emitting smoke, with fire and molten lava, while boiling streams from the sides of the mountain were destroying the vegetation of the neighbouring valleys.

Scarcity in Burmah.—The disturbed state of Upper Burmah has resulted in a considerable deficiency of the food supply. Rice has risen to an unprecedentedly high price, and there is a great scarcity of paddy throughout large areas of the Upper Province, extending, it is believed, to the Shan States. Not only were large stocks destroyed by the Dacoits, but, owing to their presence, a great deal of the land remained unsown, while difficulty of transport, largely diverted by military exigencies, aggravates the crisis. On the other hand, there is said to be no danger of actual famine, as money is plentiful and employment is being extensively given on public works. The supply of rice in Rangoon is reported to be sufficient, and the Irawadi Flotilla Company are engaged in carrying large supplies of food to the Upper Province, throughout which quantities of rice and flour have also been stored in the police stations.

Notes on Nobels.

Saracinesca. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. Three vols. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1887.

THIS brilliant novel has two defects: it is too "instructive," and it does not finish. The former shortcoming is no doubt the cause of the latter. Mr. Crawford knows a good deal about Rome as it was under Cardinal Antonelli, and he thinks his information much too good to be thrown away; but the story is planned on such a large scale that nothing but the unlimited accommodation allowed to Madame de Scuderi would have taken it all in with the "instruction" unabridged. The innocent reader having learnt his lesson, and getting excited towards the third volume, wonders more and more how an ending can be rounded off before the pages "give out"; and he is rather angry when the author calmly says at p. 304, vol. iii.: "And so the curtain falls upon the first act." Still, we have a good deal that is well worth having. The introductory chapter, which describes Rome and Roman society in 1865, is bright and full of suggestion to those who knew (and regret) the days of Pius IX. The sketches of Roman society are vivid, but do not embrace a very wide field of observation; indeed, the writer is more fond of politics than of manners, and we are threatened with dark complications in the sequel which is promised. There are, however, one or two very life-like scenes from provincial life. The following bit of comedy occurs at Aquila, in the Abruzzi:

The Prince walked briskly along the broad, clean street, and reached the door of the church just as the sacristan was hoisting the heavy leathern curtain, preparatory to locking up for the night.

"Where can I find the Padre Curato?" inquired the Prince. The man looked at him, but made no answer, and proceeded to close the doors with great care. He was an old man in a shabby cassock, with four days' beard on his face, and he appeared to have taken snuff recently.

"Where is the Curato?" repeated the Prince, plucking him by the sleeve. But the man shook his head, and began turning the ponderous key in the lock. Two little ragged boys were playing a game upon the church steps, piling five chestnuts in a heap, and then knocking them down with a small stone. One of them having upset the heap, desisted, and came near the Prince.

"That one is deaf," he said, pointing to the sacristan. Then running behind him, he stood on tiptoe and screamed in his ear "*Brutta bestia!*"

The sacristan did not hear, but caught sight of the urchin and made a lunge at him. He missed him, however, and nearly fell over.

"What education!—*che educazione!*" cried the old man angrily.

Meanwhile the little boy took refuge behind Saracinesca, and pulling his coat asked him for a *soldo*. The sacristan calmly withdrew the key from the lock and went away, without vouchsafing a look at the Prince.

"He is deaf," screamed the little boy, who was now joined by his companion, and both in great excitement danced round the fine gentleman.

"Give me a *soldo*," they yelled together.

the other, in two, or sometimes three or twenty-three to the left of the central ten skeletons, apparently of men, the skull was found to have a circumference in all the teeth were sound and firm. In another pit, a long gallery was found on one side only, and this led again by a passage, while in a third place was found tiers of *loculi* two or three deep. The inscription is too fragmentary for translation, but obliterated Christian emblems have been found on the walls. Terra-cotta lamps have been found with skeletons, one showing an eight-pointed figure in the attitude of benediction. It is probable that the whole area enclosed is one vast cemetery, but the circumstances of the burial of so many tall men in the present a mystery.

Volcanic Eruption in Mexico.—The volcanic disturbances in the Sierra Madre de Sonora to send exploring parties to the mountains appears from a New York telegram that the outbreak of an active volcano in the east of Bapiste, the crater of which is filled with and molten lava, while boiling steam and mountain were destroying the vegetation of the valleys.

Scarcity in Burmah.—The disturbance has resulted in a considerable deficiency of rice has risen to an unprecedentedly high price. A scarcity of paddy throughout large tracts of the country extending, it is believed, to the Shan States, has been destroyed by the Dacoits, but a great deal of the land remained unsown. The supply is largely diverted by military exigencies. On the other hand, there is said to be plenty of money is plentiful and employment is abundant in public works. The supply of rice in the country is sufficient, and the Irawadi Flotilla is carrying large supplies of food to the frontier, which quantities of rice and flour are distributed to police stations.

"Show me the house of the Padre Curato," answered the Prince, "and I will give you each a *soldo*. *Lesti!* Quick!"

Whereupon both the boys began turning cart-wheels on their hands and feet with marvellous dexterity. At last they subsided into a natural position, and led the way to the Curato's house, not twenty yards from the church, in a narrow alley. The Prince pulled the bell by the long chain which hung beside the open street door, and gave the boys the promised coppers. They did not leave him, however, but stood by to see what would happen. An old woman looked out of an upper window, and after surveying the Prince with care, called down to him:

"What do you want?"

"Is the Padre Curato at home?"

"Of course he is at home," screamed the old woman. "At this hour!" she added, contemptuously.

"*Ebbene*—can I see him?"

"What! is the door shut?" returned the hag.

"No."

"Then why don't you come up without asking?" The old woman's head disappeared, and the window was shut with a clattering noise.

"She is a woman without education," remarked one of the ragged boys, making a face towards the closed window. (Vol. iii. 168-70.)

The heroine, the Duchesse d'Astrardente, is a sumptuous character; but the author falls into the snare of describing her emotions at far too great a length. Ten pages, such as we have in vol. ii. (132-141) are really too much for ordinary readers to master in the way of analysis. And we may add that in this book the analysis comes most copiously before we have begun to take any interest in the people analyzed. No doubt Mr. Crawford—we can see it when we get to the last pages—has been preparing foundations for a tremendous development of mental and spiritual events; but the reader is apt to resent being expected to assist in the process.

There is no specially Catholic or anti-Catholic atmosphere in the tale. The writer seems to sympathize with the position of Cardinal Antonelli, and with the temporal principedom generally. The Cardinal he introduces freely, putting long speeches into his mouth. One father confessor is brought in, and makes a creditable appearance. No other ecclesiastics make any figure in the book. The most interesting character is that of Prince Saracinesca himself, a man of sixty, rich, hale, good-hearted, hot-tempered, and never dull. But Mr. Crawford hardly seems to have been intimate with Roman gentlemen and ladies, or he would have given greater importance to the part which religion plays in their lives. Neither his grand princesses nor his somewhat pagan patricians are described with that certainty of touch that he would have shown had he seen things from the inside.

The Old House in Picardy. By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. London: Richard Bentley and Son. 1887.

MISS O'MEARA has given the novelty of French setting and scenery to a plot which has been the theme of many a ballad and romance, beginning with "Auld Robin Gray." The heroine of the

Scotch ditty has, however, a less elastic conscience than the mistress of "The Old House in Picardy;" for while the former clearly recognises that she "daurna think on Jamie, for that wad be a sin," the latter is led, of course under considerable pressure of circumstances, into a good deal of sentimental dalliance with her former lover, ending inevitably in the discovery of their relations by the irate husband. Death, always in fiction the obsequious instrument of the heroine's happiness under such circumstances, here performs his functions as an ally of Cupid with laudable promptitude, and as the superfluous husband has the good taste to leave his widow the uncontrolled possession of a vast fortune, the reunited lovers are left with every prospect of a bright future. That Miss O'Meara should have contrived to construct an interesting tale out of such threadbare materials is no small tribute to her narrative power and charm of style. The surroundings of the old house which gives the book its title, Diane's refuge when orphaned, and finally her married home, are picturesquely and gracefully realized, while its inmates form an interesting and original group of characters. The early part of the story, dealing with Diane's first experiences of life, is more attractive than that unfolding the later complications of her destiny, since there is something so repugnant in the position of a girl marrying through worldly necessity as necessarily to detach the reader's sympathy from her in any subsequent misfortunes.

Imaginary Portraits. By WALTER PATER, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THE four short stories comprised in the present volume have the same intangible charm that made "Marius the Epicurean" a book to be remembered. The vague and subtle touches by which the course of the narrative is rather indicated than expressed, have here, as in the larger work, a power of stimulating the imagination beyond that exercised by mere definiteness of detail. The secret of the charm escapes our analysis; it is enough that it is there, and that it works in a potent fashion of its own. The unemotional character of that tranquil French scenery which forms the setting of two of the sketches in the present series, is conveyed with a felicitous mastery of language which suggests all the points it cannot enumerate. Thus, in one poetic sentence, we have the pre-eminence of the Alps forcibly put, by terming them "an apex of natural glory, towards which, in broadening spaces of light, the whole of Europe sloped upwards." The description of Auxerre, "the prettiest town in France," is equally happy, and it is made the setting for a strange and dreamy legend of a mediæval avatar of the classic Bacchus, the great Dionysiak myth being vaguely shadowed forth in the story of "Denys l'Auxerrois."

The two painters, Watteau and Sebastian Van Storck, are the heroes of two other studies, and the remaining one is concerned with the fortunes of a fantastic German princeling, Duke Carl Von Rosenmold.

Chez Paddy. By Baron E. DE MANDAT GRANCEY. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

THE author, whose previous work on the Rocky Mountains was crowned by the French Academy, now describes his experiences during a visit to Ireland in 1886 with the same witty vivacity of style which makes his narratives of travel such pleasant reading. His view of Ireland is that of an unprejudiced foreigner, who, on political and social questions, listened to the arguments of both sides alike, while retaining his own independence of judgment as to the facts that came under his immediate observation. The misery of the lower classes in Dublin seems to have made a deep impression on him, and struck him as greater than that of even the most poverty-stricken rural districts. He contrasts it with that of such southern cities as Naples and Cadiz, where the cheering influences of climate make poverty less unendurable, and the unfailing sunshine consoles the proletarian for the absence of all other physical comforts. A visit to a boycotted family was among the author's experiences, and he draws a humorous picture of the incidents of daily life under these exceptional conditions. The present phase of Irish misery is regarded by him as part of the agrarian crisis induced all over Europe by modern facilities of transport, enabling the produce of the world to compete for its markets. The days of small culture, in his view, are numbered; agriculture, like all other industries, tending to concentration, in order to meet the change in circumstances by greater cheapness of production. The combination of capital with culture is therefore increasingly needed, and wherever rent is abolished, interest on debt speedily takes its place, as is proved by the example of all countries where peasant proprietorship has been suddenly created. Rent, as he points out, represents the original outlay of capital, as is established by the notorious fact, that in new countries, where gratuitous grants of land are given, a penniless farmer cannot cultivate it profitably.

Thyrza. By GEORGE GISSING. London : Smith, Elder & Co. 1887.

THE author of "Demos" has made a decided advance in the present work, a powerful and well-conceived story of life among the London working-classes. The plot is throughout a satire on some forms of modern benevolence, since the philanthropic enthusiast, with his elaborate schemes for the amelioration of the lower classes, becomes the instrument of wrecking the lives of those he chiefly wishes to benefit. Thyrza, an impressionable and beautiful girl of the working-class, when on the eve of a marriage with a studious and refined artizan, is seized with an almost insane passion for Walter Egremont, her future husband's patron and benefactor, and though the latter suppresses all outward indication of the corresponding feeling she has awakened in him, the fulfilment of her engagement becomes an impossibility, and she leaves her home in despair. The further complications of her story and its tragical conclusion are

due to a surreptitiously overheard conversation, in which she hears Egremont proclaim his love for her and his intention of returning to claim her at the end of two years, during which she is confided to the guardianship of a charitable lady friend of his own. The natural result ensues ; he, believing himself bound to her by no tie of honour, and weaned by time and distance of his passion, is persuaded to relinquish his purpose, and Thyrza, always of nervously delicate health, dies of the disappointment. Her character is full of poetic grace and sentiment, and the attachment between her and her elder sister Lydia is touchingly portrayed. The *dramatis personæ* among the working-classes are all strongly and truthfully individualized ; but their superiors in the social scale are less happily delineated. The girl, who at the moment of accepting an offer of marriage, makes her lover feel her pulse to show that it is not quickened by a heart-beat, is surely a caricature even of modern philosophical young ladyhood.

The Golden Hope. By W. CLARK RUSSELL. London : Hurst & Blackett. 1887.

THE appearance of a new ocean romance by Mr. Clark Russell is always a welcome event to his numerous admirers, and they are doubly to be congratulated on the present occasion, as in his latest work he has not only maintained, but in our opinion surpassed, his former level of excellence. The wonderful fertility of invention which enables him to vary indefinitely the seemingly monotonous theme of a sea-voyage was never more strikingly exemplified than in the present work, in which Malcolm Fortescue's cruise to the Indian Ocean is invested with the romance of a knightly quest and the mystery of a spiritual experience. A higher poetical interest is hereby wrought into Mr. Clark Russell's vivid narrative of marine adventure, and the eloquence of his descriptive passages becomes more appropriate as the setting of a loftier theme. The very improbability of the main incident on which the plot hinges, serves to display the imaginative intensity of style which makes such a situation seem credible. The agonizing suspense of the last hours of the voyage, when the truth of the hero's prophetic vision is about to be tested, is portrayed with thrilling power, and the gradual approach to the dream-seen island is a masterpiece of dramatic realism. After this culminating event the interest might naturally be expected to flag, but it is fully sustained by the further development of the plot ; and the homeward voyage is detailed with a spirit and life which carry the reader triumphantly to the end of the third volume.

Miss Bayle's Romance. London : R. Bentley & Son. 1887.

"MISS BAYLE'S" experiences are those of an American young lady, who, glorified by a combined halo of beauty and dollars, has what she is pleased to term "a real good time" on this side of the Atlantic. Indeed, the monotonously ascending scale of her fortunes, culminating in the apotheosis of the peerage, and a wedding

beatified by royal gifts of a Cashmere shawl and the "Journal in the Highlands," somewhat palls upon the reader's interest, and he would be thankful for the intervention of one of even the most hackneyed of the conventional impediments which are supposed to delay the heroine's final entry into the haven of matrimony. The writer, who does not choose to reveal his identity on the title-page, has the command of a sparkling style, which enlivens the narration of incidents commonplace in themselves, and differing little from the ordinary experiences of travel. The career and character of an American millionaire are graphically sketched, with such obvious fidelity to truth as to suggest their being borrowed rather from real life than from fancy; and we cannot say that the picture of the doings of the typical "smart man" is very creditable to the commercial morality of the New World. His daughter Alma, with her lively intelligence, her racy Western State phraseology, and her natural wish to please and be pleased, is a more agreeable and equally characteristic specimen of the transplanted Anglo-Saxon variety of humanity.

Sabina Zembra. By WILLIAM BLACK. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

MR. BLACK'S new novel, despite its fantastic name, has less of sentiment and more of everyday life than the greater number of his previous works. To begin with, the principal scene is neither laid in the Highlands nor anywhere even within view of the coast of Scotland, but in the dingy streets of the Metropolis; consequently there is little scope for those picturesque descriptions of Nature strewn a little too lavishly over some of Mr. Black's former pages. There is more of humanity, and it is humanity of a more definitely outlined type, showing, too, more of its seamy side than we are accustomed to be introduced to by the author of "A Princess of Thule." The heroine, though a little over-belauded by the author and an admiring chorus of friends, has a well-marked individuality in her high-purposed wilfulness, leading to a disastrous ending. The daughter of Sir Anthony Zembra, a purse-proud millionaire, she leads a life of her own, devoted to works of beneficence and active philanthropy. Her charity, indeed, becomes her bane, for it is as the victim of a street accident, originally picked up and tended out of pure benevolence, that she makes the acquaintance of the worthless horse-jockey, Fred. Foster, whom without adequate motive she allows herself to be persuaded into marrying. This *mesalliance* brings on a well-deserved retribution, the working out of which by the author is perhaps the best part of the book. The doings and dealings of the jockey and his associates are full of life and spirit; and Foster, in all phases of his career and misfortunes, remains a perfectly natural and well-realized character. Of course he is not allowed permanently to intervene between the heroine and the happiness awaiting her in the devoted attachment of the hero, Walter Lindsay, but the incidents by which the result is sufficiently deferred are well imagined and narrated.

Margaret Jermine. By FAYR MADOC. London : Macmillan & Co.
1886.

THE author of "Margaret Jermine" has the art of writing three readable volumes about commonplace personages, and keeping up the reader's interest in their doings to the end. His central situation is a little over-strained, and the position of his heroine, destined to a loveless life by the crotchet of a half-crazy father, and believing herself bound to celibacy by his deathbed injunctions, is difficult to harmonize with the surroundings of everyday life. Of course the inevitable result ensues: she falls in love, and is compelled to refuse her suitor. The discovery of a subsequent letter of her father's, modifying the stringency of his earlier mandates, releases her too late; her lover has already taken a masculine revenge for her refusal by marrying another lady, and she has only the consolation of assisting him in his last moments, when he dies in her arms from the effects of a tragical accident. The secondary characters are brightly and humorously drawn, and there is a great deal of lively and amusing by-play. We must, however, protest against a grotesque style of nomenclature, which has neither wit nor meaning, and seems borrowed from the nursery. The constant invocation of one of the female characters as "My Minimy-my" jars on the reader's sense of congruity, and is a sensible blot on the otherwise graceful and animated style of the narrative.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, Aachen.

1. *Katholik.*

"Cardinal Franzelin" is the title of an interesting article contributed by a pupil of that great scholar and prince of the Church whose dogmatic treatises will long perpetuate his name and fame. Besides giving a sketch of the deceased prelate's life, the writer treats judiciously of the method adopted by the Cardinal in his treatment of dogmatic theology. It is interesting to note that the news reaches us at this moment from Rome that the manuscript of an unpublished work, *De Ecclesia*, by the Cardinal has been found, and hopes are entertained that it will be published in the course of this year. The Cardinal's life was throughout one of continuous prayer and study, carried out in the spirit of words which he wrote, when a novice, in a small book: "Doctrine, indeed, is a great boon, and talents are necessary; but superior to both of them is virtue. What is truly praiseworthy in a Jesuit is to be as solidly learned as deeply virtuous."

Dr. Späth treats of St. Thomas's teaching as to the nature of bodies,

teaching which the modern developments of natural science have wonderfully confirmed. Another instructive article is headed "Interment during the Middle Ages." It treats of Christian sepulture in the ages of faith, with the result of establishing the wide gulf between Christian practice and the modern one of cremation. Father Bäumer, a Benedictine of Maredsous, contributes a suggestive and thoughtful paper on "Vespers and Lauds, their origin in the time of the Apostles, and their relation to the morning and evening sacrifice of the synagogue." He describes lauds and vespers as originating with the Apostles, who, in establishing these solemn praises of God, adopted an institute already introduced by Moses. There are some striking texts drawn from the works of the most ancient Fathers, in which they give strong testimony to the prevailing custom of lauds and vespers being solemnly offered in the early Church. On one point I would demur from our author's opinion. He holds that the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" was written in the middle of the first century. If that were true, it would certainly push back the date of most of the books of the New Testament. The "Teaching" is generally attributed to the end of the first or the middle of the second century.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

"The History of Ireland from the Reformation to the Nineteenth Century," by Dr. Hassenkamp, is treated of at length in two articles. The author's purpose in his work is with the political history of Ireland, the ecclesiastical history being only incidentally treated; his articles are marked by sound judgment in appreciating the currents of Irish politics, while the treatment experienced by the sister island at the hands of England is carefully described. At the same time it is evident that had the author more intimate familiarity with *Irish Catholic* literature than is usual in our country, he would have been able to pass a much more favourable judgment than he does on the Nuncio Rinuccini. No one treating of this portion of Irish history can afford to dispense with the documents collected by Cardinal Moran in the third volume of his "Spicilegium Ossoriense."

Another series of articles which well deserves mention is "The Oxford Movement." German Protestants not seldom shape the history of that momentous event which, in a certain sense, has changed the face of England, according to their own prejudiced religious views, rather than according to that reality which is recognized by the unprejudiced inquirer. An article contributed by Dr. Schöll to Herzog's (Protestant) "Real Encyklopädie," which disfigures facts and persons connected with the memorable Oxford movement, gave rise to the essays of the present anonymous contributor. This last is thoroughly conversant with English literature, and in tracing Cardinal Newman's part in the movement, he quotes largely the Cardinal's own words, as well as the numerous books treating of it written by others. I wish the writer had brought out

more prominently that a gulf separates the Tractarians from modern Ritualists, whose rebellion against the bishops of the Establishment is scarcely inferior to their opposition to the Pope. Lastly, must be noticed two most valuable articles giving extracts from the late Count Beust's Memoirs, concerning the Vatican Council as viewed and opposed by the Austrian statesmen. The future historian of the Council will do well to employ these Memoirs as serving to illustrate how the wisdom of the world is confounded by the action of God.

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

"A Modern Theory of Revelation" is discussed by Father Langhorst in an able article. He puts to the rigid test of philosophy and theology "The Philosophy of Religion," by Dr. Pfleiderer, Professor of Protestant Theology in the University of Berlin. In that book the time-honoured idea of revelation as a direct and immediate communication between God and his creature is solemnly set aside, and its place given to a new system based on Darwin's theory of development:—whatever exists is subject to the inevitable law of change and development, religious truth enjoying no exemption from the universal rule. Thus Professor Pfleiderer comes to place the revelation of the true God side by side with the most shocking superstitions. In a word, every religion whatever is only a step in the evolutionary process to which man is subject. Father Langhorst appropriately styles this system of religious philosophy and philosophical religion "Pyrrhonismus redivivus"—in other words, the plainest confession of despair of attaining the possession of truth. Joseph von Eichendorf, the eminent Catholic poet, once said: "Only when men ceased to believe did they begin to apply philosophy to religion."

F. Kneller writes on the character of the two first persecutions of the Christian religion. The results he arrives at are, briefly, that Nero and Domitian waged war on Christianity as a religious system; hence they were really persecutors of Christians, and those Christians who fell under them were truly martyrs; the persecution originated by the two Emperors was proclaimed by general edicts, and so spread into the provinces of the empire; which three points are testified to by Christian antiquity, and even by any heathen writers who touched on the subject. Hence the attempts of some modern German historians to establish the contrary must be pronounced totally abortive.

4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.*

Father Duhr gives the concluding article on Father Edward Petre, the privy councillor of King James II. He passes a deservedly severe sentence on the so-called "Memoirs of James II," and shows that the numerous accusations and calumnies against Father Petre are quite destitute of foundation. Real, indisputable facts, to support such charges, are looked for in vain. Dr. Schmid discusses

recent theories on the interpretation of the Bible, noticing in this connection Cardinal Newman's article published some years ago. The author animadverts severely on a system of interpretation adopted by a French Catholic apologist of our time, and strongly opposes the general principle, viz., that in purely scientific questions unconnected with religion, biblical interpretation cannot arrive at incontestible conclusions, and that in questions not subject to the authoritative explanation of the Church, one may adopt allegorical explanations wherever the literal sense seems to be obscure. The author shows this principle to be at variance with the doctrine and practice of the Church.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 15 Gennaio, 1887.

The Nebuchodonosor of Judith.—In this number appears a third article on the Nebuchodonosor of Judith. This book, it will be remembered, begins by relating how Arphaxad, King of the Medians, after subjugating many nations, built the powerful city of Ecbatana. Here the Greek version slightly differs from the Vulgate in that it states that Arphaxad, reigning over the Medes in Ecbatana, built at Ecbatana and around it the great walls of square stones, of which the description follows, as in the Vulgate. But it is easy to reconcile the two statements, as the term "built" employed in the Vulgate does not, in biblical language, necessarily mean an original foundation. Thus, for instance, we find Nebuchodonosor the Great boasting, "Is not this the great Babylon which I have built to be the seat of the kingdom?" although Babylon had existed for many centuries, and even as the seat of the kingdom—that is, the royal residence and metropolis of a great State. Nebuchodonosor, however, embellished and fortified it, so that it was as a new city; and this was probably what Arphaxad, whom the reviewer identifies with Fravartish or Phraazad, who was subdued and put to death by the King of Assyria, did for Ecbatana.

Having satisfactorily explained some seeming discrepancies in the few ancient historians who have mentioned this city, the writer concludes that the period of Ecbatana's greatness must be referred to the beginning of the seventh century before Christ, a point which the absence of all adverse monumental records serves to confirm. This being established, since the events recorded in Judith occurred soon after the death of Arphaxad, it follows that the Nebuchodonosor of this book, the conqueror of the Median king, must also have flourished in the seventh century before the Christian era. Now, as the reviewer had shown in his previous article, seven of the pretenders who have been put forward fail to fulfil this condition. Of the three remaining, Asarhaddon must be rejected, if only on account of the shortness of his reign. Merodach Baladan, favoured by Bellarmine, is also inadmissible, never having been king of Ninive. In Bellarmine's

time the cuneiform Assyrian inscriptions, which throw so much light on the history of these kings and their deeds, had not been discovered. Assurbanipal remains, accordingly, master of the field. He ascended the throne of Ninive in 668, and, as he reigned forty years, he satisfies admirably all the required historical conditions.

The writer having disposed of Ninive in a previous article, and of Ecbatana in the present, proceeds to discuss the vital question of the Temple at Jerusalem. It is vital, because upon the existence of the Temple at the time of the events related in the book of Judith must finally depend the chronological question at issue, whether they took place before or after the Babylonian captivity. Abundant passages of that book, in which both the Vulgate and the Greek entirely coincide, and to which the reviewer refers, would put the matter beyond the reach of controversy, and establish as an incontrovertible fact, that in Judith's day the Temple of Jerusalem existed in all its splendour no less than at any other period of the four centuries which elapsed from Solomon to Sedecias, but for a text in the Septuagint which the maintainers of the opposite opinion have alleged in its support. Excellent reasons, however, exist for regarding this text as an interpellation. St. Jerome evidently viewed it in that light, since he excluded it from the Vulgate. Bellarmine notices this rejection, and concludes therefrom that the text is supposititious, and as such *non debet movere quemquam*, ought to have no influence with any one; adding that it was, perhaps, this passage which was the means of leading into error on this point so many learned doctors. The reviewer adheres to Bellarmine's view, not only on account of his high authority, but for the solid reasons he adduces for holding it.

19 Marzo, 1887.

Another article on this subject has since appeared. It is devoted to the special examination of the Greek text, upon which the opinion has been grounded that the events related in the Book of Judith occurred subsequently to the Babylonian Captivity. In his previous articles the Reviewer has given sound reasons for referring them to the days of Manasses, when Assurbanipal was king of Assyria, and reigned in the powerful city of Ecbatana. There is an expression, however, in the Greek text with regard to the Temple, in Achior's speech to Holofernes, which, it is urged, implies its total destruction and the carrying away of the inhabitants of Jerusalem into captivity. The parallel passage in the Vulgate has no mention whatever of the Temple, and what Achior says of the reverses and captivity of the people of Israel when they offended their God, and in particular of the recent calamities they had suffered, can be easily, and indeed more easily, explained without any reference to the Babylonian captivity. Bellarmine says that the insertion in the Septuagint is clearly spurious. That it is of no value may be easily proved; and it must be remembered that it forms the solitary argument for the above-mentioned view. First, then, it is a significant fact that St. Jerome did not admit it, from which we must conclude either

that he did not find it in the original Chaldee from which he made his faithful translation, or, if it occurred in any of the numerous codices from which he himself states, in his preface to the Book of Judith *varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi*, he rejected it, as belonging to that class. 2. The phrase would be in open contradiction to five other passages in the book, which are extant in both versions. This alone would be enough to discredit it as an interpolation. 3. But further, it is at variance even with the verse immediately following it, which says that the Hebrews had re-occupied Jerusalem, "where is their sanctuary"—the same sanctuary which the previous verse had declared to have been levelled with the ground. It is well known how the Hebrews on their return found indeed nothing but a mass of ruins where the Temple had stood. It is also at variance with a passage existing only in the Greek, in which allusion is made, not to the rebuilding of the Temple, but to its resanctification from the pollution and contamination it had suffered. These and other proofs alleged proceed upon the supposition that the words used in the disputed passage in the Septuagint must of necessity imply a complete levelling of the Temple to the ground; but there have not been wanting interpreters who pointed out that the same forcible expressions are used in some other parts of Scripture, where only partial injury, accompanied by desecration, had been sustained. But upon this the Reviewer lays no great stress, for the phrase in question, however understood, cannot avail, when confronted with others, to prove that Judith flourished before the Babylonian captivity.

To these reasons must be added another, of a different order, but of a very convenient character—viz., the state of Samaria as described in Judith's time, which is utterly irreconcilable with that which subsisted on the return of the Jews from the captivity, when, as we know, they had no more bitterly hostile neighbours than the Samaritans. But in the Book of Judith Samaria is described as most friendly and brotherly, and its people are called "children of Israel." Their aid is solicited, their prayers implored, and they are represented as rejoicing with Juda after the death of Holofernes, and the discomfiture and flight of the Assyrian host. In short, we are in quite another world to that which we find represented in the days of Esdras and Nehemia. Plainly the Ten Tribes were as yet dwelling in their land, and between them and the tribes of Juda and Benjamin perfect amity subsisted. The conclusion, then, at which the Reviewer arrives, is that the last and recent captivity mentioned by Achior was that of Manasses, king of Juda, recorded in 2 Paralip. xxxiii. 11. This interpretation in fact, and this alone, will be found to satisfy all the texts in the Book of Judith, whether regarding the Hebrew people or the Assyrian empire. However, the Reviewer promises us yet another article to demonstrate his assertion with still more fulness.

7 Maggio, 1887.

The Roman Question.—This number of the *Civiltà Cattolica* contains an admirable and elaborate reply to the letter of the

Senator Carlo Cadorna, President of the Royal Council, which was given in the *Popolo Romano* of 26th March, but had originally appeared in the *Deutsche Revue* of Dresden. The letter was not, in fact, intended for Italians, or it would not have been written in French; neither was it intended for the French, or it would have been sent to a French paper. We may conclude, then, that it was written specially for the benefit of the two empires—German and Austro-Hungarian. Its topic may be thus stated: Leo XIII. had, by the pen of his Secretary of State, signified to the German Catholic deputies that, taking to heart the intolerable situation in which the august Head of the Church is placed, they might avail themselves of favourable opportunities to give expression, by their votes, to the feelings and wishes of their Catholic countrymen in favour of the Sovereign Pontiff. Lately, also, by the advice he gave concerning the Septenate, he showed that he considered that a fresh occasion had presented itself of making himself acceptable to the Emperor of Germany and to Prince Bismarck. On the other hand, looking only to its own interests, which are identified with those of Catholics, the Holy See could not let any opportunity escape which might incline the powerful German Emperor to favour a future improvement in its situation. Cadorna says that it is clear, and that Cardinal Jacobini ingenuously confessed as much, that the Sovereign Pontiff's intervention was not determined by the religious interests of Germany alone, but by the hopes of recovering the temporal dominion of Rome. The writer of the letter is evidently apprehensive lest the German Emperor should be induced to seek a mode of assuring to the Supreme Pontiff a sovereign independence. It is true that he sneers at the very notion, and can see no such peril; but of this we may believe as much or as little as we like. The letter is plainly not meant for a confutation of the "clericals," nor for the enlightenment of the Italians: its object can only be to deter the German Government, and consequently the German Catholics, who might bring their influence to bear upon it, from attending to the Pope's desires. Cadorna's argument may be summed up under the following heads: First, he says, give no heed to the Pope's lamentations, because he is moved solely by the ambition to be Sovereign of Rome. Secondly, follow the example of the Italian Government, and do not mind them, because, as in past days, with time and patience, the Pontiff's opposition will be overcome. Thirdly, as we—[that is, he and his friends, Cadorna here affecting to speak as a sound Catholic]—as we do not confound the political question with the religious, so also must not you, but abstain from entering on the Roman question, which is altogether political. Fourthly, the conscience of the Pope is opposed to that of the Italians, and to the latter you must conform yourselves; and all the more, because the Italians are more Catholic than you are. Fifthly, the Roman question is dead and buried; therefore, you cannot and ought not to trouble yourselves about it. Sixthly, none of the Powers is occupying itself about it, and if any attacked us, it would get the worst of it. However, as regards friendly Germany and friendly Austria, there

is no reason to suspect the slightest velleity to bring any pressure to bear on the matter.

To all these points the Reviewer triumphantly replies: his reply is, indeed, quite a little treatise, to which we can but refer the reader, having no space to do more than give the headings, and cull two or three remarks. Cadorna says that the Pope's principal pre-occupation is to recover the sovereignty of Rome, placing this object above all religious interests, and thus any reclamations made by him on this latter head are deprived of all serious value. The Reviewer replies that, in the first place, no mention of the Pope's desire to regain the sovereignty of Rome was made in Cardinal Jacobini's letter; but, supposing it were so, what then? Cadorna is pleased to say that the Holy Father desires it through ambition. If the Pope desired the sovereignty of Rome for its own sake, this would be an ambition contrary to the spirit which ought to actuate the Vicar of Christ. But if this sovereignty is necessary as the means to an end at which he is bound to aim with all his strength, to desire and to love it is to desire and love that end, which not only cannot be called ambition, but is a holy and just zeal for the glory of God. The decree of Jesus Christ making St. Peter the foundation-stone of His Church was accomplished in Rome. St. Peter is Bishop of Rome, and thus the Roman Church is the Church of Jesus Christ. The Church of Rome is the trunk of that vine which, having its roots in Rome, spreads its branches throughout the world. The other Churches, each having a Bishop at its head, form, indeed, part of the Church of Christ, but only as aggregated to the Roman. Rome, then, is the head of the world, upon which the obligation lies of being Christian—that is, of receiving its life from Rome, and, with Rome and under Rome, tending to its great ultimate end. But can Rome fulfil its divine mission if idolatry, heresy, atheism, dominate therein, and if, instead of receiving the breath of its life from Peter, it receives it from antichristian rulers? The necessity which binds Rome to be mistress in faith and Christian morality, entails the necessity of its being exclusively subject to the Roman Pontiff. The same cannot be said of the rest of the Papal dominions, however sacred, legitimate, and inalienable is the Holy Father's right to them; but the sovereign domination of Rome is required by the very character of the Roman Church itself.

The Reviewer well exposes the affected gravity with which Cadorna ventures to affirm, in the face of all that is passing around him, so palpable an untruth as that the Roman question is dead and buried, and that none can be better convinced than are “we Italians”—for he pretends to speak in the name of the mass of his compatriots—that all that is needed is time, to put a stop to the Pope's lamentations for the loss of his temporal power. With the same facility, the writer confutes the assertion that the Roman question is purely political, of which absurdity Cadorna again maintains that “we Italians” are convinced, and only begs the Germans and other outsiders to be equally so. The concluding observations on Cadorna's erroneous doctrine concerning conscience, which savours greatly of Protestantism, are well worth notice.

21 Maggio, 1887.

Since the above was written the *Civiltà Cattolica* has issued an interesting article on the different proposals made for the solution of the Roman question, with its own replies. We desire to call the reader's attention to it, treating as it does of the most momentous topic of the hour, but can do little more. Such of the Liberalistic party as retain any prudence have begun to fear lest the state to which the Pope is reduced should end in the common ruin, and are possessed by a strong presentiment that, if something be not done in the way of rendering justice to him, Italy will fare badly. Hence the various proposals of conciliation of which we have lately heard a good deal. Of these the *Opinione* of Rome has published the most curious. There is no good in any of them save the admissions they severally make. One and all err by considering that *accomplished facts* must be accepted, and the Pope's liberty and independence secured by some other means than that which alone would be either acceptable or effectual—viz., the restoration to him of what is essentially his own, and without which he cannot be free: the full and undivided sovereignty of Rome. Toscanelli's proposal would simply enlarge his prison by giving him a piece of ground where he could have his religious houses and receive foreign ambassadors—a sacred and inviolate Rome alongside of the Rome of which he has been robbed; so that, remaining bishop of both, there would be two Romes: one in which he was privileged and obeyed, and another in which he was opposed and dishonoured.

It must have been a very simple soul which put forth another whimsical proposal, that the Holy Father should doctrinally rule that a civil principality is incompatible with the exercise of his spiritual authority. Fazzari's letter, which appeared recently in the *Nazione*, being merely a reply to one written in the name of the *Unione Conservatrice* of Turin, does not specify the conditions of the reconciliation he desires. The Reviewer, therefore, can only say that if, as he appears to indicate, his scheme, like the rest, is to be based on accomplished facts, it may be also dismissed as a dream. Fazzari thinks that the arrangement ought to be made without the intervention of Parliament, and solely between the King and the Sovereign Pontiff. This also, the writer says, is a mere chimera, considering the position occupied by the monarchy in Italy, where it is altogether constitutional and parliamentary. Fazzari says that "the monarchy of Savoy had found itself under the necessity of combating the temporal power of the Pope till 1870." Whence this supposed "necessity" arose he must very well know. The sects who invented it could easily create another to strike down the monarchy, if it tried to reconcile itself with the Pope independently of Parliament.

POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY. MARCH 1887.

This American periodical keeps up to the high level on which it started, and knows how to treat political and economical questions with a calmness that is most refreshing in the present heated state

of our domestic controversies. Those interested in colonial politics will do well to read the clear and impartial article on Louis Riel's rebellions. I wonder how many Englishmen are aware that the decision in Riel's case established the plenary authority of the Dominion Parliament, or how many have realized that by vesting in the Colonial Legislature the power to define and regulate the trial of treasonable offences, a serious step has been taken toward weakening the union between the colony and the mother country.

Professor Theodore Dwight gives a good literary paper on the once famous political writer of the Commonwealth, James Harrington. But though many of his suggestions were adopted in the political institutions of America at the end of the following century, such as rotation of magistrates, secret ballot, and separation of the various powers of government, we must not rate him too high; for in the main he was a dreamer and a Constitution-monger. As Professor Dwight says: "The prime feature of Harrington's scheme is that a government can be made to run for ever, if there is only good machinery, well oiled, and of the most approved pattern." Then, after citing some of Harrington's suggestions, he pathetically adds—and all who know the political condition of America can add with him—"Alas, we have tried nearly all of these, and is our system of government yet perfect or absolutely secure? With them we have passed with difficulty and sorrow through the most tremendous civil war the world has ever seen. We have seen abundance of corruption in office, and fraud in the ballot-box. We are conscious of dangerous forces in society which none of these political services have any tendency to remove."

This example might teach us sobriety in our estimate of the importance of Constitutions, and not to hope or fear too much from changes in government machinery, when the real point of supreme interest is whether the force that works the machinery is religious or irreligious. We can also learn sobriety of judgment from the three interesting articles on legal reform. No doubt there is a great need of reform both in England and America, and we suffer from the expense, the delays, and the uncertainty of law much more than is at all necessary. But a man must be either very young or very simple if he thinks the mischief is all due to the lawyers, and that the remedy is first to hang them all, as Jack Cade proposed, and then to publish a nice little code, both criminal and civil, in popular language, so that all can understand it, and so plain that no legal quibbling can distort its meaning. In reality a complicated society requires a complicated law, and the greater the wealth and culture of a people, the more the need of scientific as opposed to rough-and-ready law; the more, therefore, the need of a learned class to master it. For you cannot master science without study. Hence, too, the need of technical terms, which are none the worse if they are in late Latin or old French. Listen to the following excellent passage from Professor Munroe Smith:

Every doctor of theology or medicine, every scientific man, every artist, every tradesman and every mechanic uses in his own science or

business technical terms which are unintelligible to the outsider. Even when the term is explained, it is quite likely that the outsider will not understand the explanation, because it involves the understanding of other things unknown to him, the knowledge of which is part of the science or craft in question. Now all these people use technical terms for the same reason that the lawyer uses them—because they need terms of definite meaning. This necessity, felt in the simplest trade, is greatest in the sciences. And yet all these people demand that the law, the oldest and perhaps the most complex of sciences, shall speak the language of the hearth and the street. . . . Not a few lawgivers have shared such a delusion, and have attempted to ‘popularize’ the law. The result has always been the same. As soon as a set of new, vague, and ‘popular’ terms is bundled into the written law, the courts proceed to give them by construction, that definiteness of meaning which legal science requires, and which in fact the people themselves demand, for the people demand that law shall be certain: that is, a set of new technical terms is constructed.

And he points to California as an example of this, California being one of the nine American States that have departed furthest from the English common law and approached nearest to the civil codes of the Continent. Let me end with the hope that this excellent American periodical may do something towards inducing our lawyers and statesmen here at home to study the laws and constitutions of the forty-seven legislative bodies, with powers more or less sovereign, comprised within the boundaries of the United States.

C. S. DEVAS.

Notices of Books.

The History of St. Cuthbert. By CHARLES, Archbishop of Glasgow. Third Edition. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1887.

THIS new edition of a valuable and well-known book has been eagerly looked for. Now that it has appeared there will be some disappointment that it differs so very slightly from its predecessors. Archbishop Eyre says frankly in his short preface: “It was in the hopes of the writer to be able to add some new matter, and to give a better translation of the passages quoted from ‘Bede’s Life.’ Unfortunately he has not been able to find time to do the one or the other. All that he has been able to do has been to make a very few verbal alterations, and to insert into the text a number of notes that formed an Appendix in the previous editions. With these exceptions this edition is just a reprint of the two others, with many shortcomings and very little merit.” These expressions entirely disarm criticism; and we may add that they are likely to do

the illustrious author injustice. Archbishop Eyre's "History of St. Cuthbert," which he first published as a young Northumbrian priest some forty years ago, is a work which may without affectation be called "monumental"; that is, it is so complete, so honest, and so lovingly put together that it will never be superseded. It is a matter for congratulation that this third edition reproduces the admirable form and get-up of the original issue—the large paper, the fine print, the maps and illustrations, and the exquisite title-page. The book shows in every page the enthusiasm of one to whom St. Cuthbert and ancient Northumbria, St. Cuthbert's fortunes, the great Church of Durham, and the modern College of Ushaw, are dear and cherished themes, on which no amount of patient research can be thrown away. He follows him from his birth on the borders of Scotland to old Melrose, to Ripon, to Lindisfarne; then to his hermitage on Farne, opposite the royal fortress of Bamborough; to York, where he received episcopal consecration; and lastly, back again to his lonely cell to die. He describes and carefully maps out that "Holy Island" which is to the North of England what Iona is to Western Scotland; he traces the lines of his solitary hut on the rock amidst the waves of the North Sea. Using the very words of Venerable Bede, and of that anonymous Lindisfarne monk who was Bede's contemporary, he makes us feel the simplicity and the antique beauty of a saintly character which blossomed amid the rough surroundings of ancient Northumbria. He narrates the marvellous fortunes of the Saint's Body, enabling the reader, by the aid of an admirable map, to see at a glance how it was borne by a faithful band from point to point along the Western coast as far as the Mersey, and thence through the Lancashire and Yorkshire hills to the valley of the Swale and the Tees, till it rested finally in "Durham's Gothic shade." He describes with great minuteness the various openings of St. Cuthbert's tomb, and the unmistakable proofs on each occasion that the holy Body was incorrupt; concluding with an interesting examination of the account given by Raine of what occurred when the place where the Saint used to rest in Catholic times was searched by Protestants in 1827. Throughout the volume authorities are fully referred to and often textually cited; and there is an excellent list of sources, with a very complete verbal index.

Since Archbishop Eyre brought out his first edition, Montalembert has published the third, fourth, and fifth volumes of his "*Moines d'Occident*." He briefly refers to Lindisfarne and to St. Cuthbert, and, as we think, does injustice both to the Saint and to the great Archbishop Theodore, to whom the English Church is so largely indebted. When St. Cuthbert was appointed to the See of Lindisfarne by St. Theodore, there is no doubt that St. Wilfrid was the rightful Bishop of York, and that his See included Northumbria. But when we remember that the headstrong Egfrith had so quarrelled with St. Wilfrid that nothing would induce him to let him stay in Northumbria, surely Theodore, in his legatine power, was entitled to provide for the wide missionary districts which were left without a

pastor, and which were so vast that St. Wilfrid himself, later on, agreed that they should be partitioned. Doubtless Pope Agatha upheld St. Wilfrid's appeal; but it does not appear that Theodore was a party with the savage king in rejecting the Pope's decree. And that very decree, whilst re-installing Wilfrid, enjoined a division of the huge diocese. The proof that this view is the correct one is, that as soon as Egfrith was dead, St. Theodore sent for St. Wilfrid, and arranged everything amicably with him; St. Wilfrid going back to York, but the division of the more northern portion of the diocese still holding good. We draw attention to this because Protestant writers are apt to follow a brilliant Catholic historian like Montalembert.* Among the few improvements which Archbishop Eyre might have made, had he been permitted, would be a somewhat more distinct reference of St. Cuthbert's episcopate to its place in the general history of Northumbria and of England. Few pictures are more suggestive than the Synod of Twyford on the Aln—the Archbishop leaves its exact locality indeterminate, but surely no one who has seen the ancient Mote-hill at Alnmouth can doubt—and the deputation which sailed over the North Sea to find St. Cuthbert in Farne. The hand of Rome was visibly stretched out to press into the service of the Church of God one of the children of St. Columba. In times not long past the Scottish monks had shown themselves neither docile nor sociable; but Divine Providence was at work, and the monk of Tarsus, representing the Roman authority and the traditions of the universal Church, standing on the bleak and wild coast where they had made their habitation, constrained them with gentle and masterful management to forego everything but their virtues and their devotedness, and to join their hearts with his. There can be little doubt that the career of St. Cuthbert, though his episcopate lasted only two years, promoted the Catholic unity of the North more powerfully than that of any other man, even Wilfrid or Bennet Biscop. "Have peace and divine charity amongst you," he said, when he lay dying. ". . . Be unanimous. . . . Let there be mutual concord between yourselves and all other servants of Christ. . . . Receive all hospitably. . . . Carefully observe the Catholic institutions of the Fathers." This exhortation was carried out, and for 188 years there was peace and Catholic progress in Northumbria, St. Cuthbert's body lying tranquilly in the rocky soil of Holy Island.

Vetus Testamentum Græce iuxta LXX. Interpretes. Ed. VAL LOCH, S.T.D. et Professor Em. in Lyceo Bambergensi. Ratisbon. 1886.

THIS edition of the Septuagint has been brought out by the ex-Professor of S. Scripture in the Seminary of Bamberg, to commemorate the tercentenary of Sixtus V.'s decree ordering the publication of the Septuagint, which had been preparing for sixteen

* See, for example, Mr. Green in his "Making of England," p. 375; and Canon Ormsby, "Diocesan Histories: York," p. 62

years. Like that famous edition, of which it is practically a reprint, it is preceded by Cardinal Carafa's dedication, by the preface of the Roman editors, and by the Papal Decree. It is taken from the Vatican Codex, the gaps in that MS. being supplied from the Alexandrine and from the Polyglot Bibles. This is not the place to insist upon the great and increasing importance attached by modern biblical students to the Septuagint as a means of approaching the original text; nor to the great assistance it affords towards understanding the Vulgate. We need only remark that the convenient size and arrangement of this edition make it the most suitable for all who do not need an *apparatus criticus*. The paper is good, the type very fair, while the extremely low price (five shillings) at which it is issued brings it within the reach of all to whom it is likely to be of service.

Our Divine Saviour, and other Discourses. By the Right Rev. J. C. HEDLEY, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

A VOLUME of sermons by the Bishop of Newport will need no word of ours to commend it to the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW. To such extent as we have space available at the late time when the volume reaches us, we propose to give a few extracts by way of illustrating the character of the discourses. The extracts lose some of their force when detached—for the discourses are planned with admirable progression of effect so that each one of them has quite its own separate value as a whole—but probably they will still convey something of the impression which they emphatically make upon us as we read them in their context. A distinct and noteworthy feature of these sermons is, we certainly think, their freshness—freshness of thought, treatment and style; nowhere do we meet pulpit commonplace or hackneyed phrase—everywhere, on the contrary, it is the heart of the preacher pouring out to his flock his own deep convictions, enforcing them from the “treasures, old and new,” of a cultivated mind.

Ten of the discourses in this volume were published some years ago, part of them under the title, “Who is Jesus Christ;” the others under that of “The Spirit of Faith,” in which form they have been for some time past out of print. To these are now first added a series of discourses on the Mass and on the Sacramental Life of Christ. As the two little volumes just named are likely to be known to some of our readers, we need here only remark that “The Spirit of Faith” has special value as a most able reply to the question “What must I do to believe?” written with reference to the peculiar difficulties and tendencies of the modern mind: the first discourse dwells upon the “Necessity of Belief,” and the significance of that necessity is pointed out; and the second expounds the “New Testament teaching as to what Faith is.” “Prejudice as an Obstacle to Faith” gives a vivid and eloquent picture of the nefarious effects of prejudice, chief among the sources of which it is shown is education—the perpetuation in each

new generation of the great Protestant tradition about the Catholic Church. "Wilfulness as an Obstacle to Faith" points out the need of "goodwill," and the fatal results in a heart of "self," pride or wilfulness,—“and its manifestations in the craving for independence and freedom, and the pretence of manliness,” which the Bishop of Newport says he believes to be “the very root of the world’s opposition to the spirit of Faith.” The final discourse of the series is entitled “Faith the Gift of Jesus Christ.” From the remaining discourses, which contain many passages that tempt one to note them, some for their eloquence, others as evidencing the preacher’s spiritual knowledge and wonderful power of analysis, we must be content to take the following:

THREE EFFECTS OF PENANCE.

What are our chief difficulties after we have once conceived the desire to turn to God? God’s help being supposed, there are three difficulties about our interior spiritual activity—the difficulty of certainty or definiteness, the difficulty of warmth or fervour, and the difficulty of strength. The Sacrament of Penance meets all these. First, as to definiteness in our interior acts. The sinner who begins to turn to God experiences a great deal of that condition of will which the wise man describes—“he willeth and he willeth not.” At times he would be virtuous, abandon his sin, and turn to God. But he finds it difficult to bring matters to the point. His best thoughts wander: he is like a man in a mist, he has no definite idea where he is. His past life is blurred and blotted, he is tempted to let it pass. And the consequence is that most men, even with good desires, let the past alone, and content themselves with an indefinite idea they will be better for the future. Now the practice of the Sacrament of Penance makes this impossible. The penitent has to examine his past life, not with foolish or nervous solicitude, but with fair exactness; he has to get a sort of catalogue of his doings before his eyes. This not only impresses him with a true idea of his sinfulness, but it shows him what to do for the future, and, what is more than all, makes him, on a certain day and hour, lay his sins as in a bundle at the feet of his Saviour’s Cross, and there and then work up his heart by prayerful meditation to detest them utterly, and to resolve on a new life for the future. Thus he becomes *sure* of his interior disposition. In the same way he becomes earnest or intense. Self-examination, definiteness of place and time, the humbling of ourselves before a fellow-man like our confessor—all this makes us earnest. These things rouse resistance too thoroughly in our lower nature not to make us very intense and determined. Just as a man never knows he has evil passions till some one crosses him, so the practice of the Sacrament of Penance, like a cross placed on us by Christ Jesus, intensifies our interior acts, and so increases our merit.—“Christ and the Sinner,” p. 245.

THE SENSES AND THE EUCHARIST.

Our senses are under Almighty God’s overruling control, just like the air and the waters, the forces of the earth and of the sky. What is seeing or tasting? It is a physical change or immutation of a certain sense or organ, causing that vital reaction of the soul which we call “knowing.” Such immutation of the organ ordinarily proceeds from the influence of an external object, or is the lingering effect of a past sensation. But it is in God’s power to have it otherwise. He can make us see appearances when there is nothing but appearances, as He made

~~Tobias~~ see the body which the Angel Raphael seemed to have, and which the Angel afterwards told Tobias was not a body at all. He can also make us *not see* a thing when it is truly present, or seem to see appearances in a thing which are quite different from what are really the thing's own appearances. You remember, for instance, how the eyes of the disciples going to Emmaus were "held" that they should not know our Lord. They saw Him, talked to Him, and ate with Him; they saw features and heard the accents of a voice; but neither the features nor the voice were those familiar ones they knew so well. It was not that our Lord altered His looks nor the tone of His voice; but their eyes were "held." In the Blessed Eucharist there is the appearance of bread when there is no bread, and there is the Body of our Lord without Its appearances. What is there impossible in this? And it is not as if God deceived us. When He interferes with natural law He does so for a serious purpose and at rare intervals. When He "holds" our senses that we see not the thing really present in the Eucharist, He does so by a rare and most exceptional act, and He gives us the most solemn warnings and assurances that He has done so. And thus the apparent paradox is no paradox at all.—"The Blessed Sacrament," p. 266.

THE MASS THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN LIFE.

The altar of the Christian Church is not, like the stone of Bethel, set up in one only spot of the earth. The roof of the Christian temple is not seen only among the hills and the ravines of one historic site in Palestine. The altar of Christianity is at this moment well-nigh as widely to be found even as the name of Christian. It stands in old Christian lands canopied by great cathedrals; in the dim sanctuaries of old parish churches; amid the colour and the freshness of temples which only date from yesterday. In countries where the Faith is lost, the altar has survived or been set up again; sometimes in a hired room, sometimes in the humble cottage of a believer (who is surely blessed as Obededom when he harboured the Ark of the Covenant on his threshing-floor!); sometimes again in the schools of children; sometimes under a roof which the pence of the poor and the sacrifices of the rich have combined to raise aloft. In the lands of the heathen, the altar is pushed forward wherever the light of the Gospel advances; on the clearing of the forest, on the tropical banks of African rivers, among the huts of far-off savages, the priest sets up a Bethel—a house of God; sets up his little altar and makes ready for his Mass. The missionary in China or in Africa does this day what Peter did in Antioch, Paul in Pagan Rome, Mark in Alexandria, a hundred Popes in the Catacombs, a thousand Bishops and martyrs in the red and hunted days of the persecutions. Between the day when Peter first went through the Eucharistic liturgy and the breaking of bread in Jerusalem, and the Mass which was said this morning, how many centuries and how vast a stream of human life! Between the wooden altar, existing still, used by St. Peter in Rome, and the thin slab of stone which the Lazarist or the Capuchin carries painfully under tropical skies or in the frozen zones of Western Canada, how various a history and how long a tale if the tale were told! Mass in the Catacombs, when the fierce band of the heathen persecutor often burst in and slew the Pontiff at the altar; Mass in old churches like those of Ravenna, amid the splendour of a Christian Roman civilization, doomed to die; Mass in bowers of green branches in German or English forests; Mass on the wild sea-islands of the Western coasts, said by the monks of St. Columba or St. Ninian; Mass in the Saxon monasteries of England—Wearmouth, Whitby, Ripon, Peterborough, Sherborne; Mass in the glorious cathedrals of the Middle Ages, thronged with the great, the rich, the brave, and the poor; Mass in the little parish

churches of Wales, whose very shape, divided as they are into sanctuary, presbytery, and nave, preaches eloquently of what used to take place there; Mass in days of persecution, among the hills and in the remote cabins of faithful Ireland, in the hiding-places of England and Wales; Mass, again, in happier days, when our altars once more are seen and our offerings are not torn from us—here is a sketch of that long and various historic chain which has never been broken and which still goes lengthening out, until the last priest shall say the last Mass before our Lord shall come to judge the world.—“The Grand Liturgical Act,” p. 276.

THE NATURE OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE.

You will find men and women who (as they express it) feel “good” on a Sunday, or feel “saved” at a meeting, or whose tenderness is excited by our Blessed Saviour’s sufferings, or again, who long in a kind of way for heavenly rest—and yet these very persons are habitually unjust in their dealings, or given to impurity, or the slaves of temper and passion; and they take no pains to get out of the mire of their sinful life. These people are, as I have said, sometimes themselves under a delusion. Their feelings are real enough at the time; but their delusion is to think that *feeling* is love and worship. Love and worship may overflow into the feelings—well and good; the feelings help to make our worship easier; but love and worship are in the reason, not the feelings. To understand, to resolve, to resist, to offer the heart, to regret sin—these are acts of worship; and they cannot be real without affecting our external actions. And, as just now observed, when our external life of service is in accordance with our interior life of worship, then what we do *intensifies* our love and worship. We are told by scientific men that light is colourless in itself; the lovely colours of the universe are the result of light being stopped or reflected by something solid; and even the heavenly blue of the cloudless sky would not be there were it not for certain innumerable minute particles of matter which seize and translate the flood of radiance, itself too subtle for the sense to apprehend. So, the work of our hands and the service of our lips and the ministrations of our bodies give colour and intensity to the ethereal liftings-up of the soul; they increase the heart’s devotion, and by their very resistance—by the very fact that they make a call upon our resolution, our courage, or our self-denial—they give fresh heat to the spiritual impulse from which they proceed.—“Jesus Christ and Holiness,” p. 332.

THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST.

We may here remark, as in substance we have remarked before, that for men to be able to imitate God Almighty is a marvel which no wise man of this world could ever have predicted. It is another of the consequences of the union in one Person of the divine and human nature. This Person—this Lord and Saviour, Who was born of a woman yet reigned from ages of ages, Who obeyed yet was the Omnipotent, and Who died yet is the ever-living life—has taken His place among men. He has taken human infirmities (without sin), felt human troubles, battled with human difficulties, exercised human virtues with His human heart and soul. The very things which His people and flock have to do in order to be saved, these He Himself has set Himself to do. . . . What is the reason of that curious sympathy which moves the heart of man to imitate the noble and the good? It is very difficult to analyse; but it certainly exists, and it can be described. Example, alas! can attract to evil as well as to good. But evil is not hard and difficult like good; and yet our poor weak hearts, when they see good example, are warmed and moved, as if some secret fibre of their own nature were touched.

Good example is made up of two elements—the sight of what is good and the sight of a living person who is doing good. Man's soul, if you give it fair play, thrills at the sight of what is beautiful, true, and good; and man's heart, if it be not a degraded heart, thrills at the sight of the living, palpitating efforts of another heart to be good and to do good. We cannot explain it; it is the way we are made. But when the Incarnate Word is the example, then the sympathy of our natures must necessarily rise high and strong, like some great earthly tide which all the influences of the heavens have combined to draw to its height. That eternal love which could not rest patiently in the inaccessible eternities, but found its way amongst men; that love which has made the Infinite our brother, our shepherd, and our comforter; that love which came to seek on earth that "jewelled robe" of suffering which it could not find in the heavens; that unspeakable love walks the narrow human road, carrying the knapsack of human concerns, its hands grasping the staff of a man, its feet wounded by the stones of life, its face set to the object and goal of human existence. See Him go by! Thank God, He is familiar to us. We are urged and moved to try to be even as He is.—"Jesus Christ and Holiness," p. 338.

The Old Religion in England. By Rev. PATRICK LYNCH. Tenth thousand. London: Catholic Truth Society; Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS modest, but really valuable, little penny pamphlet, is well worthy of a wide circulation, especially among Anglicans. Fr. Lynch is clear in his arrangement, and not sparing of large and bold type. His plan is simplicity itself: in three sections he puts before the reader by means of quotations from contemporary writers, the crucial doctrines of (1) the Monks of Iona; (2) the Early British Church; and (3) the Anglo-Saxons; his chief witnesses being, respectively, Adamnan, Gildas, and St. Bede. He rightly gives the greatest space to the Monks of Iona, for they have not yet received the attention they deserve, and Fr. Lynch shows pointedly from Freeman that they actually converted "more than half of the whole of England,"—*i.e.*, the whole of the northern and midland parts. It becomes therefore of the greatest importance to show that they taught exactly what we taught concerning such vital points as fasting, the continuance of miracles, confession to a priest, celibacy of the clergy, the supremacy of the Holy See, the Sacrifice of the Mass, holy water, the relics and invocation of saints, angel guardians, prayers for the dead, &c. We are glad to see that Fr. Lynch has made good use of Wasserschleben's valuable publications, "*Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*" (1851), and his recent "*Irische Kanonensammlung*" (1885). Priests will find this an excellent pamphlet to distribute.

The Elements of Ecclesiastical Law. By the Rev. S. B. SMITH, D.D. Vol. I. Ecclesiastical Persons. Sixth Edition. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1887.

DR. Smith's "Ecclesiastical Law" is now well known, and we need do little more than announce this sixth edition, which has been written up to the Third Plenary Council of the United

States. The important legislation of that Council has marked, as the author observes, a new era in the history of the Church in the States. The new mode of electing bishops, the new irremovable rectors, their appointment by *concursum*, and their dismissal for canonical cause, the admission into a diocese, and the arrangements for the management of seminaries—all these subjects find a place in this new edition. There is also added, at the end of the book, an entirely new treatise, on the new diocesan consultors as established by the Council. The learned author, at the date of his preface (Feb. 20), hoped in a few months to publish a new edition of the second volume of his work. Simultaneously with the second volume, a special and separate treatise was to appear on the new form of trial laid down in the Instruction of Propaganda *Cum Magnopere* of 1884. The third and last volume of the "Elements" will be given to the public in a short time.

In Hebraismos Novi Testamenti. D. SCHILLING. Mechliniæ : Dessain. 1886.

THERE is a great deal which is interesting in this volume, and any one who has any familiarity with the subject will find it a profitable task to read it through. There are, however, very serious drawbacks, and the want of anything like scientific method unfits the book for use as a student's compendium. Unfortunately the author has neglected the first principle which he was bound to keep in view in his general account of the origin and nature of Hebraisms in the New Testament—viz., a rigid separation between the different writings of which the collection which goes by that name is composed. Then authors differ, as every scholar knows, in the degree of purity with which they write Greek, and Schilling's meagre statement in a footnote, that Luke writes purer Greek than Matthew, and Paul purer Greek than any New Testament writer except Luke, is miserably insufficient, and inaccurate besides. As a matter of fact, the Epistle of James is in far purer Greek than any Epistle of Paul's, while Luke's style differs very much in different strata of his Gospel. On the whole, no doubt, his Greek is comparatively pure, but the first two chapters have a strong Aramaic colouring, dependent, perhaps, on the documents which the Evangelist followed. It is still more misleading to speak vaguely of the style of "John," for the Joannic epistles and the Fourth Gospel are fair Greek, whereas the Apocalypse is intensely Hebrew both in spirit and language. Again, it is no less surprising to be told, on the authority of Jerome, that Matthew and John made their Old Testament quotations from the original. In fact, Matthew, when the matter is common to the first and second Gospels, habitually follows the Septuagint, while passages peculiar to the first Gospel not unfrequently betray a knowledge of the original. In the fourth Gospel there are fourteen quotations from the Old Testament, in four of which the Septuagint is reproduced word for word. If we turn to the treatment of particular words and phrases, then we have much the same kind of fault to find. Much useful matter is given, but it needs careful

sifting, and sometimes the chief point is missed. Thus Schilling notices very justly that the constant use of *καὶ* instead of *δέ*, to connect clauses, is a mark of Hebrew style, but he calls no attention to the striking fact that in the Apocalypse *δέ* occurs only six or at most seven times, and, on the other hand, about two hundred times in John's Gospel, though the length of the latter does not exceed that of the former by much more than a third. As a final illustration of the character of the book, we must note the singularly inaccurate way in which the list of Hebrew and Aramaic words in the New Testament has been compiled. *Μεσσίας* is not, as Dr. Schilling supposes, derived from a Hebrew, but from an Aramaic word, which in turn is derived from the Hebrew. *Κοῦμ* also, in Mark v. 41, is not a Hebrew but an Aramaic word, as the rest of the sentence proves; and the student should have been told that the best MSS. read *κοῦμ*, the iota being left out in accordance with the Syriac usage of leaving the final letter in such forms unpronounced. In the *λαμμῦ σαβαχθανί* of Mark xv. 34, the former word is Hebrew, the latter Aramaic, a hybrid mixture on which Dr. Schilling, as might have been expected, is silent. He asserts that *μάγος* is a Persian word, and then proceeds to affirm its connection with a pure Hebrew root, forgetting that Persian is an Aryan and Hebrew a Semitic tongue, and a derivation of this kind is, on the face of it, an exploded absurdity. The true origin of the word, even the language to which it in the first instance belonged, is quite unknown, and specialists such as Schrader and the younger Delitzsch, are fain to confess their ignorance on the point. But any scholar will see that the mere mention of Dr. Schilling's theory is its sufficient condemnation.

W. E. ADDIS.

The Names of the Eucharist. By LUIGI LANZONI, Provost-General of the Institute of Charity. A translation from the Italian by a Priest of the same Institute. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.

TO describe this pretty book, we cannot do better than quote a few lines from the Bishop of Newport's Introduction:

It is a privilege to be permitted to introduce to the English-speaking public such a book as this. The writer, the learned and amiable General of the Institute of Charity, has chosen the happiest of subjects; and his translator, the Rev. Father Cormack, of the same Institute, has given a faithful and idiomatic version of a most charming book. The title, "The Names of the Eucharist," suggests such a variety of thought, and such a wealth of devotion, that one may well wonder it has never been used before. The author's idea has been to take some thirty "Names" which are used in speaking of the great sacrament and sacrifice, beginning with "Eucharist," and ending with "Holy Viaticum," and to write a short devotional commentary on each. This he has done with much knowledge of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers, and with a pleasing and pious unction, so as not only to instruct the mind, but to elevate the heart to Almighty God.

It is evident that the writer has opened a mine of devotion which

is particularly rich in its yield. Whenever the greatest of all sacraments has had a name given to it, whether in the pages of inspiration or by saints and doctors of the Church, that name has summed up a whole treatise of dogma and of edification. The names of the Eucharist will bear the most attentive and patient analysis; and a commentator has only to be moderately skilled in the handling of Scripture and of the Fathers to find ready to his hand the most valuable and authoritative commentaries.

The writer's plan is to take each name and explain and illustrate it in three, or sometimes four, brief points. Let us take, as an example, his treatment of the venerable title "Bread of Life." In his first section he reminds us that our Divine Lord is alone the "life" of the soul, and points out how natural it is that His Sacrament should be to the Church as the "*lignum vitæ*" of Paradise. The second paragraph, which is somewhat longer, develops the great idea that the Christian life is "life in Christ," with illustrations from St. Paul, St. Thomas, and Father Rosmini, and devotional references to the experience of the saints in partaking of the Holy Communion. The third and concluding point is that the Eucharist is the triumph of soul and body over death—a point worked out with devotional warmth, but briefly. The whole book, indeed, is written briefly and practically, without dry disquisitions or vapid viewiness, but with abundance of reference to the New Testament and the great Fathers. Some of the references—and they are all carefully given in foot-notes—would well bear further treatment; and it is probable that more than one preacher will be led to pursue for himself some of the tracks that are here pointed out. But whether as an assistance to the pastor in his frequent Eucharistic conferences, or as a distinct addition to our spiritual reading, these unpretending but earnest and eloquent pages are sure to be welcome.

It should be added that the work is dedicated, in a few touching pages, to the Rev. Father de Vit, of the Institute of Charity, having been written by the Father-General and presented on the sacerdotal Jubilee of Father de Vit. There is also an introduction of some twenty pages by the Bishop of Newport.

Addresses delivered on Various Occasions. By the Most Rev. Dr. WALSH, Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.

THIS volume may be said to have been created by a very thrilling epoch in recent events in Ireland, and will serve as the best record and the truest reflection of much that was felt, and said, and done at that time. The events which preceded the elevation of Dr. Walsh to the See of Dublin are too well known to need recapitulation. Considerations of supreme national interest came to be centred in the single issue of his appointment. The highest sanction and sympathy for the national aspirations, the all-precious honour and freedom of the Irish Church, and the defeat of a pitiable government intrigue, were alike staked in the result. After an anxious

interval, during which the nation held its breath, how strong was the outburst of pent-up feeling may be readily conceived. These considerations secured for the new archbishop a welcome to his See such as has only seldom fallen to the lot of any prelate in Christendom. From the first moment of his landing addresses were showered upon him from all classes of the community, from the City Corporation, colleges, and learned societies, down to the simplest confraternities. If in these addresses the people poured forth to the Archbishop all that they felt, hoped, and prayed for, the response of the Archbishop was not less complete. His replies are embodied in this volume, and the reader will be disposed to marvel how, in so short a space of time, so much has been said, and said so well. On the three main divisions of the Irish movement—Home Rule, Land Tenure, and University Education—the Archbishop speaks with a firmness and clearness that revives the best traditions of the Irish Episcopate in dealing with the great national problems of the time. The subject of University Education receives at his hands exhaustive treatment and the letters and replies on this subject have the value of a treatise on the actual state and working of the University system in Ireland. In a higher sense, the volume will be prized as a testimony of that fulness and depth of sympathy which unites the pastor and people, and as a record of a trying period in which events did so much to deepen the sympathy and cement the union. In a still higher, it will remain as a record of stirring times, in which an Irish archbishop has taken his traditional place as the tribune of the nation, and has voiced with singular accuracy and eloquence all that was first in the mind and deepest in the heart of the Irish people. J. M.

Three Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine—viz., De Spiritu et Littera, De Natura et Gratia, and De Gestis Pelagii, Translated, with Analyses, by F. H. Woods, B.D., Lecturer in Theology and late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and J. O. JOHNSTON, M.A., Lecturer in Theology at Lincoln and Merton Colleges, Oxford. London: David Nutt. 1887.

CONTACT with great minds, if only through the medium of their literary works, is itself the best education; for the impress of genius is deep, clearly defined, and lasting. There can, therefore, be no better school for the student of theology than at the feet of the renowned Fathers and Doctors of the Church, amongst whom St. Augustine, on questions of divine grace, and human freewill, stands pre-eminent.

It cannot but be a matter for cordial congratulation to see the works of the Doctor of Grace taking their place, not merely on the library shelf, but also on the lecture-table, and in the Colleges and Halls of Oxford. From the well-printed pages of the volume before us—comprising a scholarly version of St. Augustine's three Treatises: *De Spiritu et Littera*; *De Natura et Gratia*; *De Gestis Pelagii*—the young Anglican divine is invited to sip the Christian science of divine grace. The average reader can hardly help

acquiring from these sources, with ordinary application, an amount of knowledge upon this vital question which the most highly talented and industrious student would have failed to extract from any or all of the works of the old standard Anglican authors. In due time solid reading and study of this kind will bear its fruit when the present generation of youthful divines passes on to occupy in its turn the bench, the pulpit, and the professorial chair. We can hail here a sign of genuine advance, when the theological faculty of Oxford abandons perfunctory examinations in vague and vacuous authors for the study of Catholic and definite principles.

Of course, the Doctrine of Grace is but one, and by no means the lowest, stage in the edifice of theological science. A distinct knowledge of the divine attributes and nature, a profound insight into the constitution of man, with all his varied animal, intellectual and moral faculties and their complicated relationships, all this must precede any adequate comprehension of the system of grace. Yet even a first tentative excursion into the regions of theological questions on divine grace, under the guidance of a leader like St. Augustine, will stimulate the least philosophical of dispositions to follow the thread of the labyrinth to both its extremities. An author such as St. Augustine, with his human interest in life imparting vivacity to his style and pathos and animation to argument itself, is a guide whom the student can follow with a confidence that he knows is well placed and will be richly rewarded.

Far different is the feeling with which the young and thoughtful student handles the ordinary modern text-book of theology, even in some Catholic centres of education. He perceives an absence of touch with real life, and a lack of living interest in the science of divine things, and can plainly observe how his author is more indebted for his materials to the paste-pot and the scissors, than to study from the living models of the inspired and inspiring pages of Holy Writ and the Christian Fathers. To replace this tough and stringy pabulum of dried texts and dissected anatomies by a more human diet, seems to be the object of our Holy Father, Leo. XIII., in directing that ecclesiastical students should have in their hands the original works of St. Thomas, that admirer and faithful exponent of St. Augustine. St. Thomas intended his "Summa" for *beginners*. What useful purpose, then, can so many inferior and bulky text-books serve, compiled though they profess to be *juxta mentem D. Thomæ*, if they crowd out St. Thomas himself? Had St. Thomas a *mind* only, but not the capacity, to speak plainly for himself?

Many other considerations present themselves, but we must be content to leave this matter to the further reflection of our readers, adding only a few words about the version before us. It is an interesting specimen of the translator's art, if any translation were needed. But would it not be better that students in the Oxford Honour School of Theology, for whom these Treatises are prescribed, should confine themselves to the original? And why should the translator render: *Nam concupiscentiam nesciebam nisi lex taceret: Non concupisces*; by "For I had not known *desire*, except di

the law had said, Thou shalt not *desire*." ("The Spirit and the Letter," 21.) This seems very weak, and all the more unaccountable after the declaration in the Preface that, when permissible, Scripture quotations would be rendered in the familiar words of the Authorized Version. The Authorized, the Revised, and the Douay Versions, all give a more vigorous rendering of this passage. The Introductions and Analyses of the Treatises seem fairly done, and will be a material help to the candidate for examination.

We must close this inadequate review with a short specimen of the translator's work in "The Spirit and the Letter," § 17, p. 18.

"Where then is thy boasting? It is excluded. Through what law? Of works? Nay, but through the law of faith." Here he (the Apostle), may have intended that praiseworthy boasting which is in the Lord, and meant by its being excluded, not that it was driven away so as to depart, but pressed out so as to become prominent, just as some silversmiths are called "beaters out" (*exclusores*). Similarly, we have that passage in the Psalms, "That they may be excluded who have been proved by silver;" that is, "that they may be prominent who have been tried by the Lord;" for he says, in another place, "The words of the Lord are pure words, silver-tried by fire."

A Catholic theologian will regret the poverty of technical terms, which has induced the translators to continue imposing an undue task upon such jaded and overworked words as *righteousness* and *godliness*, and some others with their corresponding adjectives, which have not only to bear their own burthen, but are forced to carry the load that ought to be distributed among the healthy and well-understood terms, *justice*, *holiness*, and the rest.

G. C.

Der Katholische Dichter Aurelius Prudentius Clemens. Von P. AUGUSTIN RÖSLER, C.SS.R. Freiburg: Herder. 1887. ["The Catholic Poet, Aurelius Prudentius Clemens." By Father A. Rösler, C.SS.R.]

THE great edition of Prudentius's works by Father Arevalo, S.J. (Rome, 1788), has been followed in this century by the two critical editions of Obbarius and Dressel. Next came a Life of the poet by Dr. Brockhaus, a Protestant, who, although wishful to do his subject justice, fell short of his aim from force of prejudice, which prevented him thoroughly understanding so Catholic a poet as Prudentius is acknowledged to be. Indeed, a satisfactory study of Prudentius could be expected only from a Catholic; and we must congratulate Fr. Rösler on having performed his task so successfully. His work will stand criticism; it is no second-hand compilation, but a painstaking study of the original works of the poet by a man who has a competent acquaintance with Christian antiquities, and is alike at home in the departments of dogma and art. With such qualifications for his task, no wonder that he has produced a work which has already won eulogistic praise in Germany. His book is divided into two parts, treating respectively of the life and the doctrine of Prudentius. In the first part we have a Life of Prudentius and an account of his works; we

look on him "in prayer" whilst he writes the "Kathemerinon," and the "Peristephanon." Another chapter sketches him as fighting the battles of the Church against the prevailing heresies of his time. We can with difficulty form an adequate estimate, at the present time, of the esteem in which Prudentius was held in the Christian schools of the Middle Ages. He was their poet *par excellence*, and thousands of youths shaped their own efforts on him as the model Christian poet. Father Rösler was justified, therefore, in sketching as he has done the wide-spreading influence of Prudentius over past generations. The second part of his work treats of the "doctrine" of Prudentius, and dwells on his dogmatical and moral system, if one may say so. Do you look for a "Mariology" as developed as any of a zealous writer of our own day, read chapter vi., on "The Mother of God." Father Rösler's volume must be admitted to be a very important contribution to the history of Catholic science, whilst it is one of those works which at the same time exert a helpful influence, rousing Catholics to love the more their faith, and be faithful to it amidst the vicissitudes of our present "struggle for existence."

BELLESHEIM.

The Banquet of the Angels: The Wedding Garment. Preparation and Thanksgiving for Holy Communion. Translated by the Most Rev. GEORGE PORTER, S.J., Archbishop of Bombay. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS daintily bound little volume of eucharistic meditations contains the meditations already long and well known in the "Priest's Manual," adapted for the use of the laity. Many priests, with whom that Manual is an old favourite, will need no further word to recommend the "Banquet of Angels" to the devout of their flocks. There is here added at the end of the volume a few well-chosen devotions—litanies, prayers, and ejaculations—for before and after Holy Communion. A few Latin phrases have escaped translation, and will have to be skipped by most of those for whom the new volume is designed.

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1. *The Venerable Bede Expurgated, Expounded, and Exposed.* By THE PRIG, Author of "The Life of a Prig."
 2. *How to Make a Saint; or, The Process of Canonization in the Church of England.* By THE PRIG, Author of "Prig's Bede," &c. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

THESE brightly and vivaciously written volumes will be welcomed by all who appreciated "The Prig's" clever and amusing autobiography. No heavy artillery ever brought to bear against the so-called "Anglican position" has been more damaging than the rapier-like points which here are so lightly and playfully, yet so incisively thrust home. Their delicate satire, without any particle of personality, and complete unconsciousness of effort, should com-

mend them to those lovers of true English humour for whom mere controversy has no charm. "The Prig" catches to the very life the ineffable *manner* (with all their wondrously inconsequent logic and impudent perversion of historical facts), which characterises such curious productions as the *Church Times*, and so, writes admirable burlesque, whose merry sarcasm would compare, and not unfavourably, even with Sheridan's "Critic."

In "The Prig's Bede" we have selected passages from the Saxon historian quoted from the text of Dr. Giles' translation. The preface tells us that "the lesson which the reader will be kind enough to learn from this portion of the writings of Bede is, that the Established Church of England is the descendant and representative of the ancient British Church, founded in this country five centuries before the schism introduced from Rome by St. Augustine, and he will be so good as to consider the earliest English Papists as little better than dissenters." This deduction is supposed to be clinched when "The Prig" by his interpolated commentaries has sufficiently "expurgated, expounded, and exposed" his Bede.

Under this veil of pleasant parody, the assertion, chiefly resuscitated for the electioneering needs of 1885, that the Anglican Association "is the old Church of the English people," is deftly demolished with killing ridicule. No apology will be needed for quoting at length what follows :

Note 6.—There is a gem in the crown of the Church of England, which is wanting in that of every other Church in the world. This gem is its comprehensiveness. We may even call it one of the marks of the True Church; for it is undoubtedly a mark of the Church of England, and since the Church of England is the True Church, comprehensiveness must be a mark of the True Church. It is, therefore, an immense gratification to the historian of the early British Church to be able to bring forward ample evidence of its comprehensiveness during the second, third, and fourth centuries of the Christian era. . . . In order, then, to be able to compare the comprehensive spirit of the early British Church with our own, it will be well to consider for a moment the grasp of the latter at the present day. It gathers to its large motherly heart, high Church, higher Church, highest Church, broad Church, middling Church, low Church, lower Church, and lowest Church. Some of its children believe the Communion to be bread and nothing else; some believe it to be the Body of Christ; others believe it to be in a sort of way the Body of Christ, and in a sort of way common bread. There are those, again, who believe it to be the Body of Christ if consecrated by a member of the Order of Corporate Reunion, and common bread if consecrated by an ordinary clergyman. A large number think it very doubtful what it is. Some of our clergymen use leavened bread, and some unleavened bread. Some mix water with the wine, and others do not. Of those who do, some mix it in the church, and some in the vestry. If all this does not show the mark of a True Church, I should like to know what does!

'There is not a dull page in "The Prig's Bede."

Turning to "How to Make a Saint," we explore a similar vein of rich raillery, yielding genuine fun to the last page. We have left ourselves space only to send our readers to the book itself, where

they may learn how the "initial impulse" to make Anglican saints visited the Rev. Kentigern Maniple. How, he and his friends, including the Rev. Mother of St. Betsy's Home, were exercised by the fact that they "had not got a single saint who ever used the *Book of Common Prayer*," or "who had assented to the Thirty-Nine Articles,—*Not that they thought any the worse of the saints for that.*" They will read, too, of the difficulty of getting a bishop to move in the matter, "unless in the wrong direction," of the great public meetings, of how "counsel's opinion is taken," of the great suit in the Court of Arches of "*Muggins v. Maniple*," and the appeal of the Privy Council, and what at last became of St. Hooker, Saint Laud, Saint and Doctor Samuel Johnson, and Saint Hannah More.

We feel quite sure that wherever these capital little books are read, there too will be "Laughter holding both his sides."

Records relating to the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise. By the Very Rev. CANON MONAHAN, D.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THIS well got up volume is a sample of the excellent results which may be achieved in the work of Irish Diocesan histories. It must be admitted that, in the Church of Ardagh, the writer has had a subject which might well kindle his enthusiasm as a historian. It possesses all the charm of venerable antiquity—it dates from 454; of august origin—it was founded by St. Patrick, and had his nephew, St. Mel, for its first bishop; of hallowed associations—it was within its walls that St. Bridget, the "Mary of Erin," received from the hands of St. Mel the religious habit. In more modern and recent times its bishops have taken a leading part in many of the great political and educational movements which mark the later period of the history of the Irish Church. The very fact that the Church of Ardagh is so ancient renders the task of its historian more difficult. He has to cover a space of two centuries before he reaches the point where diocesan historians, on the English side of the Channel, are accustomed to begin. He is carried back to a period of which the traditions are faint and the records are few, and where little can be ascertained as fact, and much must be left to conjecture. We are not surprised, therefore, that in the episcopal succession there are some few lacunes which there are no data to fill—missing links on a very long chain, and missing only in the sense that they lie hidden for dearth of evidence. From St. Erard, in 754, the line is traced with substantial continuity down to the present day. As the procession of bishops comes nearer and clearer, fuller details and documents take the place of mere chronicled facts, and much valuable light is shed upon the main features of Church government and discipline in Ireland. The Rinuccini MSS., Theiner's collection of the Vatican Archives, the Archives of the Diocese of Dublin, and many other sources, have been put in requisition, and the most important documents have been given in

extenso. Several declarations of the Irish bishops in 1649 illustrate the feeling and action of the hierarchy during the invasion by Cromwell. Statutes approved for the diocese of Armagh, in 1761, present a fair view of the discipline, and indirectly of the commoner breaches of discipline, prevailing at that time. In 1794 we have the correspondence between the Irish Bishops and the Government, which eventually led to the foundation of Maynooth; and in 1833, the negotiations with the Belgian Government concerning the burses founded in that country in favour of Irish students. Of still greater interest is the full report of the evidence given before the Education Inquiry in 1826, by Dr. O'Higgins, then Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Maynooth, and afterwards Bishop of Ardagh. The Bishop was educated in Ireland, France, and Rome, and he subsequently taught in Maynooth, and his evidence reflects with graphic clearness the theological views on the relations of Church and State prevailing in the Irish, French, and Roman colleges of that time. The evidence, to some minds, perhaps, will have the value of a tide-mark, registering the advance of transalpine views made since that time. In 1847 the great question of Queen's Colleges loomed into sight, and then began that acute and prolonged struggle between the Irish Hierarchy and the English Government, in which the bishops so unfalteringly fought and won the battle of religious education. In that arduous struggle, the bishops of Ardagh played a conspicuous part, and the correspondence of Dr. O'Higgins shows plainly enough how fiercely the contest was waged in Rome as well as in Ireland. Then, as in more recent times, the expedient of governing Ireland from London *viâ* Rome, was put into force, and English diplomats and Irish bishops measured their strength under the shadow of the Vatican, and with much the same result. Lords Minto and Shrewsbury were actively at work in the Holy City. As usual, the Propaganda issued a letter to the Irish prelates counselling moderation, and as usual, the admonitory letter had the effect of redoubling their energy, and of causing them to depute certain of their number to proceed to Rome and represent their views to the Supreme Pontiff. Dr. O'Higgins and Dr. MacHale were chosen as the deputies. The fact that amongst their opponents in Rome were to be found Dr. Wiseman and Dr. Nicholson Archbishop of Corfu, and Dr. Ennis an Irish parish priest, is illustrative of the manner in which the names of great and good men may be found upon the wrong side of questions of which the issues could be securely and completely felt and grasped only in the light of the local knowledge possessed by the prelates of the Irish Church. The true ring of the voice of the Irish episcopacy was never more clearly heard than in some of the letters in which Dr. O'Higgins reports progress to his fellow-bishops at home. In September 1848 he says: "Bold speaking must be the order of the day, and 'No surrender' our watchword. The more firmly you express your opinions, the more will you be approved of here." Eventually, all the "influences" failed, and the bishops triumphed.

In days when rumours reach us of a proposed re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Rome, a letter from Cardinal Cullen to the Bishop of Ardagh, in 1844, which Canon Monahan has included in his appendix, is of more than usual interest. Coming from one so thoroughly conversant with affairs both in Rome and in Ireland, the views of the late Cardinal are possessed of a special weight and significance. He says :

“ If we get an Ambassador here ” [Rome] “ his only business will be to intrigue, and he will have plenty of room to do so in Rome. Some will think it a great honour to be invited to a *soirée* by an English nobleman. Much mischief may be done. . . . If the bishops in Ireland were united, his influence would be counteracted ; but if we be divided at home, we shall fall an easy prey to our enemies.”

At the present day, when methods of specialization which have wrought such wonders in science, are being so generally applied to history, and when local, provincial, or diocesan histories are being called upon to gradually form the whole substructure of national or ecclesiastical history, it is gratifying to find Irish scholars responding to the movement, and setting forth in the language, not of mere rhetoric, but of solid research, the ancient glories of the Church of Ireland. May Canon Monahan find many to follow his example, and do for other dioceses what he has done so ably for Ardagh and Clonmacnoise. J. M.

Thomas Grant, First Bishop of Southwark. By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. Second Edition. London : Allen & Co. 1887.

WE are truly pleased to see this charming biography in a second edition. Miss O'Meara is one of our most delightful writers, and she has given us, in the life of Bishop Grant, a book which must live in our Catholic literature. The gentle, hard-working, pure-minded, saintly Bishop is sketched with vivid power, and we still see him, in this beautiful “ Life,” moving about in and out amongst his orphans and his people with his playful manner, and kindly smile and tender charity. His figure is one that ought to be perpetuated, and we shall all be the better for it. Miss O'Meara has done this for us by her magic pen, and we are grateful for the boon.

This second edition is made more valuable and interesting by a kind and sympathetic Preface from the hand of Bishop Ullathorne.

The True Religion and its Dogmas. By Rev. N. Russo, S.J. Boston : Noonan & Co. 1886.

THIS is not a book of “ controversy,” in the ordinary sense of the word, but a book of exposition of Catholic doctrine. It is a kind of dogmatic theology in the English language, dealing with some of the essential dogmas of the Church. It is divided into two parts, the first comprising seventeen chapters, and treating principally

of the foundations of Religion and of the Catholic Church; the second treating of some special dogmas. The great idea of the author is to demolish the Rationalist school, and to show the reasonableness of the Catholic teaching. Father Russo writes like a man who has mastered both theology and philosophy, and presents his thoughts with clearness and vigour.

There are several chapters of special interest at the present day, such as, "Papal Infallibility," "The Church and the Natural Sciences," "Salvation out of the Church," "Everlasting Punishments," and others. If non-Catholic readers would master these excellent chapters, they would have little to object to the teaching of the Catholic Church on the important points there treated of. When the author quotes certain theologians at p. 130 in favour of St. Augustine's theory of the "six days," he might have strengthened his position by the authority of St. Thomas, who says he is unwilling to differ from St. Augustine. With regard to Father Russo's arguments against "Evolution," we are doubtful about their cogency. We should have been glad to see the names of some, at least, of the "many theologians who maintain that the doctrine affirming that man's body came from God's *immediate action belongs to divine faith*." We do not say we differ from Father Russo's view, but we should have been grateful for names on this much-debated point.

We recommend this production as a very useful and solid little work.

Glimpses of a Hidden Life: Memories of Attie O'Brien. By Mrs. MORGAN JOHN O'CONNELL. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1887.

WE may safely say this is a most delightful little book. We get, in going through its pages, "glimpses" of a very beautiful, simple, and winning character. Attie O'Brien was one of those "gentle, sweet natures born to weakness," who has left us some of the riches she possessed, in the letters, poems, &c., contained in this volume. Whoever can appreciate charming simplicity of nature, purity of soul, brightness and joyousness of character, and brilliancy of mental gifts, will be delighted with these "glimpses," and most grateful to Mrs. Morgan O'Connell for giving them to us.

The Science of Thought. By F. MAX MÜLLER. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

PROFESSOR Max Müller, anxious that the results of a long life of solitary reflection and of study of the foremost thinkers of all nations should not be lost to the world, has collected his matured ideas into a thick volume of nearly 700 pages. He calls it the "Science of Thought," but a more correct title would be "Language and Thought;" for the veteran philologist's view is, that there is no thought without language, and no language without thought.

To Catholic readers, or rather, let it be said, to sound philosophical thinkers, the value of the book lies in the detailed and very interesting exposition of the absolute connection that exists between language and intelligence. His main thesis is, that thought without language, or some other kind of embodiment, is impossible. But a great deal of the material he accumulates goes to prove that the so-called intellect of creatures lower than man differs in essential particulars from human reason. Prof. Max Müller's complete mastery of the science of language makes his treatment of this subject authoritative in the highest degree. A little training in scholastic philosophy would have saved him from one or two inadequate generalizations. When he says that thought lives in language, and in language only, we want him to distinguish between the "verbum mentis" and the "verbum oris." "Language" is sometimes only a mental (and imaginative) picture, without any utterance in speech. The Oxford Professor seems to think that word-roots are, as it were, scintillations or blazing bits of the universal human mind, thrown off as it works, and identical all the world over. He would therefore make the study of "roots" equivalent to the study of logic. Most readers will not go with him quite so far as this; but the large volume is full of valuable matter for the logician, the psychologist, and the Christian philosopher.

A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. Vols. V. & VI. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

IN October, 1882, I contributed to this REVIEW an article entitled "The Resurrection of Ireland," in which, following mainly the account given by Mr. Lecky in the fourth volume of his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," I traced the progress of the Irish nation during the first twenty-two years of the reign of George III. I propose in the next number of the DUBLIN REVIEW to supplement what I then wrote by considering the fresh instalment of Irish history which Mr. Lecky has given us in his two new volumes. In what I am now about to write I shall briefly call attention to the rest of these volumes, and shall indicate generally what appear to me their principal merits and defects.

They deal with the period extending from the year 1784 to the year 1793. It is one of the most momentous periods in the world's history. "Opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace severum," wrote Tacitus when entering upon the task to which he addressed himself in the "Histories." The words may well be echoed by any one who attempts to body forth and estimate the memorable decade of which the central event is that great upheaval emphatically called *The Revolution*. Ad hæc quis tam idoneus? Certainly Mr. Lecky brings to his work some of the highest qualities of the historian. He is indefatigably industrious, absolutely conscientious; he possesses great powers of generalization

"Beau ciel, je ne te verrais donc jamais," weeping the heart-broken tears of a St. Peter or a St. Augustine. From that moment De Retz became a changed man, leading a life of extraordinary piety and mortification. They used to find the places where he had been kneeling wet with his tears. So deep an impression did his saintly penitence make upon all in the house, that we are told that after he left the seminary M. Emery would resort for his private devotions to the poor cell which, at De Retz's own request, had been given him over the granary, saying that it was still full of the odour of his sanctity, and that there he hoped to be allowed to live and die when he could retire from the superiorship. De Retz devoted himself to the Chinese mission. On the eve of his departure, when some of his seminary friends suggested that he was going out to seek martyrdom, he made them the significant answer, "*Messieurs, le martyre viendra peut-être vous trouver, sans que vous alliez le chercher.*" Indeed martyrdom, with many other things good and bad, had long been in the air. As long ago as when M. Emery was Superior of Angers, having noticed that the seminarists were in the habit of leaving their places in the refectory before the reader had concluded the last phrase in the martyrology, which was always, after the martyrs of the day had been named, "*et alibi aliorum sanctorum martyrum,*" &c., he thus checked the disorder: "*Messieurs, vous n'écoutez pas avec attention cet endroit de la lecture, qui est cependant le plus intéressant pour vous. Vous ne pouvez guère compter que votre nom soit un jour inséré dans le corps du martyrologe, mais vous pouvez très-bien espérer d'être un jour compris dans l'alibi.*"

It was mainly through the instrumentality of De Retz, and others like him, that M. Emery was able to bring about the reformation that he desired. He himself, although overwhelmed with business thrust upon him on all sides, both from within and without, was always the first in every religious exercise, frequently conducting them himself. He often lectured on various branches of ecclesiastical learning, encouraging to the utmost M. Olier's special devotion to the "written word of God." He was fond of appealing to non-Catholic philosophers, such as Leibnitz and Bacon, as witnesses against those who were attempting to crush religion in the name of philosophy.* Such was the tenour of the pre-Revolution period of his superiorship. It was a seven years' preparation for the most terrible of all trials, that of a strong man unarmed in a mortal crisis who may neither fight nor flee, but whose every movement is fraught, not

* He subsequently published two works with this object, "*L'Esprit de Leibnitz*" and "*La Christianisme de Bacon.*"

only with the responsibility of self-preservation under the most difficult circumstances, but with that of the safety of numbers of defenceless persons more or less dependent upon his advice and example.

For just a moment, in the early days of July (1789), we catch a glimpse of the keen-eyed, active man, eager to see others perform the duty which was not his. Some days before the fall of the Bastille, M. Emery gave the Marshal de Broglie warning of what was coming ; but a creeping paralysis, half fear, half philanthropy, possessed Court and King, and M. Emery quickly saw that he had for the future for all practical purposes to reckon with the people, and with the people only. It became his one object to fall in cheerfully with the popular action as fully and as far as the laws of God and of the Church permitted. Soon after the taking of the Bastille, he was threatened with a visit from the mob, who knew that two of De Broglie's sons were seminarists. M. Emery having secured a secret outlet of escape for such of the seminarists as he had not already disposed of—sixty out of the hundred had already taken refuge with their friends—calmly awaited the visit, with a good stock of bread, wine, and money wherewith to entertain his importunate guests, and if thereto they wanted blood, why, as he said, they might have his and welcome. However the visit was for the time postponed. The seminary went to its vocations at Issy in October, just after the massacre of the King's body guards, amongst whom was a near relative of the Superior's. All the ordinary duties of the seminary were continued without interruption until the approach of the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille in 1790, when a call was made upon all classes of citizens to assist in preparing the Champs de Mars for a grand civic celebration. M. Emery thought it advisable to send a band of seminarists, armed with spade and pickaxe, and accompanied by several of their directors, to assist in the work. They were fortunately soon able to retire. The mob chaffed the young men good humouredly about seminary restraints, and promised to pay them a visit and carry them all off to the ball on the grand day. "Fortunately," as a seminarist remarked, "when the day came they had forgotten us."

M. Emery made no difficulty in taking the oath of fidelity to the Constitution, administered on July 10 : "Je jure d'être fidèle à la Nation, à la Loi, et au Roi, et de maintenir de tout mon pouvoir la Constitution décrétée par l'Assemblée Nationale et sanctionnée par le Roi." This was generally accepted by the bishops and priests of France as a purely civic act, the decree of the "Constitution Civile du Clergé" not having yet come into operation. The National Assembly insisted upon taking two of the principal rooms of St. Sulpice for the sittings of the Luxem-

and grouping; his style is lucid and forcible, and sometimes rises into severe and commanding eloquence. And, higher merit still, he is, in a true sense, ethical.

Speak of me as I am : nothing extenuate
Nor aught set down in malice,

is the last petition of the dying Moor of Venice. The words may well serve as the primary rule of every one who applies himself to the writing of history. Mr. Lecky has of course his own political opinions. And we live so near to the events with which he deals that perhaps not even the most scrupulously fair mind can be absolutely unbiassed in judging of them. It is hardly conceivable that a strong Conservative and a strong Liberal, though both writing in the best of faith, and in entire detachment from party ends, should arrive at the same estimate of the younger Pitt. But certainly Mr. Lecky's judgment of that statesman is so calm, so well balanced, so discriminating, that it would be difficult for any one to infer from it what are his own sympathies in respect of contemporary politics. Not indeed that Mr. Lecky ignores the practical side of history, or fails to deduce from the past, lessons for the present. But he does this with a transparent candour, a philosophical moderation, worthy of the highest praise. Take, for example, the following remarks on one of Pitt's budget speeches :—

No one can read this speech without perceiving that it was the speech of a man who was pre-eminently marked out, both by his wishes and by his talents, to be a great peace Minister. Pitt had, however, learnt too much from his father to suffer an exclusive attention to financial considerations to make him indifferent either to the security or to the dignity of England. One of the most serious dangers of modern popular politics is that gambling spirit which, in order to lower estimates and reduce taxation, leaves the country unprotected, trusting that the chapter of accidents will save it from attack. The reduction of taxes is at once felt, and produces an immediate reputation, while expenditure, which is intended to guard against remote, contingent, and unseen dangers, seldom brings any credit to a statesman. It is very possible for an English Minister to go on year by year so starving the military and naval estimates as to leave the country permanently exposed to invasion, without exciting any general popular apprehension. The warnings of a few competent specialists are easily drowned; each successive reduction of taxation produces increased popularity, and if, owing to the course of politics, an invasion does not take place, writers are sure to arise who will maintain that the event has justified the wisdom of the statesman. It would be as reasonable to argue that, because a house does not happen to have been burnt, the owner had shown wisdom and prudence in refusing to insure it.

Once more. Mr. Lecky is well aware how carefully "manners and morals, industrial development, prevailing opinions, theories and tendencies" should be examined by any one who would write, at all adequately, an account of any epoch. One chapter, and that by no means the least interesting of an earlier volume, was devoted by him to the social characteristics of that portion of the century which

preceded the accession of George III., and another to its religious tendencies and changes. And so, in his sixth volume, he has given us a hundred and fifty admirably written pages in which (to use his own language) he brings before his reader "a number of scattered facts, illustrating from different points of view the habits, manners, conditions and opinions of the different classes of the English people." I am particularly struck by the vast amount of miscellaneous information exhibited by this chapter and by the skill with which the information is arranged and condensed. And I do not know that the author has ever written a more pregnantly suggestive passage than the following with which the chapter concludes:—

The question whether the standard of patriotism, of public duty, and of public honour has risen in England since the eighteenth century, is one which it appears to me far from easy to answer. . . . The improvement in the nation may be more than counterbalanced by the degradation of the suffrage. In one respect the superiority of the English Parliament of the eighteenth century will scarcely be disputed. With the doubtful exception of the small and short-lived Jacobite party, these Parliaments contained no party which was not in harmony with the general interests of the empire, and did not sincerely desire its greatness and prosperity. . . . A democratic age . . . will be free from many of the prevalent evils of an aristocratic government. The avowed cynicism, the disregard in foreign politics for the rights of nations, the open subordination of political interests to personal and family pretensions, the many forms of petty corruption which so often meet us in the eighteenth century have wholly disappeared or greatly diminished; but another and a not less dangerous family of vices has much tendency to increase. Cant and hypocrisy, the combination of mean action and supersaintly profession, the habitual use of language that does not represent the real sentiments and motives of the speaker, the habit of disguising party and personal motives under lofty and high-sounding professions, the sacrifice of the most enduring interests of the nation for the purpose of raising a popular cry or winning immediate applause, the systematic subordination of genuine conviction to popular favour—these are some of the characteristic vices of a democratic age. In such an age the demagogue takes the place of the old sycophant. Bribery is applied, not to individuals, but to classes. Dexterous appeals to ignorance, passion, and prejudice become supreme forms of party management. Questions of vast and dangerous import are unscrupulously raised for the purpose of uniting a party or displacing a Government, and a desire to trim the bark to every gust of popular favour produces apostasies, transformations, and alliances, compared with which the coalition of Fox and North will appear very venial. No modern statesman would attempt to bribe individuals or purchase boroughs like Walpole or like North, but we have ourselves seen a Minister going to the country on the promise that if he was returned to office he would abolish the principal direct tax paid by the class which was then predominant in the constituencies. Irish politics have long since ceased to be conducted by ennobling borough owners and pensioning members of Parliament, but the very impulse and essence of their most powerful popular movement has been an undisguised appeal to the cupidity and the dishonesty of the chief body in the electorate. Lofty maxims and sacred names are invoked in Parliament much more frequently than of old; but he who will observe how questions of the most

vital importance to the Constitution of England and the well-being of the Empire have in our generation been bandied to and fro in the party game; how cynically the principles of one year have sometimes been abandoned in the next; how recklessly prominent politicians have sought to gain their ends by setting the poor against the rich, and planting in the nation deadly seeds of class animosities and cupidities, may well learn to look with tolerance and with modesty upon the England of the past.

The least satisfactory portion of the volumes, to my mind, is that which Mr. Lecky devotes to the French Revolution. He is here, as always, most painstaking, most thoughtful, most candid. But he hardly soars to the height of the argument. His estimate of Rousseau appears to me to be specially inadequate. There can be no doubt that the Revolution in the concrete shape (so to speak) which it assumed, was mainly the work of that sophist. It was, in truth, an endeavour to put into practice his theories of man and society, to work the world upon them. The "Declaration of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen," which is the authoritative exposition of the "principles of 1789," and which Burke accurately described as "a sort of institute or digest of anarchy," does in point of fact rest upon these two cardinal doctrines: that the true conception of mankind is that of a mass of sovereign human units, by nature free, equal, and virtuous: and that civil society rests upon a contract entered into by these sovereign units. And unquestionably it was from Rousseau that the framers of the Declaration learnt these doctrines. I must refer those of my readers who would follow this subject further to a recently published work of my own.* Here I will merely add one remark. Observing that "the Bible of the men who directed the French Revolution was the Contrat Social of Rousseau," Mr. Lecky continues: "The doctrine of the social contract was indeed far from new. It may be found . . . in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas." If Mr. Lecky here means, as I think he does, that Rousseau's doctrine of the social contract may be found in St. Thomas, he greatly errs. Human society, according to the Angelic Doctor, is of divine institution, and political power is from God, although it reaches the ruler *mediante populo*. With Rousseau, human society is of man's creation; its very source and fount human convention.

W. S. LILLY.

The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times. By Dr. LECHLER. Translated by A. J. K. DAVIDSON. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1886.

A REALLY learned and careful examination of the Tübingen theories from a conservative point of view. Further investigation has modified, as it must needs modify, the theories against which Dr. Lechler argues, and the book, which is republished after an interval of well nigh forty years, is out of date. True, additions have been made, but they are scarcely of a nature to bring the book within

* "Chapters in European History," vol. ii. chap. vii.

reach of recent criticism. An attack upon Dr. Weizsäcker's "Apostolic Age" would have been more to the purpose. Still, we for our part believe that Baur in many points of capital importance still holds the field, and perhaps Dr. Lechler is as good a champion of orthodox conservatism as can be found at present. It is quite impossible to deal with a subject so vast within the limits of a notice.

W. E. ADDIS.

A Rabbinical Commentary on Genesis from the Judæo-Polish. By PAUL HERSHON. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1885.

THIS is the translation of a commentary published in 1693, and still very popular among Polish Jews. It is scarcely more than a mere curiosity; still, it enables the reader to understand something of orthodox and ignorant Judaism as it exists to-day. The commentary is a curious tangle of fantastic absurdities, which Mr. Hershon has illustrated by notes which are useful, but not altogether free from controversial rancour. Liberal education and equal rights are the true cures for Talmudical orthodoxy; while the wicked persecution to which so-called Christians subject the Jews is the surest means of promoting the authority of the Talmudical schools.

W. E. ADDIS.

A Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment.
By Lord SELBORNE.

THIS is a pleasant book to read: temperate, clear, and closely reasoned. Independently of the claim of legal—even equitable—right to the endowments, and that the Church of England is identical with the ancient Church of this country, Lord Selborne makes out a case of considerable strength against the assailants on general grounds. These are well-known, and we need not here specify them; the strongest is that which insists on the forlorn condition of hundreds of rural parishes and districts, if the present provision for their spiritual needs were withdrawn. Catholics have little to say to this part of the argument. Even if the tithes and other endowments were of right resumable by, and at the disposal of, the State in as full a degree as the Liberationists claim, we should still think it most inexpedient, under existing circumstances, that she should exercise that right. The Anglican clergyman might depart, but the Catholic priest would not enter in; and those who did enter would be by no means an improvement on their predecessors. It is when we consider Lord Selborne's elaborate attempt to prove the historic continuity and identity of the Church of England with that in which Warham and Sir Thomas More lived and died, that the dissent of a Catholic commences. After all, his conclusion is absurd and contrary to common sense: *res ipsa vociferatur in contrarium*. What being endowed with intelligence, unless he had a theory to prove, could imagine that the communion to which those persons belonged,

to the number of several hundreds, who were put to death by the Government in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because they persisted in conforming in religion to the Holy See, was the *same* communion with that which encouraged the Government to take such action, and profited by it? Lord Selborne adopts Dean Hook's comparison of the man who has washed his face. "Once grant," he says,* "that the things cut off [at the Reformation] were not good in themselves, . . . and Dean Hook's saying, that a man whose face has become dirty may wash off the dirt and yet remain the same man that he was before, undeniably applies." It is strange that so clear-sighted a man does not detect the fallacy in the comparison. The *man* remains the same whatever may happen to him, because he is the same *person* that he was before the change. But the Catholic Church is not a person, and therefore the comparison breaks down in an essential point. The identity of the Church is something moral and religious, and might be lost in a particular nation, even if every person in that nation should deny the loss, and externally all should go on much as before. Would Dr. Hook have said that the Judas who first went to our Lord, and was accepted as an apostle, was morally and spiritually identical with the Judas who took the thirty pieces of silver? There must have been a change, and though that change did not destroy the personal, it obliterated the moral identity. There is therefore no inconsistency in maintaining that a National Church, after it has lost communion with the See of Peter and the rest of Christendom, has changed its identity, even though it may minimize the *local* change—the change in forms, methods, rites, and institutions—to the utmost of its power.

But why, if the English clergy and people in the sixteenth century found that a discipline involving less strain, and a doctrine on grace and the sacraments more in harmony with those embraced by the German and Swiss Protestants, suited them better than the Catholic discipline and belief, should they not have been at liberty to make the requisite changes? From theology and Church history the detailed answer to this question must be sought. Here it is enough to say that the moral constitution of man is such, that he is not *free*, however tempting may be the prospect, knowingly to reject the better and choose the worse. "Be ye *perfect*, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect." Gardiner and Tunstall, when they subscribed to the article of royal supremacy, knew that they were taking a course for which the utmost that could possibly be said was, that it was *defensible*; the noble and beautiful course, they well knew, would have been to reject the article with Fisher and More. The wretched Cranmer knew that counsels of perfection were a reality, and that his conduct involved a renunciation of them, not for himself only, but for his countrymen; yet he renounced them. In proportion as these things come to be more clearly apprehended, the nobler natures in the Anglican communion will feel that all these dull prudential reasonings of Lord Selborne, not being pervious

to the light of the ideal, cannot and ought not to reconcile them to the plain fact that they are outside the bark of Peter—outside the covenant of Christ.

The carefully constructed pyramid of citations and inferences upon which Lord Selborne endeavours to poise his contention, that the King, or State, claimed as much authority over the Church in England before the Reformation as after it, requires to be met point by point. His general accuracy and fairness of statement leave little to desire; but we have noticed two rather important exceptions. One relates to the royal supremacy. Lord Selborne says (p. 13): "The supremacy of the kings of England over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical, as well as civil, within their dominions, was at all times practically, as well as in principle, maintained by the assertion and exercise of the power of prohibition." This amazing statement is supported by reference to passages in Bracton's great work on the laws of England, compiled in the thirteenth century. But Bracton says nothing of the kind: He recognizes the distinct and independent nature of the two jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and civil. "There are spiritual causes in which the secular judge *has no cognizance nor execution*, since he has no coercive power. For in these causes the cognizance belongs to the ecclesiastical judges, who rule and defend the priesthood. Again, there are secular causes, the cognizance of which belongs to kings and princes, who defend the kingdom, and with which ecclesiastical judges ought not to interfere, since their rights or jurisdictions are limited and separate." * And so far from the supremacy of the king "in all causes" being maintained "by the assertion and exercise of the power of prohibition," Bracton has a long chapter† on those matters "in which prohibition has no place."

The second matter relates to the supposed assent of the Convocation of the Clergy to the Prayer-book of 1549, before its imposition by Parliament. Lord Selborne quotes‡ from Foxe an answer sent by Edward VI. to a petition from Devonshire, in which the king declared that the book was "*by the whole clergy agreed; yea, by the bishops of the realm devised*," and added that the petitioners were opposing themselves to the "determination of the bishops and all the clergy." But this answer, if not an invention of Foxe himself, is at any rate as false as a Napoleonic bulletin. The Prayer-book of 1549 was based on the deliberations of eighteen bishops, assisted by two or three divines.§ Yet when it came to voting on the Bill imposing the book, eight of these bishops protested against its passing.|| Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was in prison. How the ten other bishops voted we do not know, but the materials supplied by Burnet himself¶ make it probable that at least five of them—viz., the Archbishop of York, and the bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, Lichfield, and Bristol, voted against it. So, far, then from the book having been

* Bracton, ii: 171 (Rolls ed.).

§ Burnet, Hist. Ref. iii. 98.

¶ Hist. Ref. iv. 185.

† Vol. vi. 207.

‡ P. 56.

|| Lords Journals, cited by Lingard.

really grounded on the "determination of the bishops," it is certain that eight protested against it, and one was in prison, while it is highly probable that five others were opposed to it. This makes fourteen; leaving seven or eight bishops who may have been favourable to the Bill. Such was the "assent" of the Upper House of Convocation! However, the matter is not very important; for as all these bishops had accepted the doctrine of the royal supremacy under Henry VIII., it is scarcely doubtful that they would, if sufficient pressure had been applied, have accepted the Prayer-book under Edward VI.

Les Corsaires Barbaresques et la Marine de Soliman le Grand. Par le Vice-Amiral JURIEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

VICE-ADMIRAL de la Gravière here gives us another instalment of his history of the naval struggle between the Christians and the Turks in the sixteenth century. A former volume, *Doria et Barbarousse*, already noticed in this REVIEW, showed how the Turks gained the supremacy of the seas by calling in the aid of the Algerian corsairs. The present work is a record of the vain attempts of the Christians to regain the mastery. It is written in the same brilliant and picturesque style as its predecessor, and has the additional advantage of containing four excellent maps.

T. B. S.

Histoire Politique de la France. Par C. DE LOISNE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1886.

THE history of France is interesting to English readers chiefly on account of its contrast to the history of their own country. The countless struggles between the two nations have been merely the symptoms of differences of race and religion, character and institutions. M. de Loisne's book deserves to have many readers on this side of the Channel. He frequently refers to contemporary or contrasted events in English history, and his terrible record of the miseries of the Hundred Years' war will make Englishmen less proud of the glories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. An admirable account is given of the gradual growth of the kingdom, or rather the consolidation of the numerous provinces into one compact body. The religious struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are narrated with strict impartiality. M. de Loisne is no bigot. He deals out censure freely to both parties. The political aims of the Huguenots, their intrigues with the enemies of France, their intolerance and the intolerance of their allies, are thoroughly exposed. At the same time, he denounces the hypocrisy of the sovereigns who persecuted the heretics at home and encouraged them abroad. But the most valuable part of the book is the narrative of the events which led up to the Revolution. The

growth of the bourgeoisie, the corruption of the Court, the folly of the privileged classes, the teaching of the philosophers, are all sketched with great skill. M. de Loisne stops at the opening of the States General. Thenceforth France had no political history—Chaos had come again. T. B. SCANNELL.

1. *L'Entrée des Israélites dans la Société Française et dans les Etats Chrétiens.* Par l'Abbé JOSEPH LEMANN. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1886.
2. *La France Juive.* Par EDOUARD DRUMONT. Paris: C. Marpon et E. Flammarion.

LESS than fifty years since might have been read over the entrance gate of a public promenade, in the suburb of a German city, the following announcement: "Jews and hogs not admitted." Before 1832 no Jew was allowed to open a shop in London, and only in 1846 was the law repealed which obliged Jews to wear a distinctive garb, though such law had long been a dead letter. France had anticipated Jewish emancipation by half-a-century, but it was not till 1784 that Louis XVI. repealed the degrading enactments by which Jews were taxed as cattle. Custom-house regulations like the following had been common in France before that year: "Péage de la Terre de Malemort. Sur chaque bœuf et cochon, et sur chaque juif, un sol. Sur chaque trentenier de même bétail, six sols par trentenier." Since those days the Jew has been allowed access to every condition of social life, and has carried off many of its prizes. Whether at the bar or in commerce, in journalism and science, in music and art, he has been signally successful. A fierce reaction against his further success has set in on the Continent of Europe. Spreading from German clubs and cafés into Russia, the anti-Semitic fever has repeatedly culminated in deeds of violence and bloodshed. And now society in France is beginning to reckon "La Question Juive" among its countless sources of dangerous agitation. The works whose titles appear at the head of our notice are unmistakeable signs of the times. The Abbé Lemann, by birth a Jew, now a fervent and holy priest, writes in a strain of ardent affection for the unhappy children of his race. He traces out, by the light of much hitherto unpublished evidence, the history of Jewish emancipation in France. Begun by Louis XVI., with the counsel of Malesherbes, on wise and Christian principles, it was unhappily precipitated by the Revolution, and it is owing in great part to the Revolution that we have a "Question Juive" to-day in France. The "question" is a very simple one: Are we to replace the fetters on the children of Israel?

A valuable portion of the Abbé's work is taken up with the line of action pursued by the Holy See towards the Jews. We find St. Gregory the Great taking them under his protection, and Innocent III. following in the footsteps of his predecessors, Calixtus, Eugene, Alexander, Clement, and Celestine, and followed by many other Pontiffs, safeguarding by a succession of stringent enactments their

liberty of conscience, their ancient usages, and jealously preserving the Hebrew Scriptures while proscribing the Talmud. As the Abbé Grégoire said when pleading their cause before the Constituent Assembly in 1789: "Les Etats du Pape furent toujours leur Paradis terrestre; leur Ghetto à Rome est encore le même que du temps de Juvenal; leurs familles sont les plus anciennes familles romaines." If the Popes were as powerless to restrain the fanaticism of the age as they were to control the savagery of the Spanish Inquisition, yet their wise and humane enactments contrast forcibly with the savage hatred of the race displayed by Luther and Voltaire.

M. Drumont's work, which ran through something like eighty editions within three months from its first appearance, breathes the most determined hostility to the Jew, as being in his opinion the deadliest enemy to Christian France. "Le seul auquel la Revolution est profité est le Juif. Tout vient du Juif; tout revient au Juif." France has been delivered up to Israel; finance and the press are under Jewish control; the synagogue has supplanted even the Jacobin club; Baron de Rothschild's three milliards are simply the results of Jewish plunder from the French nation—at least, so thinks M. Drumont. He begins his work with a physiologico-moral study of the race, forgetting nothing in its minuteness, down to the well-known *fætor Judaicus*, said to be the result of feeding too largely on goose-flesh. From the earliest struggles between Aryan and Semite, through mediæval and modern history, he reaches the duumvirate of the two Hebrews, Gambetta and Crémieux, fixing the definitive triumph of Israel in 1872-73. M. Drumont believes that, in France at least, the Jewish race has identified itself with Freemasonry, and that in the interests of society and religion the old disabilities must be again put in force. His array of facts is sufficiently formidable. The ancient tendency to the sanguinary worship of Moloch would hardly seem to be extinct, judging from the frequent charges of murdering and sacrificing children. The leaning of Jews towards the secret societies has been conspicuous for centuries. Their wealth gives them enormous power in deciding the destinies of Europe by the control of the sinews of war, so that without following M. Drumont to the end, it is impossible to deny that Jewish exclusiveness and *solidarité* constitute a factor that cannot be disregarded in our political reckonings at the present day. M. Drumont's work is still more interesting as a vivid picture, though a partial one, of Parisian society. His judgment on what remains in France of the old *noblesse* is severe. Apart from some brilliant exceptions like Montalembert or De Mun, he deplores "la radicale impossibilité de l'aristocratie française d'être utile à quelque chose:" is of opinion that "le cerveau de l'aristocrate est très-faiblement organisé;" and gives a lively picture of the way in which a Frenchman's ruling passion, "le désir de s'amuser," made the representatives of the De Broglies, Gramonts, and Beaumonts crowd the salons of an enemy of Christ, to figure as owls, giraffes, dogs, wolves, and seals in a *bal aux animaux*, to honour the sacrilegious profanation of St. Geneviève, in the month of May, 1885.

The Christian Platonists of Alexandria. By CHARLES BIGG, D.D.
The Bampton Lectures for 1886. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1886.

THIS volume contains the eight lectures delivered last year before the University of Oxford on the Bampton Foundation. The teaching of Clement of Alexandria and Origen occupies the central and most important part of the book. This is preceded by an account of Philo, and followed by one of the reformed Paganism (particularly that of Celsus), and of the influence and fate of Alexandrine teaching in later Christian ages. The notes, which expand these lectures into an ample volume, attest the great learning and care which the author has brought to his subject, and in these respects make it a work fit to rank besides the treatises of Westcott and Lightfoot, of which the sister University may be so justly proud. It would be impossible to give any detailed account, within the limits of an ordinary notice, of a book which travels over such an extensive surface, and enters into so many questions; we must therefore confine ourselves to giving a general idea of what the reader will find there. The author starts from premisses, and follows a method which are unhappily not ours; it is therefore natural to find there are many isolated points in which a Catholic cannot agree. His desire to be perfectly fair is, however, always obvious; and even when Catholic doctrine has not been apprehended, it is from no want of attempt to understand it. Indeed, his perfect fairness makes his account of many controverted points (for instance, Clement's belief in the Real Presence) somewhat shadowy and indistinct. We think that throughout the volume Dr. Bigg has involved himself in needless difficulties by not allowing sufficiently for the want of precision inevitable before a theological vocabulary had been constructed, and for the semi-poetical, mystical language of the great Alexandrines. This is particularly true of Clement, whom he very aptly compares to Jeremy Taylor: we should hardly look for much accuracy or consistency in that delightful writer. But these and similar corrections will be made by all who are likely to read these lectures, and who can hardly fail to learn something from each of them. As examples of the sort of matter to be looked for, we may mention, almost at random, the influence of Philo and the Egyptian Jews on the doctrine of the Logos; the teaching of the early Gnostics; the use of words expressing Substance and Person "in divinis"; the account of allegorism (which, however, we should largely modify); the Christology of Clement and Origen, and their relation to mystical theology and quietism. Origen's more doubtful opinions are fully discussed; he is defended against St. Jerome (to whom our author seems hardly just) on the charge of subordinationism, and against Jansenius in the matter of free-will and predestination. His whole relation to the later teaching of the Church is justified on the ground of development, an explanation which is hardly open to the author, since he seems to disavow it when used for their own purposes by Catholics.

The general reader is more likely to be interested by the happy sentences which Dr. Bigg profusely quotes. Such are—from Clement, the statement that reason, the image of God, is the “love-charm,” which makes man dear to God for his own sake; the pathetic sentence, “the Lord that died for us is not our enemy;” or again, “a religious meal is itself an Eucharist.” The quotations from Origen are, as might be expected, more abundant. A Catholic will see a deeper meaning than Dr. Bigg discovers in Origen’s assertion, that “none can grasp the sense of St. John unless he has fallen on the breast of Jesus, and received from Jesus, Mary to become his mother.” The medicinal nature of all punishment is enforced by the urgent sentence—“Let each one then, being conscious of sin, pray that he may be punished.” This culminates in a striking passage on purgatory—“The Lord is like a refiner’s fire. It is certain that the fire which is prepared for sinners awaits us, and we shall go into that fire, wherein God will try each man’s work what it is. Even if it be a Paul or a Peter, he shall come into that fire; but such are they of whom it is written, though thou ‘pass through the fire, the flames shall not scorch thee.’” These fragmentary quotations will, we trust, be sufficient to send all to the work itself who are prepared to enjoy it.

Goethe. Sein Leben und seine Werke. Von ALEXANDER BAUMGARTNER, S.J. Three volumes. Freiburg: Herder. 1887.
[“The Life and Works of Goethe.” By Father A. Baumgartner, S.J.]

NOWHERE, perhaps, after Germany, is Goethe more appreciated and read than in England. Two of his greatest admirers did much to bring him home to English thought—Lewes and Carlyle. Lewes thought him the most splendid genius—nay, the very type—of the German people; whilst Carlyle, by his classical translation of “Wilhelm Meister,” did not hesitate to recommend it as a most appropriate means of modern education. As to the celebrated poem “Faust,” it may be interesting to English Catholics to learn that there are more than thirty English translations of it, not one of which is by a Catholic. It will be useful to now lay before the English reader some account of the results of a work which may be justly considered to mark an epoch in Goethe criticism.

All the biographers of Goethe, whether German or foreigners, make a fatal mistake. They regard their hero neither from a Catholic nor yet from a general Christian standpoint; but, rather, regard him as simply superior to all criticism, religious or ethical. Their baneful principle is that the workings of a genius such as Goethe’s are not to be judged by the dogmas or morals of any religious denomination. Goethe, according to them the finest blossom of the German people, deserves only admiration and imitation; to drag him before a Christian tribunal would be treasonable. F. Baumgartner views Goethe in quite another way. He works on the indisputably right principle, that the great poets of Germany, besides largely influenc-

ing the development of our language, have immensely contributed to shape the philosophical and religious ideas of our people. Only one who shuts his eyes can bring himself to doubt the fact that thousands, nay, millions of Germans give more credit to Goethe than to the Gospel. Hence our author goes on to measure Goethe by the test of Catholic and Christian principles of dogma, morals, and æsthetics. Far from being a narrow-minded critic, bent only or chiefly on spying out the hero's shortcomings, F. Baumgartner gladly and willingly brings into prominence the splendid gifts of Goethe and his immortal merit as a writer of German; and Father Baumgartner is himself no mean poet, and is better qualified to pass a judgment on Goethe than many of his more unreservedly laudatory biographers.

The result of such a treatment—such judicious and balanced praise—has produced a deep impression in Germany among both Protestants and Catholics, who have appreciated the qualifications, grasp, and power of the critic. Father Baumgartner's volumes combine vast extent of information, gathered from every quarter, with original researches in Weimar and Frankfurt, and are written in a noble and brilliant style.

Having thus pointed out what is of chief importance—viz., the principles by which F. Baumgartner has been guided—it will suffice to mention that the first volume is occupied with the period (1749-1790) of Goethe's "Lehr- und Wanderjahre": it traces his youth and his journeys through Italy, the classical reminiscences and monuments of which so deeply impressed him. In the second volume (1790-1805) we have the poet in the zenith of his career, whilst working at Weimar by the side of Schiller. The third volume (1806-1832) is mainly occupied in explaining the "Faust." Had F. Baumgartner given us only this part, it would have sufficed to permanently establish its author among the best literary men of Catholic Germany. The sublime and great religious ideas embodied in the "Faust" are borrowed from the Catholic religion, whilst its shortcomings show the ceaseless weariness of a genius who wilfully betrayed the faith in our Lord, and sank to the level of a pagan. Dante, it may be taken for granted, is the poet of St. Thomas's religious system; hence he is familiar to every Catholic mind. On the contrary, Goethe is the—alas! too successful—poet of a system decidedly at variance with every form of Christianity. His works prove all the more disastrous because their brilliant style combines with a keen appreciation of the *natural* order of things. A translation, therefore, of Baumgartner's work into English would be quite as meritorious an undertaking as was that of Professor Hettinger's work on Dante.

BELLESHEIM.

Un Gentilhomme des Temps Passés : François de Scépeaux, Sire de Vielleville, 1509-1571. Par Madame C. COIGNET. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1886.

MADAME Coignet has already published an interesting study on Francis I. The present volume is a further contribution to the history of the sixteenth century. While giving us the biography of her hero, she takes care to bring before us the men among whom he lived and the great events in which he took part. Thus she gives us some account of the duel of Jarnac, the war with Charles V., the campaign in Italy, the relations between Henry II. and Diana of Poitiers, the death of the king, and the bloody contests between the Catholics and Huguenots. The book is written in the charming style for which French authoresses are famous.

T. B. S.

Un Royaliste Libéral en 1789 : Jean-Joseph Mounier, sa Vie Politique et ses Ecrits. Par L. DE LANZAC DE LABORIE. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

Georges Cadoudal et La Chouannerie. Par son neveu, GEORGES DE CADOU DAL. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

THE approaching centenary of the opening of the States General is drawing extraordinary attention to the study of the history of the French Revolution. To Frenchmen that study is of the utmost practical importance. After a hundred years of trouble and change, the old problems are still unsolved, and France is without even the prospect of a stable government. No wonder, then, that the causes of that great event, and the aims and characters of the men who took part in it, should still be studied with the greatest interest. The two works above named bring before us two very different types of public men. Mounier was emphatically a moderate man. "C'était un homme passionément raisonnable," says Mme. de Staël. He had carefully studied the theory of the English Constitution in the works of Montesquieu, Blackstone, and Delolme, and the continual perusal of English newspapers showed him the practical working of the system. His object was to preserve and improve the monarchy. Privileges and proscriptions were alike hateful to him, and he had consequently to bear the attacks of both nobles and demagogues. His election to the presidency of the Assembly, and his speedy exile, do not surprise us. Such is often the fate of men who are opposed to violent measures : the two extreme parties, in a momentary fit of reason, raise a moderate man to power, but they soon recover their normal violence, and their hero becomes their victim. During his exile he wrote two works bearing on the events in which he had taken so great a part, "*Recherches sur les causes qui ont empêché les Français de devenir libres*," and "*De l'influence attribuée aux philosophes, aux franc-maçons et aux illuminés sur la Révolution de France*," of which an admirable analysis is given by M. De Lanzac de Laborie. Mounier gradually lost heart as the

terrible course of events progressed. He never, indeed, entirely gave up the dreams of his early years, but, like so many others, he came to the conclusion that under the circumstances liberty must be sacrificed to order, and thus the orator and writer who had devoted himself to the defence of monarchy and of freedom, returned to France, and died as an official of military despotism.

History has been rather severe on Georges Cadoudal. He is known chiefly on account of his connection with the conspiracy of 1804 against Napoleon, but his previous career as a soldier had been honourable and brilliant. Born of humble parents, he raised himself by conspicuous ability and bravery to be commander of the Catholic and royal forces in Brittany. He successfully resisted the republican armies long after the subjugation of La Vendée, and it was not till after the *coup d'état* of the 18 Brumaire that he was compelled to make peace. Napoleon at once offered him the position of General of division, but Georges remained faithful to the Bourbons. Thenceforth there was the most violent antipathy between the two men. Napoleon gave orders that Georges should be secured, alive or dead. Georges escaped to England, but his brother and the brother of his fiancée were put to death. After various adventures he conceived the bold plan of attacking Bonaparte in broad day, and carrying him off to England. Pitt entered into the project, and contributed a liberal supply of guineas. It is worthy of note that St. Helena was to be the ultimate destination of the captive. The plot failed, and Georges himself was made prisoner. At his trial he behaved with his usual boldness. He made no defence; but he protested that he had no intention of being an assassin. Even after his condemnation he was offered his life if he would enter the service of his captor, but he once more rejected the offer with scorn. He had only one request to make, and it was, that as he had led his comrades in the fight, he should be first to suffer. In prison he received all the consolations of religion from the Abbé de Keravenan. A touching incident is related of his last moments. The good priest made him recite the "Hail Mary." Georges stopped at the words, "pray for us sinners now." "Go on," said the priest. "What is the use?" said Georges, "is not *now* the hour of my death?"

A word of praise must be given to the authors of these two excellent works. M. De Lanzac de Laborie writes as a politician and a lawyer, and treats more of the public life of his subject. It is no exaggeration to say that he has produced a model political biography. To M. de Cadoudal (the family was ennobled as a reward for Georges' services) the vindication of his uncle's fame has been a labour of love. The romantic events in the life of his hero are narrated in a forcible and vivid style, and the copious collection of *pièces justificatives* makes his work of great historical value. It is sad to learn that the author did not live to see the publication of his book.

T. B. SCANNELL.

The Western Avernus; or, Toil and Travel in Further North America.

By MORLEY ROBERTS. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1887.

THOUGH given to lapse into fine writing in his descriptions of scenery, the author's account of his "roughing it" in Further North America is vigorous and graphic. A fair map shows the writer's progress from a Texan sheep ranche, *viâ* Chicago, St. Paul, Manitoba, and the Rockies, to Vancouver Island, Victoria, and San Francisco. Sometimes tramping it, oftener working on the railroads, the experience recorded is certainly rough enough, and if a little monotonous, is very readable. But the author's persistent insistence on his being cultured and educated adds neither novelty nor interest to the situation. Both North and South America are full of educated men who have missed their mark in Europe.

An Elementary French Grammar. Based upon the Accidence of the

"New Grammar of French Grammars." By Dr. V. DE FIVAS, M.A., F.E.I.S., &c. London: Crosby Lockwood & Co. 1887.

THIS is an abridgment, for the use of beginners, of the well-known "Grammar of Grammars," now in its forty-eighth edition. It is an excellent grammar, and there are added well-chosen selections in prose and verse from standard authors, with French-English vocabulary; forming altogether a most useful class-book.

A Good Hint for Hard Times. With other Stories, original and translated. By FRANCIS WINTERTON. London: Thomas Richardson & Son.

THESE are six short but amusing stories, some being translations from the Polish and German. The chief incident, however, in "An Artful Rogue," in which a pair of "unmentionables" are detained for debt, is, curiously enough, identical with that of a story called "Raising the Wind" which appeared many years ago in "George Cruickshank's Omnibus."

The Life of Sir Joseph Napier, Bart., ex-Lord Chancellor of Ireland—A Political Biography. By ALEX. CHARLES EWALD, F.S.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

THE late Sir Joseph Napier, youngest son of a Belfast merchant, and descended from the Napiers of Merchistoun, was placed at an early age under the tuition of James Sheridan Knowles, the dramatist. As a youth he showed talent, and when called to the bar rapidly made way, becoming under Lord Derby's first and second Administrations—first, Attorney-General, and then Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Sir Joseph was naturally pious and an evangelical of the Shaftesbury school, and though not so fanatical as a Newdigate,

fully believed that England's greatness was identical with and inseparable from her Protestantism. Yet he seems to have acted honestly up to his lights, and was an honourable opponent, while sharing largely in the narrow views of his class. Although his career differs essentially very little from those of other successful lawyers, his political life is at least instructive in showing how different were the methods of political warfare before we borrowed so much from American tactics, and had descended to others even less creditable. The work is chiefly derived from his private correspondence, and Mr. Ewald has accomplished his task with sympathy and care. The volume is embellished with a steel engraving of an exceptionally interesting portrait.

Albrecht Dürer. Von L. Kaufmann. 2 Auflage. Freiburg: Herder. 1886.

AMONGST German painters known and esteemed in England, perhaps Hans Holbein ranks first, whose works may be seen in Hampton Court and not a few English private galleries. He is much surpassed, however, by Albrecht, or Albert Dürer, of Nuremberg, whose glory is to be pre-eminent as both painter and engraver. Dürer's biographies by M. Thausing and A. von Eye, both Protestants, were wanting in point of accuracy and also of fairness as regards the artist's religious opinions. There was an opening, therefore, for a Catholic author; and Mr. Kaufmann has prepared for this work by diligent study through many years of Dürer's masterpieces. His work is small indeed as to size, but is a thorough treatment of its subject; Dürer is accurately estimated as a painter, engraver, and woodcutter. A chief object of inquiry, however, has been, how far was Dürer a disciple of Luther. When the latter first opposed certain abuses, Dürer certainly did not conceal his sympathy with him; but in course of time, becoming better acquainted with his system and its results, he left him, and died a Catholic. The value of the book is enhanced by fourteen heliographs and woodcuts representing the chief works of the master.

BELLESHEIM.

Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle. Edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co.

THESE volumes of letters are valuable both as a contribution to literature and as a help to the study of Carlyle's character, by picturing him, his studies and interests at the period when his young powers were ripening. He was an industrious letter-writer in these years of early manhood, seldom letting a week pass without a letter home, not unfrequently writing two, three or four to different members of the family on the same day. These domestic letters, the editor truly observes, give a striking illustration of the simpler side of Scottish life of that date. The first volume extends from 1814 to

1821, contains a very interesting Preface from Mr. Norton's pen, and has as a frontispiece an etching of Carlyle's mother at the age of seventy-one—the mother, aged and well-beloved, to whom many dutiful and considerate passages in this volume were written. The second volume covers from 1821 to 1826, and contains a portrait of Mrs. Carlyle, painted in 1826. A frequent topic in these letters to friends, more especially in those to Miss Jane Welsh (afterwards his wife), is the works he is studying, or has studied, and recommends to others, with criticism of their value—often in somewhat of the sharp peremptory tone of later years.

But the chief points of interest about the volumes is, that they are (intentionally) a corrective to the unfair portraiture of Mr. Froude's biography. "The view of Mr. Carlyle's character," says Mr. Norton, "presented in that biography has not approved itself to many of those who knew Carlyle best. It may be a striking picture, but it is not a good portrait." The point about which Carlyle's friends and admirers are sorest, perhaps, is the misrepresentation—as they insist it is—of the relations between Carlyle and his wife. We can only here say that Mr. Norton has felt it due to the memory alike of the man and his wife to open and read the lovers' letters which passed between them in their early days before marriage, and to give in these volumes the chief portions of many of these letters. Mr. Froude's use of these most private letters, the editor says, "seems to me, on general grounds, unjustifiable, and the motives he alleges for it inadequate." But far worse is the conviction, here recorded as confirmed by a perusal of the letters themselves, that "Mr. Froude has distorted their significance, and given a view of the relations between Carlyle and his future wife, in essential points incorrect and injurious to their memory."

The Spirits of Darkness, and their Manifestations on Earth. By Rev. JOHN GMEINER. Chicago: Hoffmann Bros.

FATHER GMEINER has made a careful study of his subject from many points of view. He has clearly shown that both the Holy Scriptures and the general belief of mankind have given the strongest testimony to the existence of spirits. He has gathered together a formidable array of "facts," which seem to give powerful evidence in the same direction. The author, we venture to think, has done a serviceable work in striving to revive the faith of the world in the existence of the spirits of evil. It has begun to be looked upon as superstition to believe in such things, and modern "spiritualism" has helped this delusion, by summoning back to earth "departed friends," who are, in reality, nothing else than wicked spirits. Father Gmeiner speaks without gloss on this matter:

Modern spiritualism is nothing *essentially* new; it is only a revival, in the midst of Christian society, of practices known to both ancient and modern heathens—practices which the Bible and the Church have always declared unlawful and abominable before God (Deuter. xviii. 9-12).

What may be new in modern spiritualism is the *manner* in which evil spirits manifest themselves. It would frustrate their designs if they would openly show, in the midst of Christian society, their real and undisguised character; for Christianity has civilized people at least so much that any such thing would not be tolerated. Hence, even the evil spirits are compelled to "behave" in Christian countries; and hence they *transform themselves into angels of light* (2 Cor. xi. 14)—that is, they pretend to be the spirits of dear departed friends or other well-meaning persons, to dupe such as believe them (p. 258).

Gems of Catholic Thought: Sayings of Eminent Catholic Authors. By ANNA T. SADLER. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

MANY persons will no doubt be glad to have this tasteful little book. The compiler has selected a number of thoughts from Catholic writers, many of which are entitled to be called "gems." She does not profess to have laid all our best writers under contribution, and thus, in some respects, disarms criticism.

Le Roman Russe. By the Vicomte E. M. DE VOGÜÉ. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1886.

IT is not obvious why, though there are so many points of political contact and rivalry between England and Russia, so little interest is here felt in the literature of the latter country. Both France and Germany produce far more translations of Russian works than appear in England. The unique position of the Czardom with reference to the civilized world is alone enough to invest the subject with much interest. The insufficiency of the orthodox Church, prostrate under the autocratic heel, to supply the spiritual wants of the nation, the frustration of material as well as moral progress by a paralyzing despotism, have engendered in the minds of its reflecting subjects a spirit of pessimism or a spirit of revolt which we have often seen in these times culminate in acts of futile violence which only beget a counter and reactionary policy of coercion, or far more widely find the expression, of which in other countries journalism is the vehicle, in a subtler, half-veiled, yet forcible way in literature.

It is rather in a broad spirit, as an utterance of this tendency and a reflection of this conflict, than, in a mere literary purview, as imaginative composition, that the novel of Russia is considered in the valuable critical studies before us.

For my part (says M. de Vogüé) without going back to causes which are general, enduring, and as old as the world itself, a statement that sufficiently explains the present crisis is, that pessimism is the natural parasite of the Void, and, when both faith and love are absent, exists of necessity in their stead. When such a condition is reached, pessimism is naturally begotten, and needs no Schopenhauer to inspire its invention. Two varieties withal are to be distinguished. One is the materialistic pessimism, resigned, if only its daily provender of pleasure be supplied, it determined to despise men while turning them as far as possible to account for its enjoyments. We see it displayed in contemporary (French) literature. The other is the suffering pessimism of revolt,

hiding hope under its maledictions. The last term of the Nihilistic revolution, it is also the first symptom of a moral uprising. Not without reason has this been called the instrument of all progress, for the world is never transformed or improved by those whom it fully satisfies.

There was in Russia, as in the rest of Europe, a fashion of Romanticism, but its span was brief. Those who read and wrote in a nation of sixty millions of inhabitants and barely half-a-dozen newspapers, caught the Byron fever which infected Europe. But Poushkin, by far the most conspicuous patient, was only half a Russian, and the least characteristically Russian of any Muscovite writer. Byronism and Romanticism were but strange exotic fruits, imported and enjoyed for the most part by those only who had travelled where they grew. These products of a different social stage, transplanted to Russia, found no congenial soil, and withered before they were even tasted by the masses. They served the fops and dandies who floated on the top of society to fill up the albums of St. Petersburg and Moscow. But for the bulk of the people life was too terribly material for such fantastic toys to take its attention. The ear of the nation was reserved for those who could grasp and describe the dire and urgent reality, and utter, even half-stifled the cry which it required genius fully to articulate.

This at least is a main cause why realism is pre-eminent in Russian literature. The history of letters shows that the chief literary productions of any particular time usually affect one prevailing literary form—as, for instance, the Elizabethan drama in England. The hard and bitter littleness of the contemporary world is most aptly told in prose. There is enough hardness and bitterness in Russia. The world of letters, as the wider world of the people, is a prey to the besetting melancholy of the Slavonic race. Nor is there need to resort to tragic fancy when there is many real woes, or to dally with literary tricks and ornaments. The realistic novel in which, M. de Vogüé declares—and we incline to agree with him—Russia has excelled the West.

There is a realism indeed of another and very different kind from that of Zola and the fellowship of the *école stercoraire*. In the modern Russian novel this other higher realism has been developed to the highest degree by some of Russia's recent writers. It is a realism which is not centred wholly round the baser passions of humanity, but deals with lofty as well as ignoble pictures of men. If we are often trailed through the mire, it is not unmitigated mire, but relieved by those contrasts which make us realize its filth and avoid defilement. Of course we are here speaking of those chief and conspicuous productions which are recognized by the nation as at once its pride and a reflection of itself—works such as those of Tourguénief, Tolstoi, Dostoevsky, Soltykof. There is, of course, in Russia, as elsewhere, a reptile gang of bookmakers incapable of greatness themselves, ready to belittle or bespatter it in others, and prompt to truckle to vice and frivolity, by copying what has had such baneful success elsewhere. Their feats in this direction are wholly

mercenary, and proceed to any excess that the law permits, or general opinion tolerates.

There is a factor which cannot be disregarded in considering the career of Russian literature—it is the censorship of the Press. Some idea of the rigour as well as the childishness with which this has been exercised may be gathered from the fact that the word “liberty” in all its acceptations was prohibited, just as the word “king” was under the French terror—“identical puerilities of despotism,” as M. de Vogüé observes, “whether it come from above or below.” Even certain pocket-handkerchiefs, which were imprinted with portraits of the Pope and foreign Sovereigns, were confiscated by the Custom house, on account of the disrespectful use to which they would be put. This state of things was what came to be called the “censorial terror.” These absurd extremes were discontinued in time, but, as the reader need scarcely be told, the relaxation of the censorship was only of a very limited degree even under Alexander II. And this is why, after 1854, Russia’s chief and most original writers resorted instinctively to the novel as the mode of utterance which best admitted of inuendo, of reading between the lines, of the *sous-entendre*—in fine, of cheating the censor. It is not idly we dwell on this, for it has been all-powerful in shaping the destinies of Russian literature—even in determining its form. It is in this form we must look for Russian contemporary views of philosophy, history, politics. In this form alone will the genuine history of the Russian people for the last half-century be found. In this its only genuine literature will be discerned its muffled cry of the mixed anguish of dark suffering and glimmering hope under a deadening and deathly despotism.

So persistent has been the censor, so intense has been the need and instinct of expression, that a kind of cryptographic style has been developed, in which, above all their compeers, Soltykof and Dostoievsky have been pre-eminent.

Dostoievsky, who had himself a bitter experience of political exile, undertook the hardest that author ever had. It was to speak of Siberia, that secret land which was not so much as named willingly at that period. Even the diction of the Law Courts often substituted for the dreaded word a euphemism—the Court sentenced to transportation “to very remote parts.” And it was a former political prisoner who undertook to walk over the coals and challenge the censorship; and he gained the day. The first condition of success was to ignore the existence of such a thing as political convicts, and withal to bring home to us what refinements of suffering await a man who is precipitated from the upper classes of society into the infamous Siberian gang of common criminals.

The consequence of all this is not easily realized in the comparative liberty even of the most despotic States of our Western Europe. The public—the word even is scarcely applicable with reference to Russia—or such of the nation as have reflection and feeling beyond merely personal ones, exercise them in a different way, and acquire a different habit of mind—certainly of expression—to those which prevail in freer and more enlightened States. We here mostly greet a novel or romance as a work of art, or at least a relaxation and distraction from the cares or woes of life—the momentary substitution

of imaginary for real interest—and accordingly scarcely allow them, at any rate with rare exceptions, an important place in national life. In Russia the case is (and, taking what we have said into account, we think necessarily) very different. What with us is an article of luxury is their intellectual daily bread.

It is (says M. de Vogüé, p. 144) their golden age of the higher literature, the period that has been traversed by literature in the youth of all peoples, in Asia, in Greece, in mediæval Christendom; the age where the writer is the leader of his race, the only master in a teeming anarchy of ideas, to some extent still the shaper of the national tongue. He is, in a word, ποιητής in the pristine and integral sense of the word—a *vates*, or prophet, from whom simple-hearted earnest readers, new comers in the world of thought, yearning for guidance, enthusiastically magnifying the power of human genius, ask a gospel, a meaning for life, a complete revelation of the ideal. The restricted cultured circle, it is true, have long attained to a dilettanteism which may vie with, if not surpass, our own; but the lower classes are beginning to read, and they read with passion, with faith, and with hope, as our children read “Robinson Crusoe.” They were well designated as “Virgin Soil,” by Tourguénief. The book strikes their impressible imagination with the full shock of its impact, which is not deadened, as among us, by a vast intellectual establishment; ideas have not been scattered, nor the power of attention frittered away by journalism.

The above may be an exaggerated statement, but in the main we are ready to endorse it. In no other country, we feel convinced, to some extent, by personal experience, is the appearance of a work from one of its few great authors so universally recognized by all parties, and so widely welcomed as an event little short of national.

We have here dwelt chiefly upon the interest of Russian contemporary literature, of which the novel is the main development, as the only genuine utterance of a great nation—a great rival with us in the world. It is a regrettable mistake to disregard it because it does not always square with our Western canons of art, or put on the symmetrical forms to which a wholly different literary history has accustomed us. It is the most vital expression of a people destined to play a great part in future Europe, and is surely worth more attention than it has as yet received in England.

Modern Hinduism ; Being an Account of the Religion and Life of the Hindus in Northern India. By W. J. WILKINS, of the London Missionary Society. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1887.

THE Rev. Mr. Wilkins is able to speak of Hinduism with the authority derived from a long residence and many years of active work in India. Like many of his brethren, after having endeavoured to impart some knowledge of Christianity to the Hindus, he is now devoting his energies to teaching Christians something about Hinduism, and, whatever may have been his qualifications for the former task, he is certainly well qualified for the latter. His book is a very useful addition to the literature of the subject. There has been too often a tendency among English writers to treat Hinduism as a book-religion, and to give far too great a prominence to its older forms as we find them embalmed or fossilized in the Veda and the

classical literature. Again, many writers, misled by the false analogy of a Christian Church, or of an organized religion like Moham-medanism, have tried to find in Hinduism a unity which it does not possess. Mr. Wilkins gives us a picture drawn from the life. We see not one firmly organized whole, but a seething mass of sects, some falling into decay, others rising up to take their place. Again we are told how his religion, or at least its ceremonial, is interwoven with his life, from the cradle to the grave and beyond it. We see what his domestic ceremonies and his temple-worship really are like. There is not much discussion upon all these things, nor is much space devoted to working out their origin, or giving them an inner meaning. Our author seeks to describe rather than to explain, and he describes all the better, because he keeps theory well in the background. His object is to let us see something of Hinduism through the light of his own experience, and he has produced a thoroughly readable book, which should be in the hands of all who are interested in the comparative study of religions, and which would be a very useful addition to the libraries of our missionary colleges.

One of Mr. Wilkins's most interesting chapters is that which deals with the modern Deistic sects, the Brahmo-Samaj, and its offshoots. Much of what he says may be taken as a very useful corrective to the exaggerated estimate of those bodies to which Professor Max Müller has given currency in England. Keshub Chunder Sen's curious proclamation of the "New Dispensation" is given at length. It is dated "New Year's Day, January 1, 1883," and it begins thus:—

Keshub Chunder Sen, a servant of God, called to be an apostle of the Church of the New Dispensation, which is in the Holy City of Calcutta, the metropolis of Aryavarta.

To all the great nations in this world, and to the chief religious sects in the East and in the West.

To the followers of Moses, of Jesus, of Buddha, of Confucius, of Zoroaster, of Mahomet, of Nanac, and to the various branches of the Hindu Church.

To the saints and the sages, the bishops and the elders, the ministers and the missionaries of all these religious bodies :

Grace be unto you and peace everlasting.

Then, after a protest against sectarian divisions, the whole earth is invited to accept the "New Dispensation" of peace and unity, at the hands of the Hindu teacher, who begins his message with the prophetic formula of the Old Testament: "Thus saith the Lord." Keshub died a year later. "After his death," says Mr. Wilkins, "his family and the Apostolic Durbar, as the council of the apostles of the New Dispensation was called, refused to allow the platform from which he had taught to be used, it being declared that Keshub, though absent in body, was still the leader of the society. This *may* be the first step towards the deification of their great leader." The Indian census shows that the new theistic sects number a mere handful of followers. They are already, in many instances, fast drifting into what looks very like a resumption of idolatrous worship.

Probably the final outcome of Brahmoism will be a slight leavening of some forms of Hinduism with Christian ideas—a process of which there are abundant traces in Southern Hinduism of an earlier period.

A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE.

Louise de Keroualle, Duchesse de Portsmouth. 1649–1734. Par H. FORNERON. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1886.

THE heroine of these pages, who came to England, a young girl of twenty, in the train of Henrietta of Orleans, was perhaps the one woman with any show of respectability and grace, and certainly the only woman with an intelligent notion of politics, of the many mistresses of Charles II. It is well known how much the King was influenced by these creatures; his political decisions being too often the whim or caprice, or angry resolution, of one of these women. This explains the interest of the subject for a Frenchman. Louis XIV. himself looked to Louise as a most powerful political agent at the English Court, and did not look in vain. M. Forneron's contention is, therefore, only too true that the historical student has to know something of the *vie intime* of that Court before he can fully appreciate and fairly estimate the motives and causes of events. It is, however, a somewhat outspoken account which he has given; and whilst the mature student will find much that is useful here, with feelings of profound shame for much else that goes with it, the book is emphatically not one for the general reader, or the young.

A Practical Introduction to English Rhetoric; Precepts and Exercises By Rev. CHARLES COPPENS, S.J., Author of "The Art of Oratorical Composition." New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company. 1886.

THE principles of rhetoric are here laid down with sufficient clearness. Anything newer, whether of criticism or illustration, will hardly commend the book on this side of the Atlantic.

1. *A Treatise in Spherical Trigonometry.* With Applications to Spherical Geometry. By WILLIAM T. MCCLELLAND, M.A., and THOMAS PRESTON, B.A. Part II. London: Macmillan. 1886.

2. *Units and Physical Constants.* By J. D. EVERETT, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S. London: Macmillan. 1886.

THE above "Spherical Trigonometry" by McClelland and Preston, is a very good manual, particularly for students who have little time to spare for pure mathematics. As to the text, which contains only the most important theorems in a concise and simple form, there is joined, in small print, sufficient material from which the student may select what he further requires. The order and clear arrangement of both matter and type, the admirable "get-up" of the book, are deserving of great praise. At the same time the

addition of a few more practical problems, taken from astronomy, &c., would have made the book still more interesting.

We are greatly indebted to Professor Everett, who has brought out a new work entitled "Units and Physical Constants," which is very valuable, not only for the physical laboratory but also for the office of the technical operator. With a fair knowledge of mathematics and physics, the student feels himself quite at home, having at his disposal a book which gives in a very compact form and in a clear striking manner the most correct and reliable values, constantly required in researches and experiments.

We might point out one important feature in this work, which makes it rather original: it is the general theory of units based on the "Centimètre-Gramme-Second (or C.G.S.) system" as it is called. Every physicist knows how tedious it is to hunt after constants in a great variety of works and tables, based on different systems. We are sure that this work, which must have cost a great deal of labour to the author, will be still more appreciated when the C.G.S. system has become more universal and popular.

F. LANDOTT.

Sketches of the Royal Irish Constabulary. By MICHAEL BROPHY, Ex-Sergeant R.I.C. London: Burns & Oates. 1886.

MR. MICHAEL BROPHY, in his "Sketches of the Royal Irish Constabulary," explains the organization and gives an outline of the history of his old corps, in which he served for twenty-five years. The book is full of interesting matter, and contains not a few good stories.

1. *Poems.* By JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN. The O'Connell Press. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
2. *Irish Melodies.* By THOMAS MOORE. The O'Connell Press. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
3. *The Vicar of Wakefield.* By OLIVER GOLDSMITH. The O'Connell Press. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
4. *On Irish Affairs.* By EDMUND BURKE. The O'Connell Press. Dublin: W. H. Gill & Son. 1886.

THE O'Connell Press is bringing out an edition of standard works by Irish authors, excellently printed, for 3*d.* each. The poems of that unhappy genius, Clarence Mangan, are especially to be recommended: they are too little known, and they contain, as well as his national verses, many admirable translations from the German, and some most touching glimpses of the struggle of his own unfortunate career.

And from path to path His mercy tracked me—
And from many a peril snatched He me,
When false friends pursued, betrayed, attacked me,
When gloom overdarkened and sickness racked me,
He was by to save and free!

The edition of the "Irish Melodies" of Moore is also very good, and "The Vicar of Wakefield," though a pocket copy, is in brilliantly clear type.

The selection from Edmund Burke's writings on Irish affairs bears on its title-page the following apt quotation from Mr. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on April 13:—

The writings of Mr. Burke upon Ireland, and still more upon America, are a mine of gold for the political wisdom with which they are charged, applicable to the circumstances of to-day, and full of the deepest and most valuable lessons to guide the policy of a country.

St. Columba, and other Poems. By Rev. J. GOLDEN. London : Burns & Oates, Ltd. 1886.

WE have here told in fluent verse the poetic story of St. Columba, the apostle of the Scottish Isles, whose original name of Crimtain was changed into Columbkille, "Dove of the Cells," in allusion to the number of churches and monasteries founded by him. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that his missionary career was imposed on him by the Synod of Meath by way of penance for a war believed to have been waged on his account, the sentence being that he should convert as many souls as had been slain in battle in his cause. The result was the conversion of the inhabitants of Skye, Mull, the Orcades and Faroe Islands, as well as Iona, which the saint made the headquarters of his apostolate.

The volume contains a second and longer piece called "Old Dick the Prophet," in which some of the romantic aspects of Irish scenery, with their traditions, are celebrated in the metre of "Hiawatha."

The Poetry of Sir Samuel Ferguson. By Mr. JUSTICE O'HAGAN. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.

THIS little volume is a reprint from the *Irish Monthly* of a sympathetic essay on the stirring poems of Sir Samuel Ferguson.

The Young Philistine. By ALICE CORKRAN. London : Burns & Oates. 1886.

WE are sorry that pressure of space admits only of our recommending this charming volume of tales most cordially to our readers.

* * A Notice of "Frederick Francis Xavier de Mérode, by the Bishop of Nîmes, translated by Lady Herbert" (London : W. H. Allen & Co.), reaches us too late for insertion in this number. Several volumes just arrived shall also be noticed in October.

THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1887.

ART. I.—M. EMERY, SUPERIOR OF ST. SULPICE,
1789—1811.

M. EMERY was superior of the Congregation of St. Sulpice and of the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Paris during the French Revolution, and on through the best part of the rule of Napoleon. A devoted Churchman, in the stress of the Revolution he could not find it in his heart either to conspire, or rant, or run away; but, yielding to the successive paroxysms of *de facto* authority, as he thought it befitting in a servant of one whose kingdom was not of this world, did yet oppose to every enactment which he saw to be contrary to the law of God or of the Church a resistance as steadfast as the everlasting hills. Brought up on Gallican principles, he was none the less a strenuous defender of Papal rights against secular tyranny, even when this was supported by the dangerous concessions of sordid or craven prelates. Often persecuted to the death by the Revolutionary tribunals, he was continually denounced by ardent exiles as a traitor both to Church and Throne: yet lived he on, and survived to die with the halo on his eighty years of the almost universal approbation both of friend and foe, justly regarded as an incarnation of ecclesiastical prudence and self-sacrificing devotion, and as a precious link between the old—pre-revolution—world and the new. His life may afford matter of legitimate curiosity to thinkers of every shade of opinion and sympathetic bias, if only of as much as might attach to a brood-hen sitting quietly on her nest the night through amidst a wilderness of foxes.

We have two lives of M. Emery, one by the learned Sulpician, M. Gosselin, in 1861, the other by the Abbé Meric in 1885. The latter gives various interesting documents *in extenso* which are only referred to in the former, and fuller extracts from M.

Emery's private papers, but the style and sentiment of the earlier "Life" is more in keeping with its subject, and to my mind is by far the pleasanter reading.*

Jacques André Emery was born at Gex in Picardy, in the year 1732, of a respectable family of the long robe, a class from which so many of the best type of Frenchmen have sprung. Louis XV. was on the throne, and France, with a corrupt court infecting its upper classes, a clergy distracted by religious controversy, a commerce ruined by war and reckless speculation, and a literature that at its best only half believed in anything of good report, at its worst took virtue and religion as its natural prey, was steadily drifting into that deadlock which issued in the Revolution. There is only one incident recorded of Emery's childhood, but it is amusingly like the man. For some piece of childish mischief his father was going to beat him; the boy made a run for it, but the father, although a cripple, soon managed to catch him. We are told that whilst our hero was undergoing his doubly earned punishment, his mind was wholly absorbed by the problem of how it came about that he with two good legs had failed to escape from his father, who had only one.

After passing through his school and college course with considerable distinction, he entered, just before receiving priest's orders, the Congregation of St. Sulpice. This celebrated congregation, to which the Church of France owes a unique debt of gratitude, had been founded by M. Olier in the first half of the preceding century. It was devoted entirely, to the exclusion of every other work, to the training of ecclesiastical students for the secular priesthood. The aim of the Sulpicians was to make their men specialists, if they might be so called in a field which is so large, in all that appertained to the ecclesiastical vocation, but above all to train them to that independence of character and distinctness of aim without which a priest cannot be in the world and not of it. In their intercourse with their students they are distinguished from ordinary professors, even of theology, by a genuine familiarity. In their studies, religious exercises, and amusements the life of the professors and students is one, to a degree unknown outside the walls of a monastery, and seldom even there. The consequence was that the student generally carried away an affection and reverence for his old masters which survived all the vicissitudes of a long life of influences the most adverse to his early training, and either preserved him against them or at least brought him home at last. The thoughts that

* For further notices of M. Emery, see Picot's "*Mémoires pour Servir*," Cardinal Consalvi's "*Mémoires*," M. Icard's "*Observations sur quelques pages de la Continuation de l'Histoire de l'Abbé Darras*," 1886.

opened the way to Talleyrand's death-bed repentance were the souvenirs of St. Sulpice.*

As an instance of the Sulpicians' entire devotion to the interests of religion, I may mention that, when Canada became ours in 1765, sooner than relinquish their seminary work in Montreal it was agreed that the Sulpicians of Canada should become British subjects, and be released from all dependence upon the mother house in France. On what this must have cost Frenchmen, and the Sulpicians were French to their finger ends, I need hardly dwell.

In the theological disputes of the day among which their congregation first saw the light, the Sulpicians took as little direct part as possible, whilst quietly on all occasions taking the side of ecclesiastical authority. They dealt with life, and only indirectly with opinion, exhibiting for the remedy of existing evils what might be called a kitchen or dietary treatment as contrasted with the drastic measures of the professed controversialist. In this course they were eminently successful, and it is to their labours more than to any other cause that the Church of France owes the fidelity during the critical period of the Revolution of so many of both orders of her clergy. They cultivated moderation as a science; and by this it is by no means meant that they were neutrals or trimmers. They firmly adhered to the decisions of the Holy See and of the *major et sanior pars* of the Episcopate, but they carefully abstained from all that might in any way wound or irritate, without convincing, those of the opposite party with whom they might be brought into contact. They did not hesitate to minister, when allowed, even in dioceses in which the authorities were known to be secretly opposed to the Bull "Unigenitus." Contented to give half a loaf as better than no bread, they invariably managed in the long run to give nothing less than the whole.

One of the first places to which M. Emery was appointed was that of Professor of Moral Theology at the Seminary of St. Irenæus at Lyons, of which the Archbishop was precisely one of these favourers of the party of the Appeal as it was called. Here he had a very difficult part to play, but he managed either to win the Archbishop over for the moment to his own view of the disputed points, or to mark his opposition without giving offence. The truth is, the rôle of moderation, where principles are in any degree at stake, requires a very strong man to sustain; one who has a firm and distinct grasp of all the principles bearing on the subject, and a clear view of their application in every detail. Without this it is impossible for him to give so much without

* See "Vie de Mgr. Dupanloup," par Lagrange.

Whilst in this prison M. Emery slept in a chamber immediately below that occupied by the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and he had the privilege of administering consolation to that matchless sorrow. One midnight, with the connivance of one of the officials, after informing the Queen of what was to take place, he mounted the staircase to her room door, where, after a few moments' conversation, he was able to give her absolution. He was visited from time to time by a priest, who managed to exchange a pyx full of hosts for the one which he had emptied, so that he was seldom without the means of communicating himself and others who required it.

But how was it that, when so many perished, M. Emery continued to be spared—that his course to the guillotine was arrested until the fashion languished and gradually changed? Not from any goodwill on the part of Robespierre or Fouquier Tainville we are assured, although, as I have noticed, the former recognized a certain usefulness in him in regard to keeping others quiet: he was to die anyhow, sooner or later. Twice at least his name appeared in the programme of the day's victims. Once the advocate Barbier, an influential and devoted friend of Emery's, who was employed to revise the list, obtained its erasure at the price of a hundred louis. Another time, on finding Emery's name head the list, he managed to exceptionalize it, *emphasis gratia*, as that of a "chef de partie" who must be exceptionally dealt with, and so bracketed it off. I think Providence meant him to live for the sake of the many to whom he made death easy. I think, moreover, that it is hard to kill, except by accident, a man who never either funks or sulks, even in a Reign of Terror. On one occasion M. Emery was actually under orders to mount the next tumbril, but, so it was, when the tumbril came his name was not called. Thus the eventful months slipped by: July 27, 1794, saw the fall of Robespierre, and on the 25th of the next October M. Emery was let out of prison. Men were beginning to look round and calculate damages, and see what yet remained to them, as the great swell of the inundation gradually receded. They were more or less sick of blood, and would fain find some *modus vivendi* one with the other, and the prisons gradually disgorged the remaining victims.

On February 21, 1795, the Convention decreed "La liberté des cultes," which allowed Catholic priests to open a certain number of oratories both in Paris and in the provinces. On May 30 from all such officiating priests was exacted an oath of "submission to the laws of the Republic." M. Emery was not obliged to take it, as he was exercising no public function; but, as the universal referee on all such matters, he gave it as his unqualified opinion that such an oath was perfectly lawful. The Government had

been careful to point out that the "civil constitution of the clergy" no longer formed a portion of these laws. The clergy of Paris for the most part, and a large number of the provincial clergy, took the oath, and their conduct subsequently received the approbation of Pius VI., but many refused. On the 29th of September the Government, irritated by the opposition of a considerable number of the clergy, imposed another oath running as follows: "Je reconnais que l'universalité des Français est le Souverain; et je promets soumission et obéissance aux lois de la République." The question of the lawfulness of the new oath gave rise to the most violent disputes, and almost created a schism. The Archiepiscopal Council, which represented the exiled Archbishop of Paris, contented itself with insisting that each party should tolerate the other until the Holy See should pronounce. M. Emery, who was a member of the Council, was absent on a visit to his native place in Picardy, but he was quite in accord with the Council's judgment. He underwent something like a persecution at the hands of those who were determined to force an opinion from him one way or the other. He confined himself as far as possible to drawing out the principles and authorities upon which the question turned, and the alternative senses of the decree, thus supplying to each one the material for forming his own opinion. Yet it is sufficiently clear that he thought the oath might be taken. Writing very frankly on the subject to a friend at a distance, he shows plainly that, though disbelieving in the sovereignty of the people as an essential inalienable right, and therefore recognizing that it would be unlawful for him to take the oath in this sense, he thought the phrase in the decree admitted of being interpreted as a mere assertion of the *de facto* sovereignty of the French people, and a profession of submitting thereto. He never was called upon practically to decide the question for himself. In October 1795 the Government of the Directory succeeded to that of the Convention, and in September 1797 they proposed to the clergy yet another oath, which had already been exacted from the two Councils of State and all public functionaries: "Le serment de haine à la royauté et à l'anarchie, d'attachement et de fidélité à la République et à la Constitution de l'An III." This was accompanied by a declaration which explained that the oath did not imply any hatred of kings as such, or any position as to the best form of government in the abstract, but was simply an expression of determined hostility to the violent efforts of kings on the one hand and anarchists on the other to upset the established government. Here, again, opinions were divided, but the mass of the clergy were decidedly against its lawfulness. M. Emery's efforts were all directed to the preservation of peace, and

to prevent the difference of opinion issuing in a schism. For his part, he thought that the oath, in the light of the declaration, might be taken. It was reported that Pius VI. had by word of mouth condemned the oath, but irrespective of the declaration, which apparently had not been brought under his notice. M. Emery abstained from giving any direct advice upon the matter, but his views were very generally known. His conduct in regard to these various tests of loyalty which were successively proposed by the Revolutionary Government was at least consistent. It was based upon the lawfulness and supreme expedience in the interests of religion of accepting all the pronouncements of *de facto* authority which were not in distinct opposition to the principles of morality or religion, in default of any decision to the contrary of the Head of the Church. In spite of the violent opposition he had to encounter from so many of his brethren, I venture to think that his conduct on the whole has been typical of the conduct of the Church in like contingencies. M. Emery had, perhaps, a larger share than any other ecclesiastic of his day in resetting the limbs of ecclesiastical discipline in the Church of France during the reflux of the Revolution which ended in the supremacy of Napoleon. His advice was sought by all parties. He was mainly instrumental in bringing back numbers of the Constitutional clergy to the obedience of the Church, and in providing homes and, where this was possible, fresh establishments for the religious whom the Revolution had scattered. To this period belongs his book entitled "*Le Christianisme de Bacon*," in which he continued his favourite scheme of appealing to every phase of sane philosophy against the *philosophes* of his day. It appeared in 1799, and subsequently provoked the strictures of that brilliant irreconcilable, De Maistre, who pretended that Emery had been led astray by a wandering fire which he had mistaken for a ray of the sun. In 1799 Napoleon, as First Consul, succeeded to the Directory, and in 1800 M. Emery found himself in a position to reconstitute the establishment of St. Sulpice in a small house in the Rue St. Jacques, and soon after obtained possession of the Church of St. Sulpice. Amongst the new students we meet with the names of De Quelen and Affres, who held successively the Archbishopric of Paris.

We now enter upon the third and last period of M. Emery's career, that which brought him in contact with Napoleon. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the effect produced upon Churchmen, who had seen all their cherished institutions overwhelmed in the vortex of the Revolution, although it had of late sullenly begun to give up its dead, by the first conciliatory overtures of Napoleon. From amid the dragon folds of the Revolution there appeared for the first time the figure of a man dominant over the dragon; a

only with the responsibility of self-preservation under the most difficult circumstances, but with that of the safety of numbers of defenceless persons more or less dependent upon his advice and example.

For just a moment, in the early days of July (1789), we catch a glimpse of the keen-eyed, active man, eager to see others perform the duty which was not his. Some days before the fall of the Bastille, M. Emery gave the Marshal de Broglie warning of what was coming ; but a creeping paralysis, half fear, half philanthropy, possessed Court and King, and M. Emery quickly saw that he had for the future for all practical purposes to reckon with the people, and with the people only. It became his one object to fall in cheerfully with the popular action as fully and as far as the laws of God and of the Church permitted. Soon after the taking of the Bastille, he was threatened with a visit from the mob, who knew that two of De Broglie's sons were seminarists. M. Emery having secured a secret outlet of escape for such of the seminarists as he had not already disposed of—sixty out of the hundred had already taken refuge with their friends—calmly awaited the visit, with a good stock of bread, wine, and money wherewith to entertain his importunate guests, and if thereto they wanted blood, why, as he said, they might have his and welcome. However the visit was for the time postponed. The seminary went to its vocations at Issy in October, just after the massacre of the King's body guards, amongst whom was a near relative of the Superior's. All the ordinary duties of the seminary were continued without interruption until the approach of the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille in 1790, when a call was made upon all classes of citizens to assist in preparing the Champs de Mars for a grand civic celebration. M. Emery thought it advisable to send a band of seminarists, armed with spade and pickaxe, and accompanied by several of their directors, to assist in the work. They were fortunately soon able to retire. The mob chaffed the young men good humouredly about seminary restraints, and promised to pay them a visit and carry them all off to the ball on the grand day. "Fortunately," as a seminarist remarked, "when the day came they had forgotten us."

M. Emery made no difficulty in taking the oath of fidelity to the Constitution, administered on July 10 : "*Je jure d'être fidèle à la Nation, à la Loi, et au Roi, et de maintenir de tout mon pouvoir la Constitution décrétée par l'Assemblée Nationale et sanctionnée par le Roi.*" This was generally accepted by the bishops and priests of France as a purely civic act, the decree of the "*Constitution Civile du Clergé*" not having yet come into operation. The National Assembly insisted upon taking two of the principal rooms of St. Sulpice for the sittings of the Luxem-

Pope demanded the resignation of the ancient French Episcopate. With this action of the Holy See M. Emery was thoroughly in accord, whilst recognizing its extreme and exceptional character, and he did his utmost to induce submission. He with great difficulty avoided the acceptance of three bishoprics which the Emperor tried successively to force upon him. On the contrary, the old man's object was, if possible, to resign his superiorship of St. Sulpice. But his subjects, with whom he had still kept up relations during the tempest of the Revolution, were determined that he should not leave the helm now that they were entering upon less stormy but hardly less dangerous waters. By degrees he established the old seminary discipline in more convenient quarters. He managed, to his great satisfaction, to buy back a number of the books of the old library which had been dispersed, and the relics returned into his hands from their temporary sojourn in the house of Voltaire. But the old buildings adjacent to the Church of St. Sulpice he could not obtain, though once he got the Emperor's word for it, as they were condemned to fall in the interests of street improvement. The "old boys" of St. Sulpice rallied round him, and many of the ancient affectionate relations were re-established. He managed to buy back the old country house at Issy; and even when the congregation was on the verge of extinction—nay, had been formally extinguished by the Emperor—we find him at the end of his life quietly recovering it with an eye to the possible future.

M. Emery's relations with Napoleon were most noteworthy. The two men had this in common: they each possessed that particular kind of presence of mind which allows the judgment to act with increased precision and calmness as dangers thicken. Scarcely any one in the days of Napoleon's greatness—he had been declared Emperor in 1804—ever ventured to hint disagreement with anything he might advance, but M. Emery had no such scruples. On one occasion in 1805, in a private conversation, his comment upon a remark of the Emperor's was, "Sire, you are wrong!" "How? I wrong!" exclaimed Napoleon, but little used to be addressed in such language. "Sire," rejoined M. Emery, "you ask me for the truth, and it does not beseem either my age or my character to play the courtier. I am obliged therefore to tell your Majesty that you are wrong on this point, and in so doing I do not believe that I am failing in the respect that I owe you. Of old in the Sorbonne we used the same language, and even added, 'that is absurd,' and no one took offence, even if he were of royal blood, when maintaining the proposition that gave rise to it." Napoleon took it all very graciously, and dubbed M. Emery "his theologian." He repeatedly testified his respect and affection for the old Sulpician. "He is the only man

who can make me afraid," he said to Madame de Villette, M. Emery's relative. On one occasion he spoke of him as follows to the Count Molé: "He is the first instance I have met with of a man gifted with a real power over men, of whom I never demand an account of the use he will make of it. So far from it that I should like, if it were possible, to entrust to him the whole of our youth. I should die then with more confidence in the future." On one occasion, sooner than interrupt his talk with Emery, he let three kings kick their heels in his ante-chamber for a good half-hour, till the conversation—hardly calculated to be a very agreeable one, for M. Emery was expostulating with him on his treatment of the Pope—was concluded. In the course of this conversation the Emperor complained that an old theologian like M. Emery could not find him a way out of his difficulties with the Pope, boasting that had he leisure for a six months' course he could have found a way for himself. M. Emery answered, "Sire, you are indeed happy to be in a condition to master your theology in six months. For myself it is now more than fifty years that I have studied and even taught it, and I have not mastered it yet." M. Emery was sometimes the recipient of the curious favour which Napoleon would bestow, when very much pleased, upon those he liked, of being taken by the ear. The Prince Primate Archbishop of Ratisbon was much upset by being thus treated, and complained of it to M. Emery, who answered, laughing, "Monseigneur, I received the same favour as your Highness but dared not boast of it, but now I share it with so great a personage I shall tell every one."

In all their personal intercourse the Emperor never failed to treat M. Emery with consideration and even with affection. Nevertheless, he was haunted with suspicions, carefully fostered by Fouché, of the possible danger of M. Emery's influence, and in consequence the suppression of St. Sulpice was continually threatened, and, just before M. Emery's death, actually accomplished. Three times Napoleon tried hard to make him a bishop, probably as a mild form of suppression, and manifested for some time considerable displeasure at his refusal. But in 1808 he received and reluctantly accepted, as a distinct favour from the Emperor, the responsible office of Life-Councillor of the University. In 1809 he had to sit as one of a Commission, consisting besides of Cardinals Maury and Fesch, an archbishop, and four bishops, and the General of the Barnabites, to deliberate upon the relations between the Empire and the Holy See. M. Emery, as one of the secretaries testifies, sturdily upheld single-handed the rights of the Papacy, and refused to append his name to the report, which was signed by all the rest except the Barnabite, who had retired at an early stage of the proceedings

on the plea of ill-health. The report was to the effect that under the circumstances the Pope might be ignored, the new bishops instituted in spite of him, and his excommunication disregarded.

At the beginning of 1810 the question of the validity of Napoleon's marriage with Josephine was raised, with the view of enabling him to contract a second marriage with Marie Louise of Austria. As the line taken by M. Emery in the matter has been severely and very plausibly criticized, it will be well briefly to detail the circumstances bearing on the matter. Napoleon's marriage with the widow Beauharnais in 1796 had been contracted before the civil authority at a time when there was no difficulty in having recourse to the parish priest of the contracting parties. The marriage therefore, according to the law of the Church, was null. When the coronation of the Emperor and Empress was about to take place in 1804 a revalidation of the marriage was demanded both by the Pope and by Josephine. To this Napoleon gave his consent, but subsequently insisted that the ceremony should take place with the utmost secrecy in the Chapel of the Tuileries at midnight, without the presence either of the parish priest or any other witnesses: that is to say, without conditions which the Council of Trent demanded on pain of nullity. With these conditions it was of course open to the Pope to dispense. Cardinal Fesch, the Emperor's uncle, undertook the business. In his final interview with the Pope he did not indeed specify any particular matters for which he required dispensation, but merely suggested that in his position he might probably require very extended powers. The Pope's answer was "I give you all my powers." When it came to be an object with the Emperor to lay stress upon the absence of conditions necessary for the validity of the marriage, Cardinal Fesch protested that he had never asked for powers exceeding the ordinary faculties granted to prelates in his circumstances, and consequently had never asked or received powers to permit him to dispense with the conditions in question, thus acknowledging himself as an accomplice in a gross act of deception practised by the Emperor both on the Empress and the Pope. When Pius VII. was told of Fesch's contention he is said to have exclaimed, raising his hands to Heaven, "How can he say this when he knows that I gave him all my powers?" It is pretty clear that Fesch honestly asked and really obtained and executed the dispensation, and afterwards, in his subservience to his nephew, told a lie about it. The matter was not referred to the Pope in 1810, who was in confinement at Savona, but was submitted to a tribunal created for the purpose, with the sanction of the Commission above mentioned. The tribunal was threefold, representing the Diocese the Province, and the Primacy, with a graduated appeal from

the lowest *officialité*, as it was called, to the highest. On January 12 the marriage was declared null, on the ground of the absence of witnesses, for which no dispensation had been obtained. Neither the name of M. Emery, nor indeed that of Cardinal Fesch, appears attached to the sanction given by the Commission; but when pressed, as he always was on such occasions, for his opinion, he said that he was disposed to recognize: 1, The competence of the tribunal, seeing that it was custom only and not canon law which reserved questions concerning the marriage of princes to the Holy See, and that under existing circumstances such recurrence was practically impossible: 2, The soundness of the decision, grounded as it was upon Cardinal Fesch's testimony. In consequence he saw no reason for declining to participate in the ceremonial of the second marriage. It is difficult to deny the nullity of the revalidation on a plea not insisted on, but indicated as in reserve, viz., the absence of consent on the Emperor's part. Nothing is more clear than his determination not to bind himself, and that the absence of witnesses was insisted on for this very purpose. Josephine never appealed to the Pope, as Alison pretends. Although intensely distressed at the Emperor's action, which she had long foreseen, as Bourrienne tells us, she formally acquiesced in it. The correctness of M. Emery's view of the matter may, I conceive, be disputed; it was at least sincere and consistent.

In the June of this year the Congregation of St. Sulpice and its connection with the Seminary of Paris was formally suspended, and M. Emery was prohibited from residence within the Seminary walls. The Emperor was jealous of the Sulpicians, and especially their Superior, as interfering with his project of ecclesiastical centralization; but he still retained his personal regard for the man. At the crowded meeting of deputations to congratulate the Emperor on the New Year (1811), Napoleon, who was passing in silence down the long lines, suddenly stopped in front of M. Emery, who was in his place amongst the Councillors of the University, and asked him if he was yet eighty. "Very nearly, Sire," was the answer, "for I am seventy-nine." "Well," said the Emperor, with a gracious smile, "I wish you ten years more." Speaking of this afterwards, M. Emery remarked that he feared such an accumulation of good wishes might work him evil. Since his dismissal from the Seminary he had been allowed to reside at the country house of Issy, and, as his connection with the University gave him frequent business in Paris, he hired a lodging, a single room, in the neighbourhood of the Seminary. When Sœur Rosalie, the famous Sister of Charity, and his great friend, Mademoiselle Jouen, visited him there they found him in good spirits. He reproached them for their want of faith. "We have powerful

enemies," he concluded, "mais ils passeront, et nous resterons après eux." But when others, who perhaps did not so much need encouragement, would ask him how it was with him, he would look at them fixedly and reply: "Mori lucrum." For more than twenty years he had borne a burden of responsibility, unofficial indeed, and hardly recognized, but none the less real, such as perhaps had devolved upon no other Churchman in Christendom, the Pope alone excepted. And yet another struggle was in store for him before he might be suffered to depart in peace. Another Commission was appointed by the Emperor, consisting of Cardinals Fesch, Maury—who had been lately elevated to the Archbishopric of Paris—and Caselli, two archbishops, three bishops, and M. Emery. Their object was pretty nearly identical with that of the previous Commission of 1809—viz., to see how far the Pope might be coerced into submission to the Emperor; and how far, this failing, matters ecclesiastical might be carried on without him. The questions proposed by the *Ministre des Cultes* were all directed to this end. The report of the Commission, which all signed but Emery, was characterized by a slavish acquiescence in the Emperor's policy, without one word on behalf of the prisoner of Savona. They suggested that the Pope's reluctance to institute blindly the Imperial nominees, then the principal matter in dispute, might be met, either by an insertion in the Concordat of a promise on the Pope's part to institute within a fixed period, or by providing that such institution should be supplied by a National Council. The Emperor wishing to give *éclat* to these suggestions, which he was inclined to regard very favourably, determined upon an extraordinary meeting of the Commission, to be held at the Tuileries in his presence on March 17. By special command of the Emperor, M. Emery was required to attend. After keeping the Commission waiting some two hours the Emperor appeared, surrounded by his principal officers of State, Talleyrand amongst the number. He opened the proceedings by a long and bitter harangue against the Pope, full of false charges and baseless pretensions. Not one word in defence or expostulation did either cardinal or bishop venture to utter. Cardinal Maury, M. Emery's fierce Ultramontane critic of other days, was tame enough by this in his gilded jesses. Suddenly the Emperor turned upon M. Emery with a "What do you think of all this?" "Sire," answered the old man, "I cannot be of any other opinion than that contained in the Catechism taught by your order in all the churches of the Empire. We read in several places of this Catechism that the Pope is the visible head of the Church, to whom all the faithful owe obedience as to the successor of St. Peter, according to the institution of Jesus Christ himself. Now a body cannot dispense with its head, with one to whom of

right Divine it owes obedience." Then, seeing that Napoleon was listening attentively, he went on to quote to the same effect from the preamble of the Gallican "Declaration." The Emperor had no answer to make, but was heard to ejaculate in a low voice the word "Catéchisme." He at once passed on to speak of the temporal power, which, as Charlemagne had given, he, the successor of Charlemagne, might resume. M. Emery, who had his Bossuet by heart, quoted a passage from the "Defence," in which the necessity of the Pope's temporal power was enlarged upon in order to secure his independence amongst so many conflicting political interests. The Emperor, after expressing the greatest veneration for Bossuet, insisted that, though this was doubtless true enough at the time he wrote, it did not apply to the present state of affairs: "Maintenant que l'Europe ne connaît d'autre maître que moi." M. Emery's answer must have sounded sufficiently audacious: "Votre Majesté connaît aussi bien que moi l'histoire des révolutions; ce qui existe maintenant peut ne pas toujours exister." On being asked by the Emperor if he thought the Pope would ever make the required concession, he said that he thought the Pope would never do what would be equivalent to renouncing his right of institution. Napoleon turned sharply on the prelates of the Commission with the words: "Vous voulez me faire faire un *pas de clerc*, en m'engageant à demander au Pape une chose qu'il ne doit pas m'accorder," and then, leaving his seat and bowing graciously to M. Emery, but without the least notice of any one else, prepared to leave the apartment. Some of the bishops, who hardly seem to have taken in the situation, began to beg the Emperor, just as he was leaving, to excuse M. Emery on account of his great age. "You are mistaken, gentlemen," was the answer, "I am not at all angry with M. Emery; he has spoken like a man who knows his business; it is thus I like to be spoken to." A few days afterwards he severely snubbed Cardinal Fesh with "Taisez-vous, vous êtes un ignorant. Où avez-vous appris la théologie? C'est avec M. Emery, qui le sait, que je dois m'entretenir."

M. Emery, throughout the vicissitudes of a long life, had hardly known what illness was. He had a rooted objection to doctors, and regarded it as the last calamity to fall into their hands. But now his health failed him. The determination of the Emperor to push his quarrel with the Pope to extremities, and to carry out the idea of a National Council, overwhelmed him with a sadness which no efforts could subdue. Not that he sat down under it, for during the last months of his life he was full of activity. He made arrangements with the seminaries of Montreal and Baltimore for the reception of the French Sulpicians, should their work in France be absolutely precluded; and

Whilst in this prison M. Emery slept in a chamber immediately below that occupied by the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and he had the privilege of administering consolation to that matchless sorrow. One midnight, with the connivance of one of the officials, after informing the Queen of what was to take place, he mounted the staircase to her room door, where, after a few moments' conversation, he was able to give her absolution. He was visited from time to time by a priest, who managed to exchange a pyx full of hosts for the one which he had emptied, so that he was seldom without the means of communicating himself and others who required it.

But how was it that, when so many perished, M. Emery continued to be spared—that his course to the guillotine was arrested until the fashion languished and gradually changed? Not from any goodwill on the part of Robespierre or Fouquier Tainville we are assured, although, as I have noticed, the former recognized a certain usefulness in him in regard to keeping others quiet: he was to die anyhow, sooner or later. Twice at least his name appeared in the programme of the day's victims. Once the advocate Barbier, an influential and devoted friend of Emery's, who was employed to revise the list, obtained its erasure at the price of a hundred louis. Another time, on finding Emery's name head the list, he managed to exceptionalize it, *emphasis gratia*, as that of a "chef de partie" who must be exceptionally dealt with, and so bracketed it off. I think Providence meant him to live for the sake of the many to whom he made death easy. I think, moreover, that it is hard to kill, except by accident, a man who never either funks or sulks, even in a Reign of Terror. On one occasion M. Emery was actually under orders to mount the next tumbril, but, so it was, when the tumbril came his name was not called. Thus the eventful months slipped by: July 27, 1794, saw the fall of Robespierre, and on the 25th of the next October M. Emery was let out of prison. Men were beginning to look round and calculate damages, and see what yet remained to them, as the great swell of the inundation gradually receded. They were more or less sick of blood, and would fain find some *modus vivendi* one with the other, and the prisons gradually disgorged the remaining victims.

On February 21, 1795, the Convention decreed "La liberté des cultes," which allowed Catholic priests to open a certain number of oratories both in Paris and in the provinces. On May 30 from all such officiating priests was exacted an oath of "submission to the laws of the Republic." M. Emery was not obliged to take it, as he was exercising no public function; but, as the universal referee on all such matters, he gave it as his unqualified opinion that such an oath was perfectly lawful. The Government had

been careful to point out that the "civil constitution of the clergy" no longer formed a portion of these laws. The clergy of Paris for the most part, and a large number of the provincial clergy, took the oath, and their conduct subsequently received the approbation of Pius VI., but many refused. On the 29th of September the Government, irritated by the opposition of a considerable number of the clergy, imposed another oath running as follows: "Je reconnais que l'universalité des Français est le Souverain; et je promets soumission et obéissance aux lois de la République." The question of the lawfulness of the new oath gave rise to the most violent disputes, and almost created a schism. The Archiepiscopal Council, which represented the exiled Archbishop of Paris, contented itself with insisting that each party should tolerate the other until the Holy See should pronounce. M. Emery, who was a member of the Council, was absent on a visit to his native place in Picardy, but he was quite in accord with the Council's judgment. He underwent something like a persecution at the hands of those who were determined to force an opinion from him one way or the other. He confined himself as far as possible to drawing out the principles and authorities upon which the question turned, and the alternative senses of the decree, thus supplying to each one the material for forming his own opinion. Yet it is sufficiently clear that he thought the oath might be taken. Writing very frankly on the subject to a friend at a distance, he shows plainly that, though disbelieving in the sovereignty of the people as an essential inalienable right, and therefore recognizing that it would be unlawful for him to take the oath in this sense, he thought the phrase in the decree admitted of being interpreted as a mere assertion of the *de facto* sovereignty of the French people, and a profession of submitting thereto. He never was called upon practically to decide the question for himself. In October 1795 the Government of the Directory succeeded to that of the Convention, and in September 1797 they proposed to the clergy yet another oath, which had already been exacted from the two Councils of State and all public functionaries: "Le serment de haine à la royauté et à l'anarchie, d'attachement et de fidélité à la République et à la Constitution de l'An III." This was accompanied by a declaration which explained that the oath did not imply any hatred of kings as such, or any position as to the best form of government in the abstract, but was simply an expression of determined hostility to the violent efforts of kings on the one hand and anarchists on the other to upset the established government. Here, again, opinions were divided, but the mass of the clergy were decidedly against its lawfulness. M. Emery's efforts were all directed to the preservation of peace, and

to prevent the difference of opinion issuing in a schism. For his part, he thought that the oath, in the light of the declaration, might be taken. It was reported that Pius VI. had by word of mouth condemned the oath, but irrespective of the declaration, which apparently had not been brought under his notice. M. Emery abstained from giving any direct advice upon the matter, but his views were very generally known. His conduct in regard to these various tests of loyalty which were successively proposed by the Revolutionary Government was at least consistent. It was based upon the lawfulness and supreme expedience in the interests of religion of accepting all the pronouncements of *de facto* authority which were not in distinct opposition to the principles of morality or religion, in default of any decision to the contrary of the Head of the Church. In spite of the violent opposition he had to encounter from so many of his brethren, I venture to think that his conduct on the whole has been typical of the conduct of the Church in like contingencies. M. Emery had, perhaps, a larger share than any other ecclesiastic of his day in resetting the limbs of ecclesiastical discipline in the Church of France during the reflux of the Revolution which ended in the supremacy of Napoleon. His advice was sought by all parties. He was mainly instrumental in bringing back numbers of the Constitutional clergy to the obedience of the Church, and in providing homes and, where this was possible, fresh establishments for the religious whom the Revolution had scattered. To this period belongs his book entitled "*Le Christianisme de Bacon*," in which he continued his favourite scheme of appealing to every phase of sane philosophy against the *philosophes* of his day. It appeared in 1799, and subsequently provoked the strictures of that brilliant irreconcilable, De Maistre, who pretended that Emery had been led astray by a wandering fire which he had mistaken for a ray of the sun. In 1799 Napoleon, as First Consul, succeeded to the Directory, and in 1800 M. Emery found himself in a position to reconstitute the establishment of St. Sulpice in a small house in the Rue St. Jacques, and soon after obtained possession of the Church of St. Sulpice. Amongst the new students we meet with the names of De Quelen and Affres, who held successively the Archbishopric of Paris.

We now enter upon the third and last period of M. Emery's career, that which brought him in contact with Napoleon. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the effect produced upon Churchmen, who had seen all their cherished institutions overwhelmed in the vortex of the Revolution, although it had of late sullenly begun to give up its dead, by the first conciliatory overtures of Napoleon. From amid the dragon folds of the Revolution there appeared for the first time the figure of a man dominant over the dragon; a

man who might be appealed to and treated with, who had evidently conservative instincts, who would fain do something besides destroy. His gracious manifesto to the clergy of Milan, containing something very much like a profession of Catholic Christianity, which was issued a few days before the battle of Marengo, was hailed with enthusiasm by the French clergy as an earnest of better things. At the interview of the Vicar-Generals with Napoleon on his return to the capital, M. Emery produced a copy of the manifesto, and asked whether it might be reprinted. Napoleon's only remark was "Prenez garde au Ministre de la Police." Obstacles were thrown in the way of reconciliation by the violent opposition excited principally by the émigrés against a very inoffensive form of the oath of submission to the Constitution. Cardinal Maury circulated the report that the oath had been condemned by the new Pope, Pius VII. This cardinal, whom we shall meet again tame enough upon the Imperial wrist, is thus sharply etched by one of M. Emery's correspondents: "Le Cardinal Maury est connu depuis longtemps comme donnant ses pensées pour celles des autres, et ses décisions pour celles de Rome. Un fait certain, c'est qu'il ne sait et ne saura rien."

In the excitement of newly kindled hope it was difficult even for the most prudent to walk with sufficient circumspection. M. Emery got himself into trouble by distributing a pamphlet on behalf of a friend who had been imprisoned amongst the lunatics of Bicêtre for preaching against the excesses of the Revolution. His papers were seized and he was thrown into prison. This time it was a small room at the Prefecture of Police, meant to hold twelve prisoners, but in which M. Emery made the sixtieth, and this in the stifling heat of July. Men and women, respectable and the reverse of respectable, but all of the poorest class, were crammed in together. But nothing in the form of prison life came amiss to M. Emery. He established a common table at his own expense, and turned over the bed his friends had brought him for the use of the women. He devoted a good deal of his time to the instruction of a small child he found amongst the prisoners. After a week all the prisoners, except six and M. Emery, were drafted off into other quarters at the solicitation of M. Emery's friends, especially of Mademoiselle Jouen, his zealous disciple and benefactress, who were anxious for his health, to the great distress of the prisoners and to the old man's manifest annoyance. Mademoiselle Jouen, who visited him daily, says that this was the only occasion on which he ever really scolded her. After a detention of eighteen days he obtained his freedom, as nothing serious could be made out against him. On the morrow (July 16, 1801) the Concordat was signed between the Pope and the Emperor by Cardinal Consalvi, and in the ensuing month the

Pope demanded the resignation of the ancient French Episcopate. With this action of the Holy See M. Emery was thoroughly in accord, whilst recognizing its extreme and exceptional character, and he did his utmost to induce submission. He with great difficulty avoided the acceptance of three bishoprics which the Emperor tried successively to force upon him. On the contrary, the old man's object was, if possible, to resign his superiorship of St. Sulpice. But his subjects, with whom he had still kept up relations during the tempest of the Revolution, were determined that he should not leave the helm now that they were entering upon less stormy but hardly less dangerous waters. By degrees he established the old seminary discipline in more convenient quarters. He managed, to his great satisfaction, to buy back a number of the books of the old library which had been dispersed, and the relics returned into his hands from their temporary sojourn in the house of Voltaire. But the old buildings adjacent to the Church of St. Sulpice he could not obtain, though once he got the Emperor's word for it, as they were condemned to fall in the interests of street improvement. The "old boys" of St. Sulpice rallied round him, and many of the ancient affectionate relations were re-established. He managed to buy back the old country house at Issy; and even when the congregation was on the verge of extinction—nay, had been formally extinguished by the Emperor—we find him at the end of his life quietly recovering it with an eye to the possible future.

M. Emery's relations with Napoleon were most noteworthy. The two men had this in common: they each possessed that particular kind of presence of mind which allows the judgment to act with increased precision and calmness as dangers thicken. Scarcely any one in the days of Napoleon's greatness—he had been declared Emperor in 1804—ever ventured to hint disagreement with anything he might advance, but M. Emery had no such scruples. On one occasion in 1805, in a private conversation, his comment upon a remark of the Emperor's was, "Sire, you are wrong!" "How? I wrong!" exclaimed Napoleon, but little used to be addressed in such language. "Sire," rejoined M. Emery, "you ask me for the truth, and it does not beseem either my age or my character to play the courtier. I am obliged therefore to tell your Majesty that you are wrong on this point, and in so doing I do not believe that I am failing in the respect that I owe you. Of old in the Sorbonne we used the same language, and even added, 'that is absurd,' and no one took offence, even if he were of royal blood, when maintaining the proposition that gave rise to it." Napoleon took it all very graciously, and dubbed M. Emery "his theologian." He repeatedly testified his respect and affection for the old Sulpician. "He is the only man

who can make me afraid," he said to Madame de Villette, M. Emery's relative. On one occasion he spoke of him as follows to the Count Molé: "He is the first instance I have met with of a man gifted with a real power over men, of whom I never demand an account of the use he will make of it. So far from it that I should like, if it were possible, to entrust to him the whole of our youth. I should die then with more confidence in the future." On one occasion, sooner than interrupt his talk with Emery, he let three kings kick their heels in his ante-chamber for a good half-hour, till the conversation—hardly calculated to be a very agreeable one, for M. Emery was expostulating with him on his treatment of the Pope—was concluded. In the course of this conversation the Emperor complained that an old theologian like M. Emery could not find him a way out of his difficulties with the Pope, boasting that had he leisure for a six months' course he could have found a way for himself. M. Emery answered, "Sire, you are indeed happy to be in a condition to master your theology in six months. For myself it is now more than fifty years that I have studied and even taught it, and I have not mastered it yet." M. Emery was sometimes the recipient of the curious favour which Napoleon would bestow, when very much pleased, upon those he liked, of being taken by the ear. The Prince Primate Archbishop of Ratisbon was much upset by being thus treated, and complained of it to M. Emery, who answered, laughing, "Monseigneur, I received the same favour as your Highness but dared not boast of it, but now I share it with so great a personage I shall tell every one."

In all their personal intercourse the Emperor never failed to treat M. Emery with consideration and even with affection. Nevertheless, he was haunted with suspicions, carefully fostered by Fouché, of the possible danger of M. Emery's influence, and in consequence the suppression of St. Sulpice was continually threatened, and, just before M. Emery's death, actually accomplished. Three times Napoleon tried hard to make him a bishop, probably as a mild form of suppression, and manifested for some time considerable displeasure at his refusal. But in 1808 he received and reluctantly accepted, as a distinct favour from the Emperor, the responsible office of Life-Councillor of the University. In 1809 he had to sit as one of a Commission, consisting besides of Cardinals Maury and Fesch, an archbishop, and four bishops, and the General of the Barnabites, to deliberate upon the relations between the Empire and the Holy See. M. Emery, as one of the secretaries testifies, sturdily upheld single-handed the rights of the Papacy, and refused to append his name to the report, which was signed by all the rest except the Barnabite, who had retired at an early stage of the proceedings

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the lowest *officialité*, as it was called, to the highest. On January 12 the marriage was declared null, on the ground of the absence of witnesses, for which no dispensation had been obtained. Neither the name of M. Emery, nor indeed that of Cardinal Fesch, appears attached to the sanction given by the Commission; but when pressed, as he always was on such occasions, for his opinion, he said that he was disposed to recognize: 1, The competence of the tribunal, seeing that it was custom only and not canon law which reserved questions concerning the marriage of princes to the Holy See, and that under existing circumstances such recurrence was practically impossible: 2, The soundness of the decision, grounded as it was upon Cardinal Fesch's testimony. In consequence he saw no reason for declining to participate in the ceremonial of the second marriage. It is difficult to deny the nullity of the revalidation on a plea not insisted on, but indicated as in reserve, viz., the absence of consent on the Emperor's part. Nothing is more clear than his determination not to bind himself, and that the absence of witnesses was insisted on for this very purpose. Josephine never appealed to the Pope, as Alison pretends. Although intensely distressed at the Emperor's action, which she had long foreseen, as Bourrienne tells us, she formally acquiesced in it. The correctness of M. Emery's view of the matter may, I conceive, be disputed; it was at least sincere and consistent.

In the June of this year the Congregation of St. Sulpice and its connection with the Seminary of Paris was formally suspended, and M. Emery was prohibited from residence within the Seminary walls. The Emperor was jealous of the Sulpicians, and especially their Superior, as interfering with his project of ecclesiastical centralization; but he still retained his personal regard for the man. At the crowded meeting of deputations to congratulate the Emperor on the New Year (1811), Napoleon, who was passing in silence down the long lines, suddenly stopped in front of M. Emery, who was in his place amongst the Councillors of the University, and asked him if he was yet eighty. "Very nearly, Sire," was the answer, "for I am seventy-nine." "Well," said the Emperor, with a gracious smile, "I wish you ten years more." Speaking of this afterwards, M. Emery remarked that he feared such an accumulation of good wishes might work him evil. Since his dismissal from the Seminary he had been allowed to reside at the country house of Issy, and, as his connection with the University gave him frequent business in Paris, he hired a lodging, a single room, in the neighbourhood of the Seminary. When Sœur Rosalie, the famous Sister of Charity, and his great friend, Mademoiselle Jouen, visited him there they found him in good spirits. He reproached them for their want of faith. "We have powerful

enemies," he concluded, "mais ils passeront, et nous resterons après eux." But when others, who perhaps did not so much need encouragement, would ask him how it was with him, he would look at them fixedly and reply: "Mori lucrum." For more than twenty years he had borne a burden of responsibility, unofficial indeed, and hardly recognized, but none the less real, such as perhaps had devolved upon no other Churchman in Christendom, the Pope alone excepted. And yet another struggle was in store for him before he might be suffered to depart in peace. Another Commission was appointed by the Emperor, consisting of Cardinals Fesch, Maury—who had been lately elevated to the Archbishopric of Paris—and Caselli, two archbishops, three bishops, and M. Emery. Their object was pretty nearly identical with that of the previous Commission of 1809—viz., to see how far the Pope might be coerced into submission to the Emperor; and how far, this failing, matters ecclesiastical might be carried on without him. The questions proposed by the *Ministre des Cultes* were all directed to this end. The report of the Commission, which all signed but Emery, was characterized by a slavish acquiescence in the Emperor's policy, without one word on behalf of the prisoner of Savona. They suggested that the Pope's reluctance to institute blindly the Imperial nominees, then the principal matter in dispute, might be met, either by an insertion in the Concordat of a promise on the Pope's part to institute within a fixed period, or by providing that such institution should be supplied by a National Council. The Emperor wishing to give *éclat* to these suggestions, which he was inclined to regard very favourably, determined upon an extraordinary meeting of the Commission, to be held at the Tuileries in his presence on March 17. By special command of the Emperor, M. Emery was required to attend. After keeping the Commission waiting some two hours the Emperor appeared, surrounded by his principal officers of State, Talleyrand amongst the number. He opened the proceedings by a long and bitter harangue against the Pope, full of false charges and baseless pretensions. Not one word in defence or expostulation did either cardinal or bishop venture to utter. Cardinal Maury, M. Emery's fierce Ultramontane critic of other days, was tame enough by this in his gilded jesses. Suddenly the Emperor turned upon M. Emery with a "What do you think of all this?" "Sire," answered the old man, "I cannot be of any other opinion than that contained in the Catechism taught by your order in all the churches of the Empire. We read in several places of this Catechism that the Pope is the visible head of the Church, to whom all the faithful owe obedience as to the successor of St. Peter, according to the institution of Jesus Christ himself. Now a body cannot dispense with its head, with one to whom of

right Divine it owes obedience." Then, seeing that Napoleon was listening attentively, he went on to quote to the same effect from the preamble of the Gallican "Declaration." The Emperor had no answer to make, but was heard to ejaculate in a low voice the word "Catéchisme." He at once passed on to speak of the temporal power, which, as Charlemagne had given, he, the successor of Charlemagne, might resume. M. Emery, who had his Bossuet by heart, quoted a passage from the "Defence," in which the necessity of the Pope's temporal power was enlarged upon in order to secure his independence amongst so many conflicting political interests. The Emperor, after expressing the greatest veneration for Bossuet, insisted that, though this was doubtless true enough at the time he wrote, it did not apply to the present state of affairs: "Maintenant que l'Europe ne connaît d'autre maître que moi." M. Emery's answer must have sounded sufficiently audacious: "Votre Majesté connaît aussi bien que moi l'histoire des révolutions; ce qui existe maintenant peut ne pas toujours exister." On being asked by the Emperor if he thought the Pope would ever make the required concession, he said that he thought the Pope would never do what would be equivalent to renouncing his right of institution. Napoleon turned sharply on the prelates of the Commission with the words: "Vous voulez me faire faire un *pas de clerc*, en m'engageant à demander au Pape une chose qu'il ne doit pas m'accorder," and then, leaving his seat and bowing graciously to M. Emery, but without the least notice of any one else, prepared to leave the apartment. Some of the bishops, who hardly seem to have taken in the situation, began to beg the Emperor, just as he was leaving, to excuse M. Emery on account of his great age. "You are mistaken, gentlemen," was the answer, "I am not at all angry with M. Emery; he has spoken like a man who knows his business; it is thus I like to be spoken to." A few days afterwards he severely snubbed Cardinal Fesh with "Taisez-vous, vous êtes un ignorant. Où avez-vous appris la théologie? C'est avec M. Emery, qui le sait, que je dois m'entretenir."

M. Emery, throughout the vicissitudes of a long life, had hardly known what illness was. He had a rooted objection to doctors, and regarded it as the last calamity to fall into their hands. But now his health failed him. The determination of the Emperor to push his quarrel with the Pope to extremities, and to carry out the idea of a National Council, overwhelmed him with a sadness which no efforts could subdue. Not that he sat down under it, for during the last months of his life he was full of activity. He made arrangements with the seminaries of Montreal and Baltimore for the reception of the French Sulpicians, should their work in France be absolutely precluded; and

at the same time provided for their possible resumption of their old position by repurchasing the property round Issy, which had been alienated during the Revolution. He also brought out additions to his work on Leibnitz, and had nearly passed through the press his "*Esprit de Descartes*," when his summons came.

He had been long making particular preparations for death. In a letter written at this period he says: "*Si je vous revoyais, notre entretien roulerait principalement sur les morts. Je m'en occupe aujourd'hui plus que jamais, parce que je me prépare à les rejoindre. J'ai plus de connaissances et d'amis dans l'autre monde que je n'en laisserai sur la terre. Dans la vue d'être mieux reçu, je m'en souviens sans cesse devant Dieu dans mes prières.*" And Death was the theme of his last retreat during the Passiontide of 1811. Referring to the evils with which the Church was threatened, he would often repeat, "*It is a good time to die.*" He went to the Seminary at Paris for the Easter holidays. On the Monday in Low Week it was noticed that he looked really ill, and he confessed that for three months he had not slept at all, that "*that dreadful council was killing him.*" On the next morning he underwent some kind of seizure, apparently of a paralytic character, and got himself taken back to Issy. On the morrow he insisted upon saying his Mass, although he had to be supported on either side by assistants during the whole of it. He was brought back that day to Paris in obedience to the doctors. The next morning he consented to assist at Mass without trying to say it. But the morning after he rose early and dragged himself into the chapel to celebrate Mass, saying to those who withstood him, "*It is at the altar that a priest should die.*" But it might not be, and he was taken back to his bed. He was often more or less delirious, but in the intervals very much himself. Being asked by one of the doctors how he felt, he answered with a touch of his old spirit, "*Comme un homme qui est malheureusement tombé entre les mains des médecins.*" He received the last rites of the Church, and the seminarists and professors who were kneeling round his bed besought him to give them his last blessing. The old man blessed them with great affection and solemnity, and then fell into a state of unconsciousness, which lasted till his death on the afternoon of the second Sunday after Easter, 1811. Napoleon expressed the greatest concern on hearing of his death. He notified his intention of giving him a public funeral in the Panthéon, and only relinquished the idea in deference to the wishes of the deceased, which were communicated to him. The funeral was at Issy.

M. Emery was a man of antique piety, who loved the Madonna and relics and pilgrimages with the simple fervour of a Breton peasant; but he was also a man of his time, fond of scientific

research, an accomplished conversationalist when conversation was recognized as one of the fine arts, and most large-minded in his appreciation of whatever "made for righteousness:" witness the ability and perseverance with which, up to the last days of his life, he marshalled the testimonies of non-Catholic philosophers on behalf of religion. A most tender-hearted director, he yet knew how to introduce a wholesome vein of irony into his treatment of extravagance, as when he routed a young lady's resolution to drown herself with the suggestion that the season was too cold, and that in her place he should certainly wait till June. Brought up to take more or less for granted the Gallican Articles, and to regard Bossuet and Fleury as the highest models of Churchmanship, he instinctively developed the Catholic side of their teaching, and used it as a powerful weapon in the interests of the Holy See, thus inaugurating that fresh strain of loyalty to Rome which has been the characteristic of the French clergy of our day. He rejoiced to be able to show by the newly discovered "Opuscles" of Fleury, which he edited and presented to the Emperor, that the great historian was by no means the strong Gallican he had been reputed. He was a man who shrank from anything of the nature of praise, and often invoked the tradition of St. Sulpice to quash complimentary notices of himself in the writings of his friends.

One great fear he had besides that of offending God, and that was a fear lest dotage should supervene upon the exercise of his responsible office of Superior, and he gave a solemn injunction to one of the ablest and most trusted of his subjects to mark the first symptoms of an old man's folly, and give him timely warning that he might at once withdraw from his office. But perhaps the leading characteristic of his life is best represented in the words he spoke to Sœur Rosalie in the early days of her religious life. "Mon enfant, il faut qu'un prêtre et une Sœur de la Charité soient comme une borne qui est au coin d'une rue, et sur laquelle tous ceux qui passent puissent se reposer et déposer les fardeaux dont ils sont chargés."

H. I. D. RYDER.

ART II.—THE NATIVE PRINCES OF INDIA.

1. *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds relating to India and Neighbouring Countries.* Compiled by C. U. AITCHISON, B.C.S. Calcutta: Foreign Office Press. 1876.
2. *The Native States of India.* By Col. G. B. MALLESON. London: Longmans. 1875.
3. *India and its Native Princes.* By LOUIS ROUSSELET. London: Chapman & Hall. 1876.
4. *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal.* By Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., M.P. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1886.
5. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India.* W. W. HUNTER. Second Edition. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

THE splendid fabric of English dominion in the East is reared on the wreck of three empires. The Rajput, the Mogul, and the Mahratta have each contributed an integral portion of its structure, and these historic fragments, like sculptured stones built into later masonry, still tell the tale of their past, even while firmly consolidated in their new position. It is the triumph of the British Raj to have thus assimilated, without destroying, the heterogeneous elements it found, and to have reconciled to its rule all the warring forces of the chaos that preceded it. Names written in blood in the history of India are now borne by the most loyal vassals of the Crown, and the Sikh lion and the Mahratta tiger lie down, in the amity of a common allegiance, with the Bengali lamb and the Pathan wolf. For twenty years the peace of the Empire, unbroken by a single shot fired in anger, has rested like a spell on the length and breadth of its great dominion, and tribal and dynastic jealousies that formerly carried fire and sword from the Indus to the Nerbudda, and from the Eastern to the Western Ghats, now find a harmless outlet in ceremonial rivalries—in disputes as to the number of guns in a salute or the place of honour in a procession.

Few sovereigns have been attended on a State occasion by so brilliant a train of vassals as that formed by the Indian princes and deputations who accompanied the royal cortège to Westminster Abbey on the 21st of June. The six native rulers present in person were imposing specimens of their race, all in the prime of manhood, and with the princely bearing and sombre stateliness of Eastern beauty, set off to the utmost by the radiant

glitter of their jewelled panoplies. Thus to the eye alone their aspect was sufficiently impressive as they flashed by like a stream of daylight meteors,

Crowned with the rainbow, clothed with rays
Shot from the prism into the loom,

shedding a halo of Oriental glory on the dazzled English sunshine.

But even more striking than any mere display of personal splendour were the associations suggested by their presence on such an occasion, in the contrast between the historic memories evoked by their names and the act of homage thus publicly rendered to their present liege. For while led hither by loyalty to their distant suzerain from the uttermost bounds of a vast empire, they represent an order of ideas in which the West has no part, and phases of society as remote from our experience as their dwelling-place from ours. That they should come here, not as aliens but as fellow-subjects, regarding England as in some sense a second home, is a singular and striking illustration of the oecumenical character of the British Empire.

The dominions of the Crown in the East, acquired by different titles and under varying conditions, are in part ruled by its direct authority, and in part governed by native sovereigns in virtue of subsisting treaties and engagements. The former portion occupies the larger area of 902,500 square miles, with a population of 191,411,434; the latter the lesser extent of 575,263 square miles, with 49,096,627 of inhabitants. These native territories are very unequally divided between 601 native princes, whose states are on every scale of magnitude, from one rivalling the size of Great Britain to others consisting of the microscopic domain of a village chief. Fenced off by custom and tradition from the equalizing tendencies of Western civilization, they form a region full of local colour and abounding in anomalies and anachronisms. In one quarter a turbulent feudal aristocracy represents a phase of society passed through centuries ago by mediæval Europe; in another the usurpations of foreign mercenaries show an approximation to the condition of Mameluke Egypt. We find a Mohammedan state ruled by three generations of women, and Hindu states, where widows, proscribed by Brahminical lore, have nevertheless borne sovereign sway. Thrones subsisting for decades of centuries are overshadowed by mushroom thrones of yesterday, and dynasties tracing their origin to the fabled heroes of Aryan mythology have to yield precedence to dynasties called after their herdsmen-founders in the last century. The lights of heaven and elements of nature are claimed as ancestors by some tribes, and progenitors among the lower animals boasted of with equal pride by

others. With the name of Rajput are associated all the traditions of Asiatic chivalry on the one hand, and the barbarous customs of female infanticide and widow suttī on the other. Courts rarely visited by Europeans outdo fable in their fantastic splendours, and the microcosm of each feudatory state is an epitome of all the pomp and luxury of the East.

The native princes of the first rank enjoy full sovereign rights within their own dominions. They maintain armies, coin money, and administer justice with power of life and death over their subjects, but are precluded, on the other hand, from levying war or holding diplomatic intercourse with each other, or with foreign Powers. There is no Customs union, and they generally levy heavy transit dues on all goods at their frontiers, but are prohibited from exporting salt and opium, which are Government monopolies. The tribute paid by them varies from a trifling yearly present to a heavy money payment, while many are altogether exempt. Most of the larger states pay a subsidy for a native contingent, assigned to their defence, but disciplined and officered by Englishmen. Military tribute and contributions amounted in 1880–81 to £742,209.

The relations of the feudatory states with the paramount power are conducted under the forms of diplomacy, through residents or political agents in their capitals, corresponding with the Foreign Office in Calcutta. Considerable moral pressure is brought to bear by this machinery, but the resident's position is one requiring great judgment and discrimination in determining the amount of interference advisable in each conjuncture. In cases of flagrant misgovernment or oppression, the Central Government exercises the right of deposing the offending prince in the interests of his own subjects, but such a proceeding is viewed with extreme jealousy, not only by the independent states, but by the native population of British India as well. The rank and file of minor rajas and chieftains, to whom no special agents are accredited, come under the supervision of the English Commissioners of their several districts, whose relations with them are generally those of authoritative friendship.

In cases of long minority, very frequent in India, the paramount power assumes the guardianship of the infant ruler, with most beneficial results to himself and his people. Brought up by English tutors under the immediate supervision of the Resident, the little raja or rana is rescued from the pernicious pampering of the Zenana, and encouraged to take an interest in all healthy pastimes. Mr. Prinsep* thus describes the boy Rana of Dholpar as spending all his time with the children of the Resident,

* "Imperial India." Val C. Prinsep. London : Chapman & Hall. 1879.

returning to the palace only for food and sleep, and then with difficulty induced to leave his young companions. The rising generation of rajas are consequently adepts in lawn-tennis, cricket, and all English games, as well as good shots and keen sportsmen. Meantime, the finances of the state, often overburdened by the personal expenses of the sovereign, are allowed a breathing space in which to recover, and the Durbar or Council of Regency is gently guided into sound administrative courses. Prince and people alike get a fair start, and the new reign begins under happier auspices than generally attend the assumption of power in the East.

The question of succession in the native states is the one which has most profoundly agitated Indian opinion during the present generation. Lord Dalhousie, in his memorable administration from 1848 to 1856, proclaimed the principle that, in the frequent case of failure of direct heirs to a reigning house, the sovereignty escheated to the Indian Government, by what he termed the "Right of Lapse." This policy, which, it was obvious, rendered the absorption of all native territory but a question of time, was actually carried out in reference to the three Mahratta States of Sattara, Nagpur, and Jhansi, and in the case of the latter was destined to lead to memorable consequences.

Not only were the rights of the subject populations thus disregarded and ignored, but a blow was struck at the root of Hindu religious feeling, which regards the practice of adoption, failing natural heirs, as the only security for the due performance of funeral rites. So urgently is such a substitution required, that the act of a widow, who in her husband's name adopts a son after his death, is as valid as his own, and the artificial tie thus created has all the force of the real one. The violation of a principle fenced round by the immemorial sanctities of Hindu tradition undoubtedly set in motion some of those mysterious undercurrents of disaffection, which, unregarded at the time, were recognized after the event as the predisposing causes of the Indian Mutiny.*

Among the measures of reorganization subsequent to that great catastrophe, none was more happily conceived for the restoration of confidence between the races, than the decree of Lord Canning, published on March 11, 1862, conferring the right of adoption, according to Hindu and Mohammedan usage, on all the greater chiefs, and thus securing the perpetuity

* The result of the Mutiny was a curious instance of the fulfilment of popular prophecy in a different sense to the expected one. The current prediction that the "Company's Raj" was only to last a hundred years after the battle of Plassey (1757) was fulfilled, not by restoration of native rule, but by the substitution of that of the Queen in 1858.

of their dynasties. A special patent, termed a Sunnud, is bestowed on those so privileged, and these nobles of the Sunnud, numbering about 150, and ruling an area as large as France and Belgium, form the true patriciate of India.

Their relative status is determined by the number of guns in their respective salutes. Eight—namely, the Nizám; the rulers of Kashmir, Udaipur, Jaipur, and Mysore; Sindia, Holkar, and the Gaekwar, are entitled to a salute of twenty-one guns on British territory; while the Imperial salute consists of one hundred and one, and the Viceroy's of thirty-one guns. Ninety-three princes in all can lay claim to the honours of artillery, nine guns being the lowest in the scale. Rewards and punishments are meted out in guns, and while the salute of the Maharao of Kota was reduced from seventeen to thirteen for disloyalty in the Mutiny, that of the Maharaja of Jaipur was raised from seventeen to nineteen for his liberality during the famine in Rajputana in 1868.

The classification of the native territories into Rajput, Mohammedan, and Mahratta States, though not exhaustive, is representative of the triple historical traditions of the country. All the venerable sacred lore of India is bound up with the Rajput immigration, the first great Aryan wave, which, at a conjectural date of 1400 B.C., swept upon the plains of Hindustan from the breeding-ground of nations in the north. The progress of the intruders may be traced in the Vedic hymns, of which the earliest were composed while they were still north of the Khyber Pass, in the neighbourhood of Kabul, the later when the banks of the Ganges had been reached.

Everywhere organized in aristocratic clans or families, the northern invaders retained their exclusive pride of birth and race; and, while gradually penetrating to all parts of India, continued to look down on the aboriginal inhabitants from the lofty pedestal of their Aryan descent. Thus was evolved the system of caste, with its inflexible fourfold division of society. The three first of these classes—the Brahmins or priests; Kshatriyas or warriors, represented by the modern Rajputs, the "sons of kings;" and the Vaisyas, or cultivators—were all designated Dwaiji, or "twice-born," as belonging to the ruling race; while the inferior "once-born" natives formed the servile caste of Sudras. Religious prejudice fenced round these social orders with an insurmountable barrier, by the prohibition of their partaking of food in common, regarding it as a solemn act of sacrifice which could only be shared in by those ceremonially equal. Hence the cook is, or should be, a priest, while so great is the punctilio as to the preparation of food, that the shadow of a European, or low-caste native, thrown on the hearth during the process, carries

pollution with it, and necessitates the rejection of the half-cooked meal.

North-western Hindustan, with Delhi as its capital, was the principal seat of Rajput power. The last Aryan sovereign who reigned there was the hero of one of the romantic legends of his chivalrous race. His assumption of the title of Prithwi Raja, or suzerain, gave umbrage to the neighbouring chieftain, the King of Kanouj; and the latter proclaimed his overlordship by celebrating a great feast and sacrifice, where all his vassals were appointed to fill menial offices. The Delhi Raja was designated to the lowest—that of doorkeeper—and on his refusal, a misshapen image was set up in his place. But the Princess of Kanouj, when called in, according to Rajput custom, to make her “*swayamvara*,” or “own choice,” of a husband in the assembly, passed by all the chiefs, and flung the garland which indicated her selection, over the neck of the statue. The lover, expectant of the signal, was in waiting to ride off with his bride to his northern capital, but his bold wooing had a disastrous ending. The King of Kanouj summoned the Afghans to avenge the wrong, Shahab-ud-Din of Ghor obeyed the call, and in 1193 Prithwi Raja was overthrown and slain, leaving his heroic princess to burn herself on his funeral pile.

The centre of Rajput power was thenceforward shifted to the country between the Ganges and Indus. Here it is still found, in the modern Rajputana, a compact area of 130,989 square miles, measuring 530 miles in one direction by 460 in the other, with a population of ten and a quarter millions, and armies 70,000 strong. It is divided into twenty principalities, but three of these—Tonk, founded by an Afghan adventurer in the last century, and the Jat States of Bhurtpur and Dholpur, are in the hands of non-Rajput rulers. Of the Rajput States proper the largest is Marwar, generally called from its capital Jodhpur, with a population of 2,850,000, and an area of 37,000 square miles, larger than that of Portugal. The second, Jaipur, with one and three-quarter millions of inhabitants, has a territory of 14,465 square miles, approximating to the size of Switzerland. But Mewar, or Udaipur, though less than either of these, with a territory of only 12,670 square miles, a little exceeding that of Belgium, and 1,134,700 subjects, takes the first place in Hindu eyes from the unsullied purity of lineage boasted by a dynasty of fifteen centuries of antiquity. Indeed, even setting aside the boasted descent from the Sun, claimed by the Maharana of Udaipur, as head of the Suryavansa or Solar race, it would be hard to find a longer or more illustrious lineage. His family, whose existence has been attested since the second century, has ruled the same territory since 728 A.D., and he represents, in the female line, both

the Persian Chosroes and the Byzantine Cæsars. However closely pressed by the soldiers of the Great Mogul, the House of Udaipur has always scorned to purchase peace by the sacrifice of a daughter to Delhi, and "the Toorkh," as they contemptuously term the Mussulman conqueror, has never been able to boast that the blood of the Sun-descended ruler of Mewar runs in the veins of his descendants. Nor was it till after the Delhi Durbar of 1877 that he would consent to partake of food with his kinsmen of Jaipur and Jodhpur, their houses having till then lain under a ban, in consequence of having bestowed their daughters on the great Akbar.

So prized was the right of intermarriage with the elder dynasty, that a sanguinary war, which desolated Rajputana from 1806 to 1810, was due to the rivalry of the two last-named houses for the hand of a princess of Udaipur. The gilded cocoa-nut conveying the offer of marriage had been sent in the first instance to Jodhpur, and on his death transferred to his neighbour, but his successor claimed the fulfilment of the promise, which he contended had been made, not to the individual, but to the dynasty. All the Rajput princes took part in the ensuing struggle, while Udaipur, remaining neutral, was left a prey to the ravages of Afghan and Mahratta marauders. Its sovereign, having vainly invoked British intervention, even at the price of half his dominions, had recourse to the desperate expedient of poisoning his daughter in order to reconcile her lovers. The Rajput Iphigeneia is said to have died a willing victim for her country and her race, but her unhappy mother, less resigned, expired of a broken heart.

With such a record of ancestral memories, it is easy to imagine the indignation with which the eldest of the Solar race found himself, on the visit of the Prince of Wales to Bombay in 1875, expected to walk in procession behind the Gaekwar, the descendant, within a few generations, of a cowherd. His views on precedence were expounded in a conversation while sitting for his portrait to Mr. Prinsep, when he remarked that there were "few dynasties of good caste now left in India," and on the mention of Kolhapur, with Nepal and others, among the exceptions, replied, "Kolhapur was good caste, but they are nothing now since they have given a daughter to the Gaekwar, a mere herdsman."

These internecine rivalries were illustrated at Lord Mayo's Durbar at Ajmir in 1871, when the Jodhpur ruler refused to take the place assigned him below that of the senior Sun Prince. "Udaipur may sit where he likes," he is reported to have said, "but I will have my chair above him." This, however, proving impracticable, he absented himself altogether, and the Durbar was

held with his seat vacant. Such an insult to her Majesty's representative could not be passed over, and the recalcitrant prince was not only ordered out of camp next morning, but had his regulation salute curtailed by two guns, as a penalty for his insubordination.

The Rajput States furnish the most perfect modern examples of feudalism. Each Thákur, or independent noble, enjoys plenary jurisdiction and authority on his own lands, which are held on condition of homage and military service, and his castle, perched like those of mediæval Europe on some isolated crag commanding a ford or pass, was, down to a comparatively recent date, a point of vantage, from which he swooped on caravans for plunder or ransom. Nor are these Rajput barons a whit behind their Western prototypes in civil turbulence, frequently rebelling against their liege, and requiring to be reduced by military expeditions.

The Court of Mewar is constantly attended by sixteen of the greater Thákurs, who form a State Council, and hold offices of historical or traditional origin. They sit above the heir to the throne, whose inferiority is a reminder of the degradation of one of his predecessors, compelled to serve at the Court of Delhi as a condition of peace with Jehangir. One of these paladins of Udaipur represents an elder branch of the reigning house, and has the privilege, dating from 1389 A.D., of placing his sign-manual, a lance, before the open hand, denoting the Maharana's signature. Thus is commemorated the generosity of his ancestor, Chonda, in surrendering the throne to his younger brother, ancestor of the present ruler. Another Thákur is entitled to carry the royal insignia on certain occasions, because one of his predecessors saved his sovereign's life by stripping them from his person, thus concealing his identity, when flying from a disastrous field. But none of these hereditary honours are more prized than the jewelled sword presented to the principal Thákur by Her Majesty the Queen, in gratitude for his services during the Mutiny, when his influence neutralized the disloyal elements in the State, and made it a refuge for fugitives from Indore and other disaffected localities. Some of these nobles have rent-rolls of £20,000 a year, and bear the kingly titles of Rao and Raja, being in fact the heads of royal clans.

Sujjun Singh, the present Maharana of Mewar, sometimes styled King of the Hindus, was born June 9, 1858. His capital, Udaipur, "the City of the Sunrise," with its mountain background and gleaming lake-mirrored palaces, is one of the most picturesque in India, though of comparatively modern date. All the older associations of the dynasty are with Chitore, whose ruins are consecrated by heroic memories. The most solemn oath

a Rajput can take is one by the sacking of Chitore, for here was consummated, when it fell into the hands of Ala-ud-Din, ruler of Delhi in 1303, that terrible sacrifice of honour, the *johar*. In such cases, when further resistance is hopeless, the women are all slaughtered, or commit wholesale suicide, to escape the ignominy of captivity; while the men, putting on saffron garments, and staining their faces with the same hue, rush on the enemy to die sword in hand. On this occasion 15,000 women are said to have perished, and whole tribes have sometimes been exterminated in similar fashion. Since the last capture of Chitore by Akbar it has been abandoned, and no Rana has since visited it, the popular belief being that an invisible arm would bar the way should he attempt to enter.

The prevalence of female infanticide among the Rajputs, springs from the same rigid punctilio as to the honour of their women that instigated the *johar*, daughters being destroyed to obviate the disgrace of having to accept inferior alliances for them. Many of their traditional usages point to a community of ideas between European and Asiatic chivalry. Thus the hand of a princess was often the prize of a competition in arms, and a lady was privileged to select a champion by sending him her bracelet, when he, though a stranger, was bound to defend her as his own sister. The Rajputs are monogamists, but a plurality of wives is permitted to their princes. Their loyalty, a well-known trait in their character, is exemplified in the story, set to stirring verse by Mr. Edwin Arnold, of the Rajput nurse, who saved the royal babe, her foster-child, at the expense of her own, substituting the latter for him in the cradle when assassins were coming to take his life.

Rajput supremacy received a final blow in 1527, in the decisive victory of Baber, at Futtehpur Sikri. The subsequent history of the Hindu princes is a record of hopeless struggles against encroaching neighbours. Ground between the upper and nether millstones of the Mogul and the Mahratta, they owed their escape from annihilation to the establishment of British supremacy over both enemies. Hence, on grounds of self-interest alone, their loyalty to the Crown is likely to be permanent and sincere.

Their principal representative in England during the Jubilee festivities was his Highness the Rao of Cutch, a Jarigi Rajput, and head of the Chandravansa or Lunar race. Born in 1866, he has been since ten years of age the ruler of a principality nearly as large as Wales, with an area of 6,500 square miles, and a population of one and a half millions. He was accompanied by his brother, and the two young princes were among the most conspicuous of the Indian visitors.

Among Rajput States, though remote from Rajputana, must be classed Kashmir, in right of its ruler Pertab Singh, a Doghra Rajput. His grandfather, Ghulab Singh, originally a trooper of Runjit Singh's, gradually rose to independent command, and the principality won by the sword was extended and confirmed by the treaty of Amritsar, in March 1846, under which the successful adventurer undertook to pay the Indian Government seventy-five lakhs (£750,000), in return for the recognition of his title. The present ruler, Pertab Singh, who succeeded in September 1885, ranks as one of the greatest princes of India, and in extent of territory, 79,784 square miles, comes next to the Nizam, though his subjects are estimated at the comparatively low figure of 1,534,972. Out of this population an army of about 30,000 is kept on foot, a contingent of which co-operated in the siege of Delhi in 1857. The annual tribute of Kashmir consists of 1 horse, 3 pair of shawls, and 25 lb. of *peshm*, the soft wool lying next the skin of the Tibetan goat, from which the finest shawls are made.

Next in order of antiquity to the Rajput dynasties, come those ruling the group of Mohammedan States, sprung from the ruins of the Mogul Empire during the period of decay that followed on the death of Aurungzeb. Under the great grandson of the latter prince, the sceptre of the south virtually passed from his house, by the appointment, in 1712, of Mir-Kamr-ud-Din, afterwards styled the Asaf Jah, as Subadar or Lieutenant of the Deccan, with the title of Nizam ul Mulk, Regulator of the State. His family, originally from Bokhara, and boasting the title of Sayyid, signifying descent from the Prophet, had held high office in Delhi for two generations before they rose to princely rank in the person of the powerful satrap, whose transformation into a practically independent potentate was effected before his death in 1748. Hyderabad, under his descendants, became the successor of Delhi, as the focus of militant Mohammedanism in India, and the rallying point of the Rohilla and Afghan adventurers set adrift by the decline of the Mogul Empire, as well as of the fierce Arabs of the Deccan. Recruited from such sources, the forces of the Nizam, according to Sir Richard Temple, formed a body containing in itself "all the vices which have ever been attributed to foreign mercenaries," imitating the Janissaries of Constantinople in their civic turbulence, and the Mamelukes of Egypt in their territorial pretensions. The military leaders, contracting with the State for the services of their troops, on the system of the Italian condottieri, set all civil control at defiance, and ruled with feudal authority over the lands assigned them in lieu of money, under the name of *tankwah*, or pay, *talukas*. The Arabs, thus become a power in the State,

exercised independent jurisdiction over their followers, and enforced it over others, surrounding with their troops the houses of those against whom they had pecuniary or other claims, while they themselves refused to be made amenable to any tribunal.

To these evils were added those of financial anarchy, which reached its culminating point early in the present century. Revenue-jobbers preyed on the people, and official book-keepers, termed "defterdars," acquired the hereditary right of pillaging the treasury; political powers and privileges were bartered for loans from its own subjects by the needy State, and foreign bankers flocked in to share in what Sir Charles Metcalfe boldly termed "the plunder of the Nizam." Street riots, termed "city dangas," organized by the military leaders when pay ran short, became a chronic feature of the capital; and while the Crown jewels were permanently pawned to domestic creditors, the great province of Berar, an area larger than that of Switzerland, was assigned to the Indian Government in satisfaction of the accumulated arrears due for the payment of the Hyderabad contingent.

The reform of these crying abuses was the task of the great Minister familiarly but incorrectly known in England as Sir Salar Jung.* Summoned at the age of twenty-five to the office of Dewan, hereditary in his family, he assumed power in 1853 with the firm determination of remedying the disorders to which his country was a prey. The difficulty of his position was increased, during the first fourteen years of his administration, by the dislike of a jealous and suspicious master, whose smiles were rarely vouchsafed to him, and whose frown he never could learn to bear with equanimity. Seldom admitted to the Nizam's august presence, he generally left it, Sir Richard Temple tells us, "pale from agitation," and was practically a State prisoner in the capital, only allowed to visit the British Resident, or even receive guests in his own palace, by special permission from his surly lord.

It was while thus hampered at every step that he effected the fiscal reform which came first among his remedial measures, the thorough reorganization and reassessment of the land revenue ordered by him resulting in an increase of twenty per cent. in the treasury receipts during the five years previous to 1867. Meantime the resumption of the tankwah talukas, hypothecated to the military chiefs for pay, as well as of other assigned lands, or *jaghirs*, was steadily proceeded with, the claims of the mortgagees being gradually settled. Other reforms went hand in hand with

* His personal name was Turab Ali, while Salar Jung, meaning Leader in War, is an hereditary title of honour. Hence Sir Richard Temple always styles him *the* Salar Jung.

financial reorganization; public works and irrigation were forwarded, and the administration of justice improved; while the rampant militarism of the capital was to some extent brought under control. Taxation was at the same time maintained at the same low level as before the general rise in the prices of produce throughout India; and the present Sir Salar Jung has pointed out in a recent article that it compares favourably with that of some European States, the same revenue, £4,000,000, being raised in Greece from two million, as in Hyderabad from nine million people.*

The reforming Minister was left a free hand by the death of his ungracious master in 1869, and the long minority of his son, who succeeded as an infant of three years old, [was a period of prosperity for Hyderabad. Advantage was taken of this change of rulers by Mr. Sanders, then British Resident, to break down for the first time the humiliating etiquette which required the representative of England to remove his shoes when approaching the Nizam, and to sit on the floor when in his august presence. The abandonment of this ceremonial was strenuously opposed by Sir Salar Jung, who declared himself unable to guarantee the Resident from the violence of the wild Afghan and Pathan nobles of the Court should he enter the Durbar otherwise than in the prescribed fashion. This announcement was met by the establishment of a telegraphic wire between the Residency and the camp at Secunderabad, with orders to the British officers there that the firing of a certain gun should be the signal for the sack of Hyderabad.

The Resident accordingly had his way, the streets being lined with troops, by Salar Jung's orders, for his protection; but it is said that the faithful Minister much resented the slight thus offered to the dignity of his baby liege.† The retention by the Indian Government of the assigned province of Berar is also a standing grievance with the Court of Hyderabad, though the treasury gains a considerable surplus revenue, annually paid over according to agreement, after all the expenses of the contingent have been defrayed. Sir Salar Jung's principal motive in visiting England was to procure the restoration of the territory, but all his efforts in this direction proved abortive. His sudden death by cholera or poison, in 1883, at the age of fifty-five, closed a thirty years' administrative career whose brilliancy it would be difficult to match in the annals of any country.

This event preceded but by a few months the attainment of his majority by the present Nizam, Mir Mahbub Ali, who, born in

* "Europe Revisited." *Nineteenth Century*, August 1887.

† "Imperial India," Val Prinsep.

1866, was formerly installed as ruler in February 1884. In accordance with his wishes, and with traditional usage, the son of Salar Jung was appointed in his father's place, but the young Minister proved unequal to the charge, and, in April 1887, the Viceroy, after some months' deliberation, acceded to the representations of the Nizam and sanctioned his dismissal. It must be added that he acknowledges having been treated with the greatest personal consideration by his young master, who, in addition to paying the heavy debts left by his father, allows him a pension of 7,000 rupees a month.

Asman Jah, the chief representative of Hyderabad at the Jubilee festivities, has been appointed his successor, while an innovation has been introduced into the government of the State, by the selection of an Englishman, Colonel Marshall, as private secretary to his Highness. The latter shows considerable aptitude for business, and promises to be a capable and intelligent ruler. He has recently, in July 1887, lost his eldest son, aged three, but a baby heir still survives to carry on the succession.

The Nizam of Hyderabad ranks as the premier Prince of India, not only in regard to the extent of his territory, with a population of ten millions, and an area of 78,003 square miles, not far inferior to that of Great Britain, but also from his acknowledged position as the political head of the Mohammedan population of India. The loyal attitude of the State, under the guidance of Sir Salar Jung, during the Mutiny, was thus a main factor in determining that of its co-religionists, and the disposition of its ruler must always be, on this ground, a matter of supreme importance to England.

Its military forces, though of somewhat motley composition, are by no means despicable, comprising some 40,000 men of all arms, with 725 guns. These numbers are exclusive of the contingent, disciplined and officered by England at his Highness's expense, and maintained for the defence of his territory. The Indian Government tries to discourage as much as possible the recruitment of foreign-born Arabs for the Nizam's service, and the reception of this turbulent class of immigrants in his dominions. Hyderabad, "the City of the Lion," is consequently somewhat tamer in aspect than when Sir Richard Temple described its mob as "a seething and surging mass of devilry," though enough of its picturesque ferocity remains to recall the description by mediæval writers of the old garrison towns of Islam. Every man still carries at his belt a strangely assorted arsenal of weapons, never parting with matchlock or carbine even to eat or sleep, and Mr. Edwin Arnold, who visited the Nizam's capital in 1884, humorously describes it as "a city at half-cock, ready to go off at a touch into turmoil and revolution." In addition to the State

troops, the chiefs and nobles are believed to have about 10,000 men-at-arms in their service, so that there are still formidable elements of disturbance in the country.

The principality of Bahawalpur in North-Western India, with its territory of 15,000 square miles, is in point of size the second Mohammedan State in the Empire, but it is far surpassed in interest and influence by Bhopal, one of the Central Indian group, with an area of 8,200 square miles and a population of 300,000. Ruled for three generations by a race of princesses, among whom administrative ability seems entailed in the female line, it might furnish a legitimate argument for the champions of the rights of women, since its prosperity and good government have earned it the title of the model Native State of India. For, while its resources are developed by the construction of roads and irrigation works, the public expenditure is so wisely regulated that taxation is lower than in British India.

The dynasty is of Afghan origin, and its founder, Dost Mahomed, was a fellow-soldier of the first Nizam in the service of Aurungzeb. His descendants have been for generations steadily loyal to British rule, and the late ruler, Secunder Begum, who died in 1868, was always foremost in placing her state troops at the disposal of the Government in every emergency. Both she and her daughter, Shah Jehan, the reigning Begum, received the rank of Knights Grand Commanders of the Star of India, and the right to a salute of the second class, or nineteen guns.

It was through a curious and romantic chain of circumstances that the State was early brought under European influence. A fugitive Frenchman, calling himself Jean de Bourbon, reaching the Court of the great Akbar about the middle of the sixteenth century, told a strange tale of adventure and misfortune. Captured by pirates in the Mediterranean in 1541, when only fifteen years old, and sold into slavery successively in Egypt and Abyssinia, he had, he said, escaped thence by sea to India, and so made his way to Delhi. Here he rapidly rose to eminence as master of the artillery, and his descendants having subsequently migrated to Bhopal, and received fiefs there, increased and multiplied until they became a powerful clan of no less than 300 families, known as the Frantzis. One of their number, Balthazar de Bourbon, surnamed the Shahzaded Massiya, or Christian Prince, having become Vizier in 1816, counselled that prudent policy of fidelity to the British alliance which has since been constantly adhered to by the State. This nobleman, dying in 1830, left a widow, Elisabeth de Bourbon, who, recognized as the head of the clan, and bearing the title of the Doulan Sircar, was a prominent and stately figure at the Begum's Court, when it was

visited by the French traveller, M. Rousselet, in 1864. The latter was much surprised by a visit from a French priest, and still more at his description of himself as chaplain to the Bourbon Princess, for the Frantzis, despite the high favour in which they have always been held at Mussulman Courts, have remained faithful to their hereditary religion. A rude painting of a fleur-de-lis executed by one of their ancestors is still preserved amongst them, but their genealogy seems never to have been investigated.

During the visit of the same traveller to Bhopal occurred the sudden death of the husband of the young princess, Shah Jehan, who had been strictly secluded during his lifetime, according to Mohammedan usage. No sooner was she released by his demise, however, than she received the European visitors unveiled and richly dressed, making so little pretence of grief that they could not forbear remarking on her demeanour to her mother. The Begum's answer was a striking commentary on the domestic manners of her country. "I mourn," she said, "for Oumra Doula, because I lose in him a faithful friend and counsellor, but why should my daughter mourn? Does the prisoner regret his gaoler?"

Shah Jehan, who was then only seventeen, and very handsome, was not deterred from a second matrimonial venture, and has had to retire again behind the *purdah* or screen which secludes Indian ladies from the vulgar gaze. Her present husband, styled the Nawab, is a man of inferior rank, and Anglo-Indian scandal whispers that he beats her.

While Rajputana enshrines all the memories of India's heroic age, and Hyderabad inherits the traditions of Delhi, a third group of principalities represents the power which most recently threatened British dominion. The Mahratta States had all a common origin, having been carved by the sword out of the wreck of the Mogul Empire. A wild and warlike race, inhabiting the ancient kingdom of Maharashtra, enthroned on the Western Ghats, gave birth in the last century to a series of military adventurers, whose genius and daring first gave their hardy clansmen national coherence and vitality.

The first of these, Shahji Bhonsla, a Rajput, claiming descent from the House of Udaipur, after fighting in the service of the Mohammedan States of Southern India, then at war with Delhi, left a fief and military retainers to his son Sivaji, born in 1627. Sivaji Bhonsla was something more than the founder of a State, since he was also the creator of a system. He it was who, calling his Hindu village spearmen at convenient seasons from the tillage of their fields, to form a sort of predatory militia, first led them on those dread raids which subsequently became the most characteristic feature of Mahratta warfare.

But the pre-eminence of the House of Bhonsia was of brief duration. Delhi, whose power Sivaji had defied, triumphed over his descendants, and the grandson of the "mountain rat," as Aurungzeb termed his adversary, on his restoration as the vassal of the Mogul in 1707, became a puppet in the hands of Balaji Vishwanath, his Brahmin vizier. This Minister's office, with the title of Peshwa, from the Persian word *pesh*, illustrious, became from 1740 a virtual hereditary sovereignty; and the descendants of Sivaji, relegated thenceforward to the petty principalities of Sattara and Kolhapur, survive at the present day only in the latter dynasty, the former having lapsed in 1849.

Meanwhile the parasitical power of the upstart waxed apace, and Baji Rao, the second Peshwa, having extorted from Delhi the grant, under the name of *chout*, of a fourth of the revenue of the Deccan, soon converted this right of tribute into one of sovereignty. Simultaneously with the rise of the Peshwa, other similarly constituted states were rapidly growing into independent existence. Another Bhonsia, Parsaji, a private horseman from near Sattara, was invested with authority in Berar, and founded the Nagpur dynasty, whose extinction in 1853 was, with that of Sattara, the immediate occasion of Lord Dalhousie's assertion of the Right of Lapse.

The foundations of a more enduring sovereignty were laid in 1720 by Damaji Gaekwar Shemser Bahadur, who, having exchanged his hereditary avocation of a cowherd for that of a soldier, was rewarded with the principality of Baroda, now ruled by his descendants.

Still more brilliant fortune awaited Mulhar Rao, a member of the Dhangar, or shepherd caste, the name of whose native village, Hoi, with the affix *Kar*, inhabitant, was destined to be that of a dynasty. This "dweller in Hoi," having early joined a body of cavalry equipped by a Mahratta noble, passed, in 1724, from his service into that of the Peshwa, and rapidly rose to high command. The territory of Malwa, wrested by him from the Mogul Viceroy, and assigned for the support of his troops, formed the nucleus of the principality of Indore, still the patrimony of his house.

The twin chieftain, Sindia, sprang from a family occupying a somewhat higher position in the social scale. As silladars, or cavalry leaders, supplying the horses of their troop, they held a rank which may be described as knightly; and were also Patels, or hereditary headmen, of their native village of Kumerkheir, near Sattara. It was amongst them too that Aurungzeb sought a wife for the grandson of Sivaji, when restoring him to his sovereignty: a sufficient testimony to the purity of their lineage. Yet it was in the seemingly menial capacity of slipper-bearer to

the Peshwa, that Ranoji Sindia, if we may believe legend, first distinguished himself, extorting his master's admiration by the fidelity with which, when surprised asleep, he was found to have his charge clasped to his bosom. Nor did he, even when promoted to higher duties, ever forget his zeal for his earlier office, for once in his subsequent career he produced from under his robe a new pair of slippers, and, kneeling at the Peshwa's feet, substituted them for those he had in use; still preserved, it is said, in the treasury at Gwalior.

Such judicious humility was not without its reward; but though Ranoji's rise was rapid, it was his son Madahji who made his name the most illustrious in India. Henceforward the names of Holkar and Sindia are perpetually recurring in the records of English battle in the East, and the figures of the two great Mahratta chieftains loom large as those of warring Titans on the red pages of Indian history. They shared the command of the Mahratta army on the fatal 6th of January 1761, when it was swept from the field of Paniput by the Afghan soldiery of Ahmed Shah. Holkar, indeed, first of the name, now grown old and wary, saved himself by an early and inglorious retreat, while the second Sindia, lamed for life, barely escaped from the slaughter of his kinsfolk to retrieve the shattered fortunes of his house.

He it was too who principally helped to restore the strength of the Mahratta confederacy, weakened by this great blow, and enabled it to bid defiance to every native power in India. The five warlike states which composed it, under the nominal suzerainty of the Peshwa, were able to bring into the field an army of 100,000 men, while the extent of their forays for plunder or chout was only limited by the endurance of their steeds. Rajputana was wasted at their will, Delhi itself made tributary, and the rich plains of the Ganges swept of hoards and harvests by the ubiquitous horsemen of the south.

Meantime the fortunes of the fighting House of Holkar were guided for thirty years by a woman with singular ability and discretion. Ahalya Bai, the young widow of the son of the first Holkar, assumed the government on the death of her son, who, having succeeded his grandfather, survived him but nine months. She named as her general Tukaji Rao, who, though older, addressed her as his mother, assuming the style of "Son of Mulhar Rao Holkar." The private life of the Mahratta Princess was a series of tragedies. Widowed at twenty by her husband's death in battle, bereaved of her only son, who died mad, and still more terribly of her only daughter, who committed *sutti* with her husband's remains, she was sustained in her public duties by a strong sense of religious responsibility, holding herself, as she

said, "answerable to God for every exercise of power." Her name is still revered as that of a saint by her people, and the city of Indore, founded by her, is a lasting monument to her memory.

Jeswunt Rao, hapless but heroic, the most dashing soldier of his house, succeeded his father Tukaji. Although he took no part in the Mahratta war of 1802, he attacked the British single-handed after the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein. The humiliation he inflicted on their arms in the destruction of Colonel Monson's unfortunate column was quickly avenged by Lord Lake, who after driving him from point to point, at last compelled him to surrender, declaring that "his whole kingdom lay on his saddle-bow." Reinstated in his dominions by the unexpected leniency of his foe, he devoted himself to the manufacture of artillery, working at the forges with his own hands, but died mad in 1811, from the effects of excessive drinking. Tulsa Bai, a very beautiful and unscrupulous woman, claimed to succeed as his widow, but failed to maintain herself in power, and after a term of anarchy was beheaded by her own troops in 1817.

The history of the House of Sindia had been less chequered, as Madanji, second of the name, dying in 1794, transmitted his sovereignty to his grand nephew Daulat Rao, the Sindia of the English Mahratta wars.

The last of these, caused by the countenance given by the chiefs to the excesses of the Pindhari robber-clans, came to an end in 1818, when the strongest race in India was finally subjected to British supremacy. The Peshwa surrendered his dominions to become, like the Great Mogul, a pensioner of the Indian Government, and the submission of the remaining principalities—Nagpur, Baroda, Gwalior, and Indore—finally closed a sanguinary chapter of history. Once indeed, since then, in the dominions of Sindia, has the sword been raised against the paramount power, but only in the confusion of an interregnum and disputed succession. The adopted son and heir of Daulat Rao having died childless in 1843, his widow's nomination of a boy of eight as his successor led to a mutiny of the troops, put down by British intervention. The victories of Punniar and Maharajpur left the State at Lord Ellenborough's mercy, but he used his power with moderation, reinstated the little Maharaja, and required only the assignment of territory yielding eighteen lakhs of rupees for the support of a State contingent.

The boy then placed on the throne by the style of Jyaji Rao Sindia, lived to hold the fate of England in his hands, and prove his gratitude in the supreme hour of her destiny. Few men have had the casting voice in so momentous a crisis of history as the young Sindia, when, in 1857, the Gwalior Contingent, their

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The last of these, caused by the countenance given by the chiefs to the excesses of the Pindhari robber-clans, came to an end in 1818, when the strongest race in India was finally subjected to British supremacy. The Peshwa surrendered his dominions to become, like the Great Mogul, a pensioner of the Indian Government, and the submission of the remaining principalities—Nagpur, Baroda, Gwalior, and Indore—finally closed a sanguinary chapter of history. Once indeed, since then, in the dominions of Sindia, has the sword been raised against the paramount power, but only in the confusion of an interregnum and disputed succession. The adopted son and heir of Daulat Rao having died childless in 1843, his widow's nomination of a boy of eight as his successor led to a mutiny of the troops, put down by British intervention. The victories of Punniar and Maharajpur left the State at Lord Ellenborough's mercy, but he used his power with moderation, reinstated the little Maharaja, and required only the assignment of territory yielding eighteen lakhs of rupees for the support of a State contingent.

The boy then placed on the throne by the style of Jyaji Rao Sindia, lived to hold the fate of England in his hands, and prove his gratitude in the supreme hour of her destiny. Few men have had the casting voice in so momentous a crisis of history as the young Sindia, when, in 1857, the Gwalior Contingent, their

weapons reeking with the blood of their officers, invited him to lead them against the foreign power, then engaged in a death-grapple with a quarter of a million of its own revolted soldiery. For the name of Sindia, with all its memories and traditions, would, if then cast on the side of rebellion, have been a trumpet-blast throughout India, summoning all its wavering and faltering masses to move and strike. There must have been much in the offer to tempt the Mahratta Prince—love of military glory, the dearest passion of his heart, the restlessness of his wild blood, the smouldering resentment of a subjugated race, all spoke in favour of its acceptance. But some instinct of loyalty stronger than all these kept Sindia true to the English alliance, and his influence, still powerful with the mutinous contingent, was successfully exercised to keep that formidable force inactive until the English reinforcements began to arrive, and the most critical period of the campaign was past.

In the later phase of the revolt Sindia had a more active part to play, when pitted against the fierce Amazon, who, with more favouring fortune, might have gone down to history as the Indian Joan of Arc. A woman brooding over her wrongs, the Rani of Jhansi found her opportunity in the great military revolt of 1857. Not only had her husband's principality, a minor Mahratta State, been annexed by Lord Dalhousie on his death without heirs in 1853, but her promised pension of £7,000 a year was subsequently declared chargeable with his debts. The treacherous massacre of British captives at Jhansi on June 8, 1857, gave her a first instalment of vengeance, but it was when leading the forlorn hope of the mutiny in the following year that she displayed the full resources of her courage and genius. By a brilliant stroke of audacity, doubtless conceived by her subtle brain, she and Tantia Topi, in May 1858, threw themselves on Central India, drove the soldier-hearted Sindia, defeated in the one battle of his life, from the field of Morar to the British cantonments at Agra, and proclaimed Nana Sahib, from the rock of Gwalior, as Hereditary Peshwa of the Mahrattas. But the Rani's dream of triumph was rudely broken in upon by the avenging arms of Sir Hugh Rose, who, on the field of Morar, on June 11, reversed the issue of the previous battle. The rebel forces were utterly routed, and the ill-starred Mahratta Princess, reluctantly swept from the field by the rush of fugitives, was cut down by a trooper in the hurry of the pursuit. Her body was burned to save it from falling into the hands of her enemies, and so her stormy career was brought to a lurid close. The restoration of Sindia followed, but the retention of Gwalior by the British, until within a few months of his death, was all his life resented by him as a distinct breach of faith.

Once again was Sindia's name heard in connection with that of a chief actor in the Mutiny, when, in October 1874, India was startled by the news that the infamous Nana Sahib had been captured in his dominions. The incident remains enshrouded in permanent mystery, for the prisoner submitted to the British Commission of Inquiry was declared to be a man of weak intellect, and certainly not the notorious criminal. It has been suggested, among many other attempted explanations, that a substitution of persons was effected by Sindia, in order to favour the escape of the titular head of the Mahrattas.

The conduct during the Mutiny of Sindia's brother chieftain, Holkar, has been gravely questioned, but the historians of that event agree in acquitting him of the charges of disloyalty hastily brought against him at the time.* When, on July 1, 1857, his guns and troops, sent for the protection of the English Residency at Indore, suddenly opened fire on it, his complicity in the act was indeed not an unnatural assumption, particularly as his name was used by the *ressaldar*, or cavalry officer, who gave the treasonable order. Hence, the startling note sent by Colonel Durand, the Acting Resident, to the British Commandant at Mhow. "Send the European battery as sharp as you can. We are attacked by Holkar." The subsequent conduct of the young Maharaja was however quite inconsistent with the theory of his guilt, as he sent to recover the remains of the treasure at the Residency, despatched it with his own jewels and personal property under escort to Mhow, and sheltered in his palace some European refugees whose heads were demanded by the mutineers. "I had no alternative," wrote Holkar himself on this subject, "but to offer them my own person, but I would not allow the poor Europeans to be touched before being killed myself." On July 4 he rode out to the Residency, and had an altercation with the rebels, whom he faced spear in hand, while they claimed his leadership, taunting him with cowardice, and reproaching him with the name of his fighting ancestor, Jeswant Rao, to which he replied that the murder of women and children was no part of the traditions of his house. The mutinous troops were subsequently disbanded, and British ascendancy restored in the State.

The striking parallelism between the lives of the late Holkar and Sindia was maintained by their almost simultaneous deaths on June 17 and 20, 1886. Both placed on the throne in the same year, 1843, Holkar at eleven, and Sindia at eight years of age, they reigned a like number of years, and lived nearly to the

* "History of the Sepoy War." By Sir John Kaye. London: 1864.
"History of the Indian Mutiny." By Col. G. B. Malleon. London: 1880.

same term. There was, however, a considerable divergence in their characters, and the passionate interest devoted by the one to his army was concentrated by the other on his treasury.

Sindia was unfortunate in domestic life. Having lost three sons in succession, he was for many years without an heir, and adopted his cousin Ranoji, who sought to expedite his own accession by a plot to poison his benefactor. The traitor's life was spared by the easy-tempered Maharaja, the birth of whose youngest son, in 1880, settled the question of succession. The counting of Sindia's treasure, which was found stored in dry cisterns, lasted for nearly a year after his death. It amounted to over seven million sterling, of which a portion has been lent by the Regency Durbar to the Indian Government at 4 per cent. interest.

The State of Gwalior has an area of 33,119 square miles, larger than that of Ireland, a population of two and a half millions, and a revenue of nearly a million sterling. The late Maharaja, who did little but play at soldiers all his life, had his army in a high state of efficiency, organized on the Prussian system with a trained reserve. Its numbers are put down at 16,050 foot and 6,058 cavalry, with 210 guns.

The State of Indore has an area of 8,435 square miles, a population of 576,000, and a revenue of £300,000, with an army of 5,500 foot, 3,000 horse, and 102 guns. The Maharaja is the owner of all the land in his dominions, in which no private individual can possess permanent, heritable, or alienable rights, consequently every cultivator is in the position of a tenant-at-will of the Crown. The Malwa opium, which the State is bound to dispose of at a fixed price to the Indian Government, is principally grown in Indore, the quantity exported in 1877-8 having been 16,423 chests. The vexatious system of transit dues on merchandize has been abolished since the accession of the present Maharaja.

The late ruler was succeeded by his elder son Sivaji Rao, born in 1858, the stately prince distinguished in the Jubilee festivities by his place of precedence, as well as by the splendour of his apparel, and the peculiar form of his uptwisted Mahratta turban.

The third of this group of states is Baroda, ruled by the Gaekwar, with an area of 4,399 square miles, a population of two million, and an army of 3,126 infantry and two squadrons of horse, with twenty batteries of artillery, besides an irregular force of 7,400 foot and 5,000 horse. Mulhar Rao, the late Gaekwar, was an adept in toxicology, and is said to have begun his experiments at the tender age of nine in an attempt to poison his nurse. At eighteen he sought the removal of his elder

brother by similar means, and his ultimate deposition, in April 1875, was mainly brought about by like nefarious practices on the life of the British Resident, Colonel Phayre. Syaji Rao, born in 1863, then chosen to succeed him from a younger branch of the reigning house, is the present ruler of Baroda, the same who, as a little prince, on his presentation to the Prince of Wales in 1875, was described by Dr. W. H. Russell as "a crystallized rainbow."* Nor was his Highness' prismatic effulgence to be wondered at, since his diamond necklace, with one stone, the "Star of the North," worth £90,000, and another, the "Star of Dresden," worth £45,000, represents a total value of £400,000; while he has another, composed of strings of pearls as large as pigeons' eggs, scarcely less costly. Baroda is indeed the typical Indian Court in its lavish display of Oriental accessories, in the gladiatorial shows of its arena, and the gaudily painted and caparisoned elephants of its processions; while the saddled and bridled giraffe, that figures in its State ceremonials, recalls the Indian heroes of Boiardo, described by the poet as mounted on that animal. Among its other gorgeous eccentricities, are gold and silver cannon, six-pounders, mounted on carriages also of the precious metals, and drawn by snowy oxen draped in brocade, with gilt and silvered horns. All the Mahratta Courts are remarkable for their splendour, an instance of which was furnished by the Prince of Wales's visit to Sindia's capital in 1875, when his bedstead, bath, and washing-service were of solid silver.

The exaggerated number of troops maintained by the native states is a form of display which causes considerable uneasiness to the Central Government. While the British forces in India numbered on March 31, 1885, 62,930 Europeans and 125,944 natives, total 188,874; the State armies are estimated as giving an aggregate of 305,225 men and 5,252 guns; without reckoning the native contingents, and other portions of the Indian army subsidized by individual princes. The Hindu States keep under arms 275,075; the Mohammedan States, 74,760; and the Mahratta States, 59,600 men.†

The existence of these formidable bodies necessitates the cantonment of a proportional number of Imperial troops near the frontiers of the states maintaining them. Thus Hyderabad, with its army 45,000 strong and 725 pieces of artillery, requires a corps of observation of 12,000 men, in addition to the 7,000 of the contingent, while the British garrisons at Morar and Jhansi

* "The Prince of Wales's Tour." By W. H. Russell. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

† The Armies of the Native States of India. Reprinted from the "*Times*." London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.

must be maintained at their full strength, while confronted by Sindia's forces of 22,000 men and 210 guns. The maintenance moreover of these armies, in addition to withdrawing so large a number of men from productive industry, throws a heavy burden of taxation on the native population.

It is, however, easier to point out the evils of the existing state of things than to suggest a remedy. Interference with the sovereign rights of native rulers would create a ferment of feeling throughout India, and the grievances of the soldiers of the feudatory armies would be scarcely less keenly resented by their brethren in the Imperial service.

A more satisfactory solution, were it practicable, would be the gradual assimilation of the native and British forces, by their association in manœuvres and camps of instruction. The former would be thus rendered available with the latter for the general defence of the Empire, while a legitimate outlet would be afforded to the energies and ambition both of the native rulers and their subjects. Could a council of Princes be convened, occasionally to confer with the Viceroy on matters of public importance, another step would be taken in the direction of welding into organic unity the heterogeneous fragments of England's great dominion in the East. The present condition of isolated dependence of the feudatory states, deteriorating to the character alike of sovereigns and subjects, would be exchanged for a position of greater freedom and responsibility, a useful and honourable career would be opened to their rulers in place of the enervating routine of their own petty courts, and their already superabundant loyalty would be quickened by the sense that Imperial interests were committed to their keeping. Thus bound by a new and stronger tie to the Throne, to which they have so often proved their allegiance, they would take their fitting place as active members, instead of mere ornamental appendages, of the great Empire whose burdens and whose glory they would henceforth be called on to share.

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. III.—CATHOLIC WOMEN AND NIGHT-WORK.

1. *Children of Gibeon and All Sorts and Conditions of Men.* By WALTER BESANT. London: Chatto & Windus.
2. *The Work of the Laity.* By JAMES BRITTEN. DUBLIN REVIEW for July 1887.
3. *Girls' Club Union Monthly Magazine*, edited by Hon. MAUDE STANLEY and Mrs. BREWSTER; and *Report of Soho Club and Home*, 59 Greek Street, Soho Square, London.

I.

THE subject of work to be done for women by women, as set forth in the books whose names we have placed at the top of the list that heads this paper, is far too wide a one to be generally treated of in a single magazine article. It embraces the whole question of the position of working women—their pay, their social state, their moral condition; the influences of various sorts which may be brought to bear on them by women in other classes of life; and, in addition, many other questions which bear more or less directly on this one. It is clear that so broad a subject cannot be fully discussed in these pages: all that can be done here is to recommend the study of these books to those interested in the matter, and to treat practically one branch of the question, in its special relation to that work of the Catholic laity which was so strongly put forward in the last number of this REVIEW. The special branch I have chosen for treatment here is that of what may be put, broadly, under the head of “night-work” for the benefit of girls and women.

There has been a good deal said and written of late about the losses that the Church has sustained in England by the secession of her poorer members from various causes, and the need which this shows for more energy and vigilance on the part of Catholics in doing what they can to counteract such a misfortune. Mr. Britten has discussed this question, not only in the article named in our heading, but in several other papers; and he has also dwelt a good deal on the difficulties which the Catholic laity are said to find in working harmoniously with the clergy. Now, as regards this last point, I may have a word to say later on which may possibly go towards a solution of the matter, at any rate where women are concerned—and it is with women only that this paper is to deal; but, with regard to the first—that of “our losses”—nothing need here be said except one very obvious thing, which is naturally suggested by the consideration of a special feature in the branch of work to be discussed; and it is this:—

While there are many points of the work to be done for women—the remedies for their wrongs, the improvement of their pay, the lessening of their work, &c.—which are still open questions, this one point of providing places of evening resort for them in various forms, has, so to speak, *settled itself*. People may approve or disapprove; they may say that the habit of going to clubs and night-classes is destructive of domestic life; they may assign all sorts of causes to the demand for such things, and prophesy good or evil from the fact of the supply; but, nevertheless, it is a fact, the state of things is there, the need for such places has arisen; and, with that practical benevolence which may almost be called the religion of many people outside the Church in our day, non-Catholic society has hastened to provide them. The obvious conclusion from this fact is that, unless the same kind of thing is speedily provided by Catholics for their own people—and *well* provided, too—the whole work will fall into the hands of outsiders, and the “loss” brought about will be double—that of the gradual falling off of those who are already Catholics through the indirect influence of their associates, and that of those who *might* have been Catholics had the possessors of the Faith used all the means at their disposal for helping to spread the truth by showing practical sympathy with the needs and tendencies of the time.

Many people will probably here ask the question: “Why, in all this evening work, should there be *separate* organizations at all? Why should not Catholics and Protestants be fellow members of these institutions?” and this question had better at once be considered, as it is an all-important one in relation to the whole subject. On what ground can Catholics work consistently together with non-Catholics, and where can they not?

There are three cases in which it may, we think, be granted that philanthropic undertakings may be shared in by Catholics and others, not only with little harm but often with advantage—first, in the case of helping people to employment, and in all work that may be connected with such an object; secondly, where the question is one—whether in clubs, in giving special entertainments, or in whatever form it may take—of *simple amusement*; thirdly, in the case of teaching, where the instruction is of a purely artistic or mechanical kind. So long as institutions of any sort, whether night-schools or day-schools, clubs or lecture-halls, servants’ homes or needlework registries—whatever they may be, in short—honestly fulfil these conditions, or stop short at these objects, there seems really no reason why Catholics should not take advantage of such non-Catholic societies that are ready to hand, when something as good of our own is not easily procurable.

But—and in this lies the importance to us of the branch of work here treated—girls' night-schools and clubs for the most part *do not come under this head*, considered in their full scope. They may grow out of institutions which do come under it—some of them certainly have so grown ; and they may be intended to stop short at such things as mere recreation, or teaching of a kind that involves no religious or moral questions ; but practically they do not so stop short, and for good reason. Some “clubs” or night-classes are, it is true, provided, in the case both of men and of women, for people of responsible age, and of education and habits which make them really need only a place for recreation and learning, and where civilized behaviour and right conduct may be taken as a matter of course. But by far the larger number of the “clubs,” now so common among non-Catholics, are established for the benefit of girls who lead the roughest lives, and with the express object of humanizing and civilizing these girls, as well as in many cases helping to strengthen them against great temptation. Now the ladies who manage such institutions, and become by so doing friends of the girls, may begin with the fullest intention of doing their work by purely secular means, and of being strictly “undenominational” or “unsectarian” in their system ; but this does not last. If they are in earnest in their desire really to raise and improve the young women or children (for some are not much more) in whom they become interested, they find that something more than amusement and the teaching of arts must necessarily come into play. The girls are not going to be persuaded into such a difficult course as that of persistent self-control and self-denial—which is what goodness often means in their state of life—for no more personal reason than “the general good of society ;” nor will the mere desire to imitate the refined ways and well-ordered habits of the ladies who are kind to them prove a sufficient motive for improvement in the long run. The consequence of all this is that the managing ladies in the end add to their programme Bible-classes, or other forms of religious instruction, which, in some cases, are accompanied by special attractions in the way of “teas” or amusements ; and then, going further and wishing to keep a hold over the girls they have begun to influence, they take them to Church with them. If among the members of the club there happen to be careless and neglected Catholic girls, these are as likely as not to be taken with the others.

This is no imaginary account of what might happen, but a simple statement of facts that exist. A lady who has worked very hard at looking after and holding classes for girls of the small servant order, and has been remarkably kind in helping Catholics, herself said to the present writer : “You know it is

impossible to gain any *real* influence over girls of this sort without using some sort of religious teaching. I have found this, and I try to get them to go to Church with me. Sometimes when *your* girls seemed to be neglecting their own Church, they have come too ; it seemed better than their going nowhere." Just the same thing was said by another lady in connection with a "girls' club," and in both cases it was said with perfect simplicity, and evidently without the least intention of wilful proselytising ; indeed, in the first case the lady in question took great trouble to get the Catholic girls looked after by their own people, and was in the end the means of their being got together into a class under Catholic superintendence.

Now who, in such cases, is to blame ? Certainly the ladies who manage these institutions cannot be called to account, for, from their point of view—especially as most of those who do this work belong to the "broad" section of the Church of England, even if not to some still vaguer form of religion (for we are not here taking into account professedly *Protestant* institutions, whether Church of England or other)—"any Church" is "better than no Church": it would be quite unreasonable to expect them to understand why Catholics, no matter how careless their lives may seem, do wrong in attending Protestant places of worship. The girls, then, it may be said, are to blame : they know better. It is quite true that they *ought* to know better, and that very likely some of them, who listen to non-Catholic teaching and go to Protestant Churches, do so with the consciousness that they are doing wrong. But, at the same time, no one who has made the smallest attempt at teaching their Catechism to some of the poor Catholic girls, Irish or English, who run the London streets or do rough kinds of labour, will feel inclined to deny the strong possibility existing that many of them may really *not* know what they are doing, so utter is their ignorance or their forgetfulness of the truths which are theirs by right. Nor, again, will any one who knows the immense influence that personal kindness and attention, as well as the example set by one another, have over girls, be the least surprised at such a result of the immense pains that these ladies take to help them, and of the association with an organized body of young people, not of the Faith. Young girls, in every class of life, are mostly very impressionable in their natures, and very much like sheep in their habits—what one does, another wants to do ; and hence, if Catholic girls get under the influence of kindness from their "elders and betters," and of custom among one another, in non-Catholic institutions, the results *can* only be of this sort. If it were not for this, it certainly would seem unnecessary, with so much well-organized

machinery already at work, and so many admirable institutions actually existing, for separate Catholic ones to be started; but, such being the state of the case, it seems useless to deny that the latter are positively needed. As to "united" undertakings, that is, societies managed by mixed committees or staffs of Catholics and others, all sorts of unexpected difficulties are certain to arise the moment any question of direct religious teaching and influence comes into play. Let the *members* of girls' clubs and night-schools, and even the teachers of certain subjects, be what they may, the *managers* must be of one mind as to what the religious atmosphere shall be. The best thing, then, that Catholic ladies can do, in the face of these facts, is to rouse themselves from the lethargy, which seems to possess some, of believing that "good works" consist solely in such things as can be done by means of money or even by prayers, and to set to work practically at organizing and carrying out some such undertakings for the benefit of their own sex as are daily multiplying round us outside the Church, and which need for their success, first and foremost, persevering and minute *personal trouble* and self-denial.

Before quite leaving this part of the subject, it may be of some use to draw attention for a moment—there being here no time to dwell upon it—to another motive which should urge Catholic women to energy and earnestness in doing their share of work for the salvation of our large girl population: and that is, the tremendous weapon that is in their hands, for good in every direction, in their mere possession of the Faith. If there is one spirit that more than any other pervades society just now, it is that of *uncertainty*—uncertainty as to religious dogma, uncertainty as to the end of man, uncertainty as to the means of remedying social evils—appalling uncertainty, above all, as to the use of suffering and of the terrible inequalities of life. And we find this spirit underlying many of the most practical philanthropic schemes, narrowing their scope, and providing, though for the present unseen, an element of probable failure in the end. In such books, for instance, as those we have named above of Walter Besant's—books that are full of practical suggestions and of a genuine sympathy with women, and a desire to help them—of clear understanding, too, of many things which *will* help them; through even these there runs a tone which makes us say sadly, as we lay them down: "And what then? When we have done all—worked hard ourselves, got justice done to the girls, taught them, refined them, made them all society could wish—what is to follow? The end must come to each: are we to stand by their death-beds and give them no warmer comfort than Valentine had to give to Lotty as she lay dying?" Such

a thought, no doubt, is in the heart of many an earnest woman who is toiling her life out for the good of her poorer sisters; uncertainty in some form is inwardly haunting and restraining the souls of the workers, even while they hold their Bible-classes, and set religious motives before their pupils because they vaguely see that nothing else will hold good. And what is the paralysing effect of such a state of mind before any real difficulty as to right and wrong can perhaps be guessed, even by those who have never experienced it. The subject is far too great to be more than touched upon here; but my object in bringing it forward and asking Catholics to reflect upon it, is that they may take into account, in considering their motives for action, the immense blessing they possess in only having given to them the second question and answer of the "Penny Catechism;" a little thoughtful dwelling upon which answer (we have heard it suggested), by all classes of society, might possibly bring about that "social revolution" for which so many means of a less simple sort are being constantly planned.

It is not intended by all this to instigate Catholics to begin their classes or girls' clubs in a spirit of preaching: quite the contrary, as will be shown later on. But what I do mean to lay stress on is this: let a Catholic woman who undertakes such work be ever so ignorant of many questions that enter into the philanthropic schemes of the day; let her be unused to organization, unacquainted with principles of political economy, liable to make many mistakes at first for want of experience; let her, in short, have ever so much to learn from non-Catholic workers, she will *not* have this peculiar difficulty of uncertainty as to what she is aiming at. Suppose a girl, whose confidence she has won, more logical or more practical than some of her fellows, and inclined to follow her own will, to come to her and ask, "*Why* is all this? Why do you take the trouble to teach me? Why am I to labour at self-improvement? Why am I often to do what is disagreeable? Why, if a suffering or injustice cannot be remedied, am I to bear it cheerfully? What is the end of it all?" For such questions as these the Catholic woman has, for herself and her interlocutor, *a definite answer ready*. If it be asked—as it very well might be in some parts of London—by a born Catholic who has nearly forgotten her religion, the answer may lead to a practical return to it; if by one who is "nothing," it may give rise to thoughts which, even though they may not bring the questioner into the Church, will ultimately be the cause of her salvation.

Now, for a body of women—however small a one compared to others—to possess so great a power for helping their fellow-creatures as this one of simple certainty in faith implies, and to

hold back from using every means they can to spread it among the future wives and mothers of the country, with all the many motives and helps towards good life that follow in its train, seems, to those who once begin thinking, to be incurring a very serious responsibility.

It may as well be stated at once, in reply to an objection that may here be raised, that we assume Catholics, while keeping the *management* of their evening institutions entirely in Catholic hands, and making it distinctly understood that they are intended for Catholic girls and provide only Catholic religious teaching, *not* to refuse admittance to others who may wish to come under these known conditions.

II.

The need for Catholic night-classes, &c., having thus been stated, a second branch of the subject comes up for discussion.

It is very common now to hear, from Catholics themselves, lamentations over the comparatively bad and unmethodical way in which various sorts of philanthropic classes are managed among us, as contrasted with their successful management among Protestants. The complaint is very likely, to some extent, exaggerated; but, allowing for this, there is certainly some truth in this view of things; and, before going further, it may be as well to try shortly to find out the main causes of such defects, and to suggest remedies for them. It is always good in beginning an undertaking to have some notion of what to avoid in connection with it.

What, then, are the chief elements of failure or weakness in institutions started by Catholic lay-women? We think that they can be put, mainly, under three heads. First, there can be no doubt that the mere novelty of them has much to do with the matter: the present state of things, and especially that part of it which necessitates so much night-work, is, to begin with, comparatively new in itself; and still more new is the notion that Catholic ladies "in the world" should undertake such work. For many years past it has been more or less taken for granted that nuns should do, in the main, whatever was wanted of this kind for girls; and now that the needs have come to be of a sort that cannot be fully supplied by nuns, many people who may be perfectly willing to undertake the work are at a loss simply for lack of experience. The remedy for this difficulty is very simple: it is like the youthfulness for which young people are consoled by being told that it is "a misfortune that will cure itself." Let Catholics carefully, and in a business-like way, study the methods by which other people's successful undertakings have been formed, and the principles on which they are

managed; and then let them go quietly on without minding criticism, and they will succeed in the end.

The mention of a *business-like* course of proceeding brings us to a second source of weakness in many Catholic schemes, and one for which they themselves, and not circumstances at all, are responsible. This defect was once described to the writer so tersely, that it cannot be better defined here than by giving the exact words of the speaker who remarked on it. The defect is of a double nature, and applies especially—at least it did so on this occasion—to works done by women. “One thing that makes many undertakings of this sort fail is”—(this was the first half of the criticism)—“that they are not looked upon as *work*, but as ‘a work.’” That is, ladies—and especially ladies who spend most of their time in society and amusement—start some supposed-to-be-charitable undertaking, ticket it “a good work,” talk about it everywhere, make a great fuss, perhaps worry the local priests nearly to death about it; and finally, when they find that it will not go of itself, but requires some steady supervision and personal trouble on their own part—in short, some real hard work—to keep it up, they drop it, and depart. Had they never even thought of its being “a good work” at all, but simply looked upon it as a thing they had the opportunity of doing for their fellow-creatures, and, instead of talking about it, had they made it their business to do it themselves, a different result might have been obtained.

The second half of the criticism was this: “Ladies (meaning Catholics), when they start these kinds of things, are so very apt to want to be *amateur spiritual directors*.” In other words, women very often do not know where to draw the line: they long to do moral and spiritual good; they are eager either to convert or to reform; and they have not either logic enough or experience enough to see that they must be very often content to do such work indirectly. Where they might do enormous good in the end by working patiently at the organizing and keeping up of a night-school, or some such professedly “secular” institution, and using their feminine gifts for influencing the girls and women with whom they have to do in the intellectual or civilizing directions—leaving anything more to spring gradually and naturally out of this—they often spoil all by rushing straight away into interference with souls of a foolish or dangerous kind, and into work generally which, though the highest of all in its proper place and season, *out* of that place and season may do more harm than good. Now, is it an unwarrantable suggestion to make that this double defect of over-fussiness and capriciousness on the one hand, and of unwise tampering with spiritual offices on the other, may—as far as women are concerned—

perhaps be sometimes the cause of that discouragement or unfriendly interference on the part of priests that Mr. Britten asserts to be often a hindrance to "the work of the laity"? Certainly he is speaking of men, and of course their position is different from that of women; but at any rate the question is worth considering. Probably, if those who have any practical experience in such matters were consulted, they would tell any ladies who wished to unite in starting an institution of the kind under discussion for the benefit of their own sex, that, if they would set to work quietly in any parish, do their business without a fuss, and steadily persevere in it, they would be likely to find themselves neither interfered with, nor refused such help as they might really need, by the parish priest. Priests are often as fully alive as any one can be to the fact that a large part of the work now required for women and girls is not a man's business at all, but can be done by their fellow-women only; and, *so long as the work is done wisely*, such priests are much more likely to be grateful for it than to put hindrances in its way. But if they find in the long run that the only women who stick to what they undertake, and do their work quietly on their own account, are nuns, it is but natural that they should turn to them for help, even where they know that, from the nature of things, this help can only be partial; and "seculars" have in that case only themselves to blame if they are discouraged.

The third obvious defect in the philanthropic efforts of Catholics is this, that too many Catholics are apt to do this sort of thing from selfish motives—that is, spiritually selfish. There is often too little real human sympathy and interest in the spirit of their work. They see that something ought to be done, that it is required of them to do it, that it will perhaps be better for their own souls in the next world if they do it—in short, a good many feel, and some openly say, that they undertake such work "that they may escape some purgatory by it." Now, it is very certain that we don't do what we *like* to escape purgatory; therefore, this is only another way of saying that they do all this as a penance; and this sort of spirit has a two-fold evil effect. To begin with, it prevents the very object itself from being attained; for it may at once be laid down as a maxim that no one will ever make much impression or gain much influence for good who attempts these undertakings without a genuine interest in them for their own sake. Without this, people will be more or less of a weight on their fellow-workers, and will in some way betray their want of sympathy to those they work for. So important is this point that the best advice that can be given to any one who honestly feels that she can only join in this work from a sense of compulsion, and without any true pleasure in it, is—to

stay away, and confine her help to money, if she has any to give. This may sound severe ; but any one who has tried to work with helpers who come in a “ penitential ” spirit will understand it. Then, in the second place, this motive for working often causes the work to be soon dropped. People either do not, after all, care so very much to escape some of their purgatory ; or, at least, some shorter or less dull way of escaping it may be found : frequent walks through bad weather to a night-school, perhaps to find only two girls present when you get there, are a wearisome way of helping your soul ! And thus, from staying away in really bad weather, you come to staying when it is rather bad, and then to staying away altogether and giving up the whole thing. Whereas, if the work is simply taken up for the immediate and unselfish object of doing good to others, from love of God and of your neighbour, in this particular way, there can be no temptation to change it for some other alternative, as it is obvious that nothing else will do instead.

That there are innumerable individual Catholics, in all parts of the country, working for others without a touch of any of these defects in their undertakings, no one can for a moment doubt. But we are here discussing, not individuals or private works, but work done in combination for public benefit, in which the spirit of each worker will tell upon the whole ; and which, if undertaken at all, will have to stand the severe test of comparison with outside work of the same sort. Moreover, the above remarks perhaps apply especially to London Catholic ladies, who get every spiritual advantage for themselves with such extreme and enervating ease that religion itself is apt to become only one more luxury added to their lives, and “ charity ” one more excitement to be talked about, rather than a real thing to be laboured at. Now, it is of *London* needs chiefly that we are here treating ; and a little more detailed consideration of the work demanded will show that it is a robust and self-sacrificing spirit of faith that is required to carry it out successfully.

III.

To come, now, to the positively practical branch of the subject—What, exactly, does this night work consist in ; and how and by whom is it to be done ?

Evening institutions, broadly speaking, are of the following kinds :—(1) for mental or intellectual training, which applies to *Night-schools* ; (2) for humanizing or social purposes, which are the object of *Recreation Rooms*, clubs, or whatever such places may be called ; and (3) for spiritual or religious teaching, which means *Catechism or Instruction Classes*. The last branch of the work we will take first, as there is not much to be said here

about it, for it is rather an offshoot from the real night-work than an actual part of it. Such teaching should not be a necessary part of a night-school or club; it should come in, in connection with it, only as it is found to be needed and desired by the members; it should be so arranged as to be separate from the rest of the programme, being generally given on Sunday afternoons, and it should be purely voluntary; and, finally, it should consist of *definite* teaching, either of the ordinary Catechism to young or ignorant girls, or of some higher Catechism to older ones; or of a course of lessons on the Gospels, or the Christian festivals, or any other subject likely to be useful and attractive that the lady who teaches may be equal to getting up. Any one wishing to teach in this way, and finding a difficulty in so doing, cannot do better than go to a certificated mistress, religious or secular, of an elementary school, for hints and names of books to help her, or to some of the nuns who lecture to the scholars in the girls' training colleges. Where the girls to be taught are very young or at all disposed to be wild, one more suggestion may be made—that, namely, given to a visitor by a worker in one of Don Bosco's celebrated institutions, and quoted in Mr. Britten's pamphlet on "Catholic Clubs": "Whatever you do—*be short*;" also, associate the religious instruction class with as much pleasantness as possible in the way of games, singing, and occasional tea as supplementary. In one of the very best London girls' clubs the lady who manages it holds the Bible-class in connection with it, on Sunday afternoons, at her own house, while another lady gives a similar class on Sunday evenings at the club itself. As this paper concerns really only night-work proper, merely a suggestion can be made here; but would it not be possible for some ladies, unable to go out at night or to do much active work, to plan a system of taking classes of girls at their own homes on Sunday afternoons? In many London houses there must be some room that could be used for such a purpose for an hour or so; and the class need not even interfere with that sacred institution in so many families of "receptions" on Sunday afternoons at five o'clock tea, as the ordinary hour for such meetings is about 3.30, so that they would be over before tea-time. If any ladies liked to try this plan, pending the establishment of more regular Catholic institutions, they might communicate with the managers of the various girls' clubs, and make it known that any Catholic members belonging to them would find a kind reception and a class of instruction in their own religion at their respective houses.

Next, as regards night-schools *proper*: these are, as is well known, now becoming so common under the management of Board schools, that in all probability the whole question of them

will before long have to be taken up by the managers of Voluntary schools in connection with the regular day-work, and will become a matter of regularly appointed and paid masters and mistresses. As regards Catholics, however, the more volunteers that will come forward the better, there being already difficulty enough in finding proper payment for the day-school teachers among us. At the same time, it must be admitted that this branch of the evening work is by far the most difficult to manage, since for five "volunteer" helpers in night-work who are able and willing in some form or other to amuse and keep things going, there is certainly not more than one who can and will *teach* in any way worthy of the name. For the present, by far the best plan, and one that is being adopted in existing girls' clubs and homes, seems to be that of uniting a night-school with a place for social recreation, in whatever form best suits the needs and the material forthcoming of the special place.

We come, then, as the centre of all the forms of good to be done, to a place of resort with "instruction and amusement combined," after the fashion of the old children's books, which place may be called indifferently a "club," "recreation rooms," or "evening home." Its object, in any case, is—or ought to be—a double one: that of attracting girls, after hard and rough work, or after idle days in the streets, to spend their evenings safely and pleasantly, in society which will help to humanize and refine them; and that of affording means of higher instruction and rational amusement to girls who are not rough and uncivilized to begin with, and to whose own good conduct and exertions it is owing that they are not so, but who are thrown by circumstances into positions which make them very much need some attractive evening resort. It is a very great mistake to go upon the plan of caring, in this sort of work, *only* for the very rough and poor class of girls whose need for help is most obvious. Well-dressed, well-spoken, and quietly behaved young women may often have as much need of friends, and suffer as much in London from a lack of good and innocent recreation and opportunity of improvement if they wish for it, as their sisters lower down in the scale of civilization. The existence of these two classes who need help, with their various "shades" up and down, is indeed the cause of some debate among managers of night institutions; some holding that the classes must be kept entirely apart if the work is to be successful, others repudiating the idea. In the club to which we are about directly to draw special attention, there is no division at all; the girls who take advantage of it range from the workers in the roughest factories to "young ladies" in smart milliners' show-rooms, and mix socially with perfect satisfaction. But then this club has been one of slow

growth, and has been formed by degrees, at the cost of infinite trouble on the part of the managers ; and it may be laid down as a general rule that any institution which grows up gradually from small beginnings will have a spirit different from that of one which is started, so to speak, from above, not from below. The former *makes* its own habits and customs as it grows, having perhaps had hardly any set rules or system to begin with. We are speaking here rather of the starting of institutions "full-blown," in the light of those that already exist ; and the principle we should suggest for these, as regards the *class* question, is, in the main, this:—

Let the ground of division in clubs or night-schools be that of *age* and *payment* only, and not of social status at all ; the latter difficulty will then settle itself. As regards age, it is becoming a well-recognized fact that, if we are to do any lasting good to that part of the population which is inclined to run the streets at night, we must get hold of them when they first leave school. This subject was admirably treated, as no doubt some readers will remember, by a paper in the *Nineteenth Century* of about two years ago, called "From Thirteen to Seventeen," by Mr. Walter Besant, and the truth of what he then said is being more and more proved daily. Now, many children leave school at about twelve years old, and in many cases, though they may have small places in the day, are then and there thrown on the streets for amusement at night. But older girls, from sixteen upwards, are very apt—as we all fully recognize in the more educated classes of life—to dislike the society of younger ones, and would by no means care to belong to a club shared by "children." Therefore, we say, let age form one ground of division, and have either separate "junior" institutions for girls when they first leave school, up to the age of sixteen ; or, if found better, junior and senior branches of the same for the elder and younger members.

Then, as regards the paying distinction : here there is also a perfectly natural division, and one universally recognized in other things. It is quite just that those in receipt of better wages, or wishing for better returns for their money, should pay more for what they get. Let, then, institutions where there are more comfortable rooms, higher subjects taught, and more expenses consequently involved, ask fairly good subscriptions from their members, in addition to whatever they may have in the way of funds from outside subscribers. But, where there are fewer advantages—perhaps only needlework and some one other subject taught—and where the meetings are held in school-rooms not really belonging to the club or class, or in places of which they have only the partial use, so that expenses are smaller and every-

thing on a rougher scale, let the subscription asked be quite small. In the case of girls *under* sixteen—children, in fact—the club may very well be *free*; but, for the older ones, a small subscription is undoubtedly a better plan.

There are already, in different parts of London, certain Catholic institutions, formed more or less upon one or other of the above principles, and all needing more help to bring them to greater perfection and increase their usefulness. Some of these were mentioned in a very practical and suggestive pamphlet called “*The Loss of our Girls*,” by Mr. Britten, reprinted from the *Month* last May; and any people wishing to take a share in some work already existing, rather than to start fresh ones on their own account, can find out all they wish about these by communicating with their respective managers, whose names are given in the pamphlet. We will here, however, suppose Catholic ladies wishing to institute some fresh work of their own, but doubtful about a plan to go upon; and to them no better means can be recommended of learning the way to set about such an undertaking—that is to say, the *kind of thing* they should aim at building up—in all its details, than that of procuring some numbers of the little *Girls’ Club Union Magazine*, named at the head of this article, together with one or two of the annual “*Reports*,” and studying them carefully. Here they will find, besides full rules and details of Miss Stanley’s own institution, accounts of the various forms of kindness and help to girls springing out of it, many of which might be practised by Catholics, both in and out of London, who were unable to take part in the actual management or visiting of a club; and also a list of no less than *twenty-five* other institutions, more or less of the same kind, eleven of them being in London and the rest in different parts of the country, all of which, with two exceptions, have sprung into existence between 1880 and the present year. Of the two exceptions, one is at Nottingham, date 1879; and the other, apparently a Ritualist institution, at Hackney, is the earliest of all on the list, being dated as far back as 1864. Any of these places it is of course possible to get leave to visit, by writing to their secretaries; but, in London, no one could do better than get leave to spend “a week of evenings” at the Greek Street Club, so as to watch its regular course. They will there see, besides a remarkably well-managed social meeting-room (the “club” proper) and an excellently organized system of government, two other things under the same roof, *i.e.*, a “home,” or lodging-house, for women in business, and—rather lately added, we believe—a regular night-school, gaining a government grant, together with classes for club members in several subjects. And, let us add, the sight of this now large and flourishing institution need dishearten no

one on the ground of its size and many advantages, for it has taken seven years to come to its present condition, and it originated in a mere night-school for very rough girls, held once or twice a week in a parish school-room lent for the purpose.

Last—but certainly very far from least—by what means and by what people is this work to be accomplished among Catholics? As to means—that is, money—it may be said without hesitation that not nearly so much is needed as many people suppose. *Some*, of course, must be found: it will be a very long time before even the better class of these institutions can pay themselves; but it is difficult to believe that if once Catholic women begin considering this matter in serious earnest, and realizing their own responsibility in it, they will not find means to procure as much as is really necessary. Take, for instance, all the girls in Catholic London who go in for “the season,” and who spend a great part of the remaining year in amusement, and suppose them to make up their minds that—if they can do nothing else—they will at least, out of their own allowances, create a “fund” to be spent on helping working-girls—would not such a determination in a very short time produce wonderful results? There is not a girl possessing a fair allowance for her dress who could not, by a little self-denial, a little courage in appearing rather oftener in the same costume, an occasional going without a small pleasure—some renunciation, in short, which would affect no one’s real comfort but her own—save a yearly sum which would represent no small amount of help in such undertakings as are here in question. The only two really *necessary* expenses in beginning a girls’ club are the rent of a room (or two rooms if possible) with fire and lights, and the payment of some one to keep it clean—which expense will vary from £26 to £50 a year according to the neighbourhood—and the initial expense of furnishing. This last, in point of fact, ought hardly to be necessary, except where an actual school is concerned, for the discarded or superfluous furniture from private people’s houses would furnish many sets of rooms for girls if it was carefully taken count of instead of being packed aside into corners, thrown away, or sold or exchanged at a contemptible profit. In fact, the real success of the whole thing, as has been said before, depends so much more on personal energy than on anything else, that it finally resolves itself into the question of the people necessary to the work.

As to numbers, there must first be *one* lady in each of these institutions, however small, who is absolutely devoted to it—that is, not necessarily to be at the place herself every night, but to have its interests deeply at heart, to care for it much as a mother would for her own family, and be ready to make any sacrifice within her own power to supply the place of other

helpers, should they fail. This individual is usually described as "secretary," but in fact often combines the offices of secretary, treasurer, and manager-in-chief. Next, this head ought to have under her a staff of ladies, each of whom undertakes one, and *only one*, evening a week of management, combined with teaching or amusement as the case may require: if this staff can consist of twelve, giving two helpers to every night, so much the better; if not six must do, or even four, if the manager chooses to take two nights a week by herself; but, whatever the number, the one duty of all this staff is *regularity*. No one should undertake such work without determining that nothing but illness or some serious trouble or event in her family shall keep her away during that part of the year for which she promises to give it. Any habitual irregularity in the members of a managing staff is fatal to the success of an undertaking, and herein lies the great "crux."

Who is to do all this? Who are the people that will undertake to come week after week at an hour when they would naturally be resting or amusing themselves, with the regularity and business-like-ness of paid officials added to the zeal and ardour of volunteers? For these are exactly the needful qualities. A few, of course, are found among the ranks of those who live the ordinary life of society, who will gladly give up some of their time in this way; but such devotion is not common, and more than a few are wanted if this work is to make a real and lasting impression. For, in fact, a number of such institutions on a *small* scale, each one managed by an equally energetic and zealous staff, would do far more good in the long run than a few very large and imposing ones. It is quite certain that nuns cannot do a great part of the work, if for no other reason than that it necessitates going out at night, and keeping places open up to an hour incompatible with any religious rule. To put the practical management of the business into the hands of a paid matron or superintendent, leaving the ladies concerned in it to be merely "visitors," more or less regular as may be convenient to them, is of course one way, and a way adopted in some existing institutions, of settling the difficulty. But in face of the great scarcity of money which is so universal an outcry among Catholics, it is a pity to resort to such a means unless an institution has really become so large and so thoroughly established that such an official is certainly needed, and her position likely to be permanent. It seems hard if Catholic charity, in these days of active "work" for women, can do nothing more generous than this. What we really want, in truth, is a small army of more or less cultivated women *given* to such work—given to it as to a regular calling, and doing it with the spirit and perseverance, though *not* with the profession, of Religious. The question of this need belongs really to a wider one which cannot

be fully entered into here, but we may make one suggestion concerning it as a conclusion.

Is it not a little too much taken for granted among Catholics that every woman who has an inclination to work for others, and to lead a more or less regular and serious life, *must* therefore go into a convent, and that those who remain "in the world" have no vocation at all, but must lead a life of frivolous and aimless dissipation, unless they marry? Cardinal Manning, in his "Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," attacks this way of looking at things, and says plainly that it is a great mistake to suppose that every woman has necessarily a vocation either for marriage and domestic life, or for the religious life, as such, there being, in fact, many women who have neither, but who *have* a calling to some regular and serious pursuit.

Now, would it not be possible for a few of the single women who are at present leading somewhat aimless, and possibly lonely lives—some of them, perhaps, having "tried their vocation" vainly in more than one community, and spending much time over regretting their failure in this direction—to take the above view into consideration, and to try what they could do by devoting themselves systematically and studying the question thoroughly, towards a solution of the "girl" difficulty? If only two or three such, living either together or at least near each other, in different parts of London, would make a beginning, others might follow; and a few such "centres"—formed more or less on the plan of the Association of Metropolitan Lady Nurses for the Poor—devoted to the express purpose of doing this night-work, with all the many forms of help to girls which spring out of it, might end by producing an incalculable amount of good.

As I said, the suggestion only can be made here: it must be left to any ladies who will take the matter seriously into their thoughts, and consider it in all its bearings, to carry some such plan into effect.

CATHOLICA.

NOTE.—I would suggest, for the benefit of such as may prefer having some definite work brought under their attention, three parts of London in which there are special fields for work among girls: First, in the parish of St. George's, Southwark, there is great need of a lady who would go and *live* in the neighbourhood of the Westminster Bridge Road, and there co-operate with a lady already working hard for the innumerable poor and badly paid work-girls of that district (where the manufactories carrying on the roughest sort of trades are legion) in establishing a "home," classes, &c., for them. The address of this lady was given in Mr. Britten's pamphlet, mentioned above.

Second, at Bow, where Bryant and May's factories employ numbers,

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and Irish work-girls abound, help for them is terribly needed. The Dominican sisters do all they possibly can by the holding of meetings and establishing of guilds for the girls; but they, like all nuns, cannot go out at night, or keep their own place open to late hours; and they are terribly hampered in their work by want of room, and by the existence of some excellent non-Catholic club or institution which tempts the girls by its comforts and advantages. Any lady, or ladies, who would go and open an attractive night-class and club for Catholic work-girls in this neighbourhood would be warmly welcomed, and could do a great work if they would really devote themselves. The Mother Prioress at St. Catherine's Convent, Bow, E., would be the person to consult on this branch of work.

Third, a regular girls' club and night-school is extremely needed in the district of Chelsea, near the river, where there are already two non-Catholic institutions on a large scale, to which several Catholic girls now belong; and where there are many Catholic workers at the large jam, cigar, and other factories of the neighbourhood.



ART. IV.—THE CONSTITUTION OF 1782.

A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By WILLIAM HARTPOLE LECKY, Vols. V. and VI. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

IN a former number of this Review (October 1882) I gave an account, based mainly upon chapters in Mr. Lecky's previous volumes, of Ireland's recovery of her national independence a century ago. It was, in the words of Grattan, "a progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty:" "liberty," he insisted, "according to the frame of the British Constitution, the inheritance of the Irish nation, to be enjoyed in perpetual connection with the British Empire." I ventured to call that great change "The Resurrection of Ireland:" surely not too strong a phrase to describe the restitution of her national independence, her civil freedom, after she had lain for centuries in darkness and the shadow of death: "sine adjutorio, sicut vulnerati dormientes in sepulchris." That this happy consummation was chiefly due to the illustrious orator whose name I have just mentioned was allowed on all hands: "the man," said Fitzgibbon, in 1785, "to whom this country perhaps owes more than any State ever owed to an individual: the man whose wisdom and virtue directed the happy circumstances of the times and the spirit of Irishmen, to make us a nation." "To make us a nation:" the words may be

paralleled from Grattan's own speech—one of the noblest masterpieces of oratory the world possesses—delivered in moving the Amendment to the Address on the 17th of April, 1782. "Ireland," he declared, "was a distinct kingdom, with a separate Parliament, and this Parliament alone had a right to frame laws for her. In the maintenance of this right," he held, "the liberties of Ireland consisted, and they would yield it only with their lives." "I am now," he added, "to address a free people. Ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. I have spoken on the subject of your liberty so often that I have nothing to add, and have only to admire by what heaven-directed steps you have proceeded until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance. I found Ireland on her knees. I watched over her with an eternal solicitude. I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift, spirit of Molyneux, your genius has prevailed. Ireland is now a nation. In that new character I hail her, and, bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto Perpetua!*" And similarly the Resolution of the Irish House of Commons of the 19th of June, 1782, declared that "the exclusive right of legislation in the Irish Parliament, in all cases, external and internal, had been already asserted by Ireland, and fully, irrevocably, and finally acknowledged by England." The Constitution of 1782, as it is called, was then the sign and seal of Ireland's recovered independence, of her vindicated nationality. In what I am about to write I propose to consider the working of this Constitution during the first ten years of its existence. And in executing this task, I shall do little more than summarize the masterly chapters with which the last of Mr. Lecky's recently published volumes concludes. It is unnecessary that I should here again expatiate upon the great qualities, both intellectual and ethical, which have won for Mr. Lecky so high a place as a writer of history. But I may remark that they are nowhere more signally displayed than in this portion of his work. The fulness of his erudition is equalled only by the amplitude of his candour. I know not whether to admire more the breadth of his thought or the elevation of his tone. The Irish question is emphatically the question of the hour, and if history is, as the hackneyed dictum asserts, "philosophy teaching by experience," then assuredly Mr. Lecky's chapters—whether or no we agree with his views—ought to be of the greatest service towards enabling us *πρὸς τὰς παρούσας πημονὰς ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν*. If my article at all helps any of my readers to do this, I shall not have written in vain. But of course those who desire adequately to realize the fulness of meaning possessed by the events on which I shall have to touch,

should consult Mr. Lecky's own pages. "*Melius est petere fontes quam sectari rivulos.*"

In the Constitution of 1782, then, Ireland obtained the recognition of her national existence. It was conceded that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland alone had a right to pass laws which Irishmen were bound to obey. How did this autonomy work during the decade with which we are at present concerned? That is a question which cannot be answered in one word. In the first place, it is certain that during those ten years the material prosperity of the country advanced—to use Mr. Gladstone's phrase—by leaps and bounds. In 1796, Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated in Parliament that:—

It was his pride and his happiness to declare that he did not think it possible for any nation to have improved more in her circumstances since 1784 than Ireland had done; from that time the debt of the nation had decreased £96,000, and the interest on the debt still remaining had decreased £17,000 per annum, which was precisely the same thing, at four per cent., as if the principal had been reduced £425,000 more. Add to this the great increase of trade, our exports alone having increased £800,000 last year beyond the former period; and he believed it would be difficult in the history of the world to show a nation rising faster in prosperity.

In 1793 Crumpe published that remarkable "*Essay on the best Means of providing Employment for the People,*" which is one of the most faithful, and at the same time most unflattering, pictures of the social and industrial condition of Ireland. But while tracing with an unsparing hand the great industrial failings of the people, he adds that "the defects which have been noticed are daily diminishing. The middling ranks are becoming more attentive to their debts and less indulgent to their extravagance. A spirit of industry is infusing its regenerating vigour among them; the vain and ridiculous aversion to the pursuits of commerce or other industrious occupations is wearing out, and the encouragement of agriculture more generally attended to. The lower classes are becoming more industrious, more wealthy, more independent. . . . The situation of the peasant has since the final pacification of the kingdom, but more especially since the settlement of its Constitution in 1782, been daily improving." Of the causes of this prosperity, two at least of the most important are sufficiently obvious, while others may give rise to considerable dispute. The abolition of the trade restrictions, by which Irish prosperity had been so long cramped and stunted, was at once followed by a great increase in nearly every branch of commerce, and especially in the Irish trade with the West Indies, while the abolition of the more oppressive portions of the penal code brought back much capital which had been invested on the Continent, and caused Irish wealth, industry, and energy to flow freely in Irish channels. A few years of external and internal peace, light taxes, and good national credit followed, and enabled the country to profit largely by these new advantages. In the

opinion, however, of the best Irish writers and politicians of the eighteenth century, very much was also due to the great impulse which was given to agriculture by the corn bounties of 1784, and to the large parliamentary grants for carrying out public works and for instituting and encouraging different forms of manufacture. Of the corn bounties and the extreme importance that was attached to them I have already spoken. Whatever may be thought of them, there is at least, I think, no question that the great corn trade which had arisen in the last sixteen years of the century was an important element of Irish wealth; and it was mentioned in Parliament that about three years after the bounties on exportation had been granted, the exports of corn already attained the annual value of £400,000.

Large grants were also made for fisheries, canals, harbours, and other public works, and a system of bounties for encouraging particular manufactures was extensively pursued. This system is exceedingly alien to modern English notions; but in judging it, we must remember that it prevailed—though on a proportionately smaller scale—in England and in most other countries; that in Ireland it was originally a partial counterpoise or compensation for many unjust and artificial restrictions imposed on the different branches of native industry, and also that it was pursued in a country where the elements of spontaneous energy were incomparably weaker than in England. . . . The corn trade and the linen trade stood at the head of Irish industries, and while the first had almost entirely arisen within the period we are examining, the latter had rapidly increased. In 1788 Foster observed that in the six preceding years the annual export of linen had risen from twenty to thirty millions of yards. A number of other manufactures and industries were at the same time growing up. The silk manufacture underwent violent fluctuations, but it was stated in the Irish Parliament in 1784 that there were at that time no less than 1,400 silk looms at work in Dublin, employing 11,000 persons. In a speech in 1785, Foster, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated in the Irish Parliament that formerly Ireland was accustomed annually to import new drapery to the amount of upwards of 300,000 yards, but that the importation had almost ceased, and the native manufacture had so developed that the exports of Irish drapery exceeded 650,000 yards a year. The cotton manufacture was only introduced into Ireland after 1780, but in 1785 it was computed that it already employed nearly 30,000 people. In 1783, £4,000 was granted by the Parliament for cotton machinery, and in the following year the Vice-Treasurer was directed to issue bills to the amount of £25,000 to Capt. Brooke for carrying that manufacture into the county of Kildare. His great manufacture at Prosperous in that county ultimately failed, but several other cotton manufactures were scattered over Ireland, and Irish printed cotton obtained a considerable reputation, and is said to have been largely smuggled into England. The glass manufacture, which had been crushed by the iniquitous English law of George II., forbidding the Irish to export their glass to any country whatever, revived with reviving liberty. Lord Sheffield noticed in 1785 that nine glass-houses had suddenly arisen, and that large quantities of

Irish glass were already exported to America. It was boasted that the glass made at Waterford fully equalled the best article of English manufacture. A hat and a carpet manufacture existed on a small but an increasing scale; Irish gloves and tabbinets were widely sought for even on the Continent, and from 1790 to 1792 the wealth of the country was very materially increased by the foundation or great extension of breweries of ale and porter. Cork was the chief centre, and they were warmly encouraged by the Irish Parliament, not only on economical, but also on moral grounds, as counteracting that excessive use of spirituous liquors which was the great bane of Ireland. Newenham mentions the curious fact that at the close of the eighteenth century, in the province of Munster, the use of malt liquors greatly exceeded that of spirits.

This picture of the condition of Ireland in the earlier years of its independent Parliament differs, I know, widely from an impression which is very general in England: but the more important facts on which I have formed my judgment have been fully stated, and those who desire to examine the subject in detail can easily follow the indications I have given." *

Such was the growth of Ireland in material prosperity during the first ten years of the Constitution of 1782. Turn we now to its political condition. And first, let it be remembered that, though this Constitution relieved Catholics from some of the most abominable provisions of the penal laws, it gave them not the smallest share of political power. This has been forcibly stated by Mr. Lecky in the following passage:—

The Revolution of 1782 had placed Ireland, ostensibly at least, in the rank of free and self-governed kingdoms, but it left the Catholics with no more political rights than the serfs of Russia or of Poland. The very law that enabled them to acquire land, made them more sensible of the disqualification which, in their case alone, deprived land of the franchise which the Constitution had annexed to it. It was impossible that in such a state of society intelligent Catholics could contemplate their own position in Ireland without feelings of the keenest humiliation and resentment. Though they represented the immense majority of the people, they were wholly excluded from the executive, from the legislature, from the judicial powers of the State, from all right of voting in parliamentary and municipal elections, from all control over the national expenditure, from all share in the patronage of the Crown. They were marked out by law as a distinct nation, to be maintained in separation from the Protestants, and in permanent subjection to them. Judged by the measure of its age, the Irish Parliament had shown great liberality during the last twenty years; but the injury and the insult of disqualification still met the Catholic at every turn. From the whole of the great and lucrative

* Vol. vi. p. 437. The authorities on which Mr. Lecky founds himself are given by him in a note.

profession of the law he was still absolutely excluded, and by the letter of the law the mere fact of a lawyer marrying a Catholic wife, and educating his children as Catholics, incapacitated him from following his profession. Land and trade had been thrown open to Catholics almost without restrictions, but the Catholic tenant still found himself at a frequent disadvantage, because he had no vote and no influence with those who administered local justice, and the Catholic trader, because he had no voice in the corporations of the towns. Catholics had begun to take a considerable place among the moneyed men of Ireland; but when the Bank of Ireland was founded in 1782, it was specially provided that no Catholics might be enrolled among its directors. Medicine was one of the few professions from which they had never been excluded, and some of them had risen to large practice in it; but even here they were subject to galling distinctions. They were incapacitated from holding any of the three medical professorships on the university establishment, or any of the four professorships at the School of Physic, or the more recently created clinical professorship; and the law, while excluding native Catholics from these professorships, actually ordered that, for three months previous to the nomination to a vacancy in them, invitations should be circulated through Europe, inviting Protestants of all nations to compete for them. Catholic physicians were excluded from all situations on the army establishment, from the offices of State physician or surgeon, and from a crowd of places held under charter, patent, or incorporation; and as they could not take the rank of Fellow in the College of Physicians they were unable to hold any office in that body. The social effects of the code continued with little abatement, though mere theological animosity had almost died away. The political helplessness of the lower orders in their relation with the upper classes had injuriously affected the whole tone of manner, and the few Catholic gentry could not but feel that they were members of an inferior class, living under the stigma and the disqualifications of the law. Most Catholics who had risen to wealth had done so as merchants or cattle-dealers, and the mercantile classes in Ireland had very little social position. The old Catholic gentry lived much apart, and had but small intercourse with the Protestants. The exclusion of Catholics from the bar was in this respect peculiarly mischievous, for of all professions the bar is that which does most to bring men of various religions into close and frequent contact. There were convivial clubs in Ireland, in which it was a by-law that no Papist should be admitted, and Burke, probably, scarcely exaggerated when he asserted that there were thousands of persons of the upper orders in Ireland who had never in their lives conversed with a Catholic, unless they happened to talk to their gardener's workmen, or to ask their way, when they had lost it, in their sports. It was quite evident that such a state of society was thoroughly unnatural and demoralizing, and it was equally evident that it could not possibly be permanent.*

* Vol. vi. p. 474.

This was the first great blot upon the Constitution of 1782. But further, the two Houses of the Irish Parliament were by no means truly representative even of the dominant Protestant minority: "It was a mockery," Mr. Lecky writes, "to describe the Irish House of Commons as mainly a representative body. Of its 300 members, 64 only represented counties, while 100 small boroughs, containing only an infinitesimal number of electors, and in reality in the great majority of cases at the absolute disposal of single patrons, returned no less than 200. Borough seats were commonly sold for £2,000 a parliament, and the permanent patronage of a borough for from £8,000 to £10,000. The Lower House was to a great extent a creation of the Upper one. It was at this time computed that 124 members of the House of Commons were absolutely nominated by 53 peers, while 91 others were chosen by 52 commoners."* To this it may be added that at least 100 members of the Irish House of Commons were Government pensioners. The elder Fitzgibbon—father of the Earl of Clare—said upon one occasion, with equal piquancy and truth: "I have read that the wages of sin is death. Now, the wages of sin is Ireland." As to the Irish House of Lords, Mr. Lecky truly observes: "It was so constituted that it did not possess even a semblance of independence." At one time the Bishops, who were appointed by the Crown, formed a majority of its active members. At other times the constant stream of Ministerial partisans who were poured into it rendered all real opposition an impracticability. "It was chiefly considerable as an assembly of borough-mongers." In 1792 Grattan described the system of Irish administration as "a rank and vile and simple and absolute Government, rendered so by means that make every part of it vicious and abominable." "By the trade of Parliament," he said, "the King is absolute. His will is signified by both Houses of Parliament, who are now as much an instrument in his hand as a bayonet in the hands of a regiment." Mr. Lecky allows all this, and indeed dwells upon it in greater detail than can be reproduced here. But he is careful to state the case on the other side in the following passage:

Not a single fact in this crushing indictment could be seriously disputed. Much was, however, said of the danger of discrediting existing institutions, and much of the necessity of judging all institutions by their fruits. It was admitted that the Irish parliamentary system was rather a system of nomination than of representation. It was admitted, or at least not denied, that little more than a fifth part of the House of Commons was really under popular control, and that an appeal to the people by dissolution was little more than a farce; but it was

* Vol. vi. p. 323.

asserted by the Ministers, and fully acknowledged by the Opposition, that the country had for some years been steadily and rapidly improving; that many popular and beneficial laws had been enacted, and that some of them were of a kind which would hardly have been expected from a selfish oligarchy. The Irish laws against corruption at elections were very severe. The improved method of trying disputed elections, which was the most valuable of the reforms of Grenville, was almost immediately enacted in Ireland. The Irish Parliament readily followed the example of the English one in divesting its members of nearly all their invidious privileges. "Since 1779," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "the Parliament of Ireland has done more for the benefit of the kingdom than all the antecedent Parliaments from the days of Henry VII.," and "in this space the country has advanced to a degree of prosperity un hoped for even by the most sanguine." "Under the present state of representation," said the same speaker on another occasion, "the prosperity of the country has increased as much as it could under any other representation whatsoever; and as to liberty, the English Acts, which were adopted at and since 1782, show that the Irish Parliament was as well inclined to the people in that respect as any Parliament could be, in whatsoever manner it might be chosen." In how many countries in Europe, it was asked, was civil and personal liberty as fully guaranteed by law as in Ireland? Since the accession of George III., Ireland had obtained the limitation of her Parliament by the Octennial Act, a free trade, the full participation of commercial intercourse with the British colonies in the West Indies and America, security of personal liberty by the Habeas Corpus Act, the benefit of all English treaties, the independence of the Legislature, the independence of the judges, the restoration of the final judicature. The Test Act had been repealed; the validity of Dissenters' marriages had been fully established; by far the greater part of the penal laws against the Catholics had been abolished, and a crowd of useful laws had been made for developing the resources and improving the condition of the people. A Legislature which could point to such a catalogue of measures enacted within thirty-two years could not be wholly contemptible; and with all its anomalies of representation the Irish House of Commons undoubtedly included a very large proportion of the best ability and knowledge in the community.*

The two great blots, then, upon the Constitution of 1782 were "the outlawry"—the phrase is Burke's—of the great mass of the Irish people, the Catholics, and the exceedingly illusory character of the existing parliamentary institutions. The strenuous efforts of some of the noblest Irishmen were directed to the removal of these blots. Foremost among them stood Grattan. Not indeed that he desired to throw open the Legislature to Catholics. "I am a friend," he declared, as late as

* Vol. vi. p. 520.

1792, "to the liberty of the Roman Catholic, but it is only inasmuch as his liberty is entirely consistent with the Protestant ascendancy and an addition to the strength and freedom of the Protestant community. These being my principles, and the Protestant interest my first object, you may judge that I shall never assent to any measure tending to shake the security of property in this kingdom or to subvert the Protestant ascendancy."* Charlamont and Flood held similar language. Like Grattan, they desired to create popular institutions. But they would have had such institutions wholly Protestant. As a matter of fact all attempts to purify and reform the Irish House of Commons during the ten years from 1782 to 1792 failed mainly through the determined opposition of Fitzgibbon. Let us not be unjust, however, to this highly gifted man. It doubtless appeared to him that corruption was a necessity. He judged—and he was probably right—that only by the maintenance of England's supremacy could the connection between the two nominally equal and independent countries be secured. And the means which he employed to maintain it were probably the only means open to him. However that may be, there can be no question that Sir Lawrence Parsons was right in declaring in 1790, "It has been the object of the English Ministers ever since 1782 to countervail what we obtained at that period; and to substitute a surreptitious and clandestine influence for the open power which the English legislature was then obliged to relinquish." The French Revolution introduced a new element into European politics. The main idea underlying that great movement was that supreme power in every country belongs, by a natural imprescriptible and inalienable right, to the numerical majority of its adult male inhabitants, somewhat oddly designated "citizens." I will not now discuss this singular doctrine. All I need here observe is that in Ireland it took possession of the minds of multitudes, and aroused a feeling before which Fitzgibbon and his colleagues were obliged to give way. In 1793 a measure became law by which the franchise was bestowed on the great bulk of the Irish Catholics, but without the power of sitting in Parliament. This Act, Mr. Lecky writes, "swept away the few remaining disabilities relating to property which grew out of the penal code. It enabled Catholics to vote like Protestants for members of Parliament and magistrates in cities or boroughs; to become elected members of all corporations except Trinity College; to keep arms subject to some specified conditions; to hold all civil and military offices in the kingdom from which they were not

* "Miscellaneous Works," p. 289.

specifically excluded ; to hold the medical professorships on the foundation of Sir Patrick Dun ; to take degrees and hold offices in any mixed college connected with the University of Dublin that might hereafter be founded. It also threw open to them the degrees of the University, enabling the King to alter its statutes to that effect. A long clause enumerated the prizes which were still withheld. Catholics might not sit in either House of Parliament ; they were excluded from almost all government and judicial positions ; they could not be Privy Councillors, King's Counsel, Fellows of Trinity College, sheriffs or sub-sheriffs, or generals of the staff. Nearly every post of ambition was still reserved for Protestants, and the restrictions weighed most heavily on the Catholics who were most educated and most able." * It is manifest that such a measure could not be regarded as a settlement for the Irish question. It was, on the very face of it, incomplete and provisional : an instalment, merely, of justice. "If," says Mr. Lecky, "the Catholic question had been settled in 1793, the whole subsequent history of Ireland would probably have been changed. The rebellion of 1798 would, almost certainly, either never have taken place, or would have been confined to an insignificant disturbance in the north, and the social and political convulsions which were produced by the agitations of the present century might have been wholly, or in great measure, averted." †

I observed just now that the chief enemy of the two principal reforms obviously necessary to render the Constitution of 1782 a reality was Fitzgibbon. Let me say a word or two more regarding this eminent person, unquestionably one of the most striking figures in all Irish history. Mr. Froude has done him the questionable service of adopting him as a hero. As a matter of fact, he appears to have been a man of clear, if somewhat narrow, intellectual vision, of unflinching courage, and of indomitable will. Although the son of an apostate from the Catholic religion, I doubt if he was greatly animated by theological animosity in his life-long opposition to Catholic claims. I incline to believe that he supposed himself to be speaking the truth when, upon a famous occasion, he declared that he had not a spark of religious bigotry in his composition. His dislike of Catholicism appears to have been mainly political. He was of Lord Westmoreland's opinion, that "the frame of the Irish Government is a Protestant garrison (in the words of Mr. Burke) in possession of the law, magistracy, and power of the country, holding that property under the tenure of British power and supremacy, and ready at any instant to crush the rising of the conquered." It

* Vol. vi. p. 587.

† *Ibid.* p. 575.

appeared to him that nothing was more inexpedient than, in any way, to weaken the power of that garrison. And that such was the inevitable tendency of the proposals for reform, whether by removing the disabilities of Catholics, or by giving a more popular character to the Legislature, he saw clearly enough. Again, it must never be forgotten that the position of the statesmen responsible for the government of Ireland from 1782 to 1792 was one of the gravest difficulty. The Constitution was largely the result of that ineradicable passion of nationality which is so strongly marked a characteristic of the inhabitants of Ireland. It expressed but it did not gratify that passion.

“Boast of the prosperity of your country as you may,” Sir Lawrence Parsons told the Irish House of Commons in 1790, “and after all, I ask, what is it but a secondary kingdom? An inferior member of a great empire, without any movement or orbit of its own? We may pride ourselves that we are a great kingdom, but the fact is that we are scarcely known beyond the boundaries of our shores. Who out of Ireland ever hears of Ireland? What name have we among the nations of the earth? Who fears us? Who respects us? Where are our ambassadors? What treaties do we enter into? With what nation do we make peace or declare war? Are we not a mere cipher in all these, and are not these what give a nation consequence and fame? All these are sacrificed to the connection with England. A suburb to England, we are sunk in her shade. True, we are an independent kingdom; we have an imperial crown distinct from England; but it is a metaphysical distinction, a mere sport for speculative men.”

The concessions embodied in the Constitution of 1782 included, theoretically, as the orator went on to remark, everything short of separation. Could the theory be reduced to practice without necessarily leading to separation? Fitzgibbon was of opinion that it could not. And greater men than Fitzgibbon thought so too. It is clear from some highly important State papers which Mr. Lecky has been fortunate enough to bring to light, that so early as 1792 Pitt regarded the Constitution of 1782 as provisional and unworkable. “They must look,” he wrote, “to some permanent system.” “The idea,” he wrote to Lord Westmoreland [of a legislative union], “has long been in my mind. I hardly dare flatter myself with the hope of its taking place; but I believe it, though in itself not easy to accomplish, to be the only solution of other and greater difficulties.” The idea, indeed, was not a new one. As early as 1783 the Duke of Richmond had declared in Parliament that the danger of the situation in Ireland could be met only by “an incorporate union.” Nay, eighty years earlier—in 1704—the Irish Parliament had expressly petitioned for such a union, and their petition had been rejected from most unworthy motives.

And now, turning from the past to the present, let us glance at some of the chief lessons deducible from the chapter of Irish history at which we have been glancing. One of them, according to Mr. Lecky, is as follows :—

To an historian of the eighteenth century few things can be more grotesquely absurd than to suppose that the merits or demerits, the failure or the success of the old Irish Parliament has any real bearing on modern schemes for reconstructing the government of Ireland on a revolutionary and Jacobin basis; entrusting the protection of property and the maintenance of law to some democratic assembly, consisting mainly of Fenians and Land Leaguers, of paid agitators and of penniless adventurers. The parliamentary system of the eighteenth century might be represented in very different lights by its enemies and by its friends. Its enemies would describe it as essentially government carried on through the instrumentality of a corrupt oligarchy; of a large, compact body of members holding places and pensions at the pleasure of the Government, and removed by the system of rotten boroughs from all effectual popular control. Its friends would describe it as essentially the government of Ireland by the gentlemen of Ireland, and especially by its landlord class. Neither representation would be strictly true, but each contains a large measure of truth. The nature of the Irish constituencies and the presence in the House of Commons of a body of pensioners and placemen, forming considerably more than a third of the whole assembly and nearly half of its active members, gave the Government a power which, except under very rare and extraordinary circumstances, must, if fully exerted, have been overwhelming. The system of corruption was largely extended after the Regency controversy, and it produced evils that it is difficult to overrate. It enabled a small oligarchy to resist the most earnest and most legitimate demands of Irish opinion, and, as Grattan vainly predicted, it taught the people to look elsewhere for their representatives, and exposed them to the fatal contagion of the revolutionary spirit that was then circulating through Europe. On the other hand, the Irish Parliament was a body consisting very largely of independent country gentlemen, who, on nearly all questions affecting the economical and industrial development of the country, had a powerful if not a decisive influence. The lines of party were but faintly drawn. Most questions were settled by mutual compromise or general concurrence, and it was in reality only in a small class of political questions that the corrupt power of Government seems to have been strained. The Irish House of Commons consisted mainly of the class of men who now form the Irish grand juries. It comprised the flower of the landlord class. It was essentially and pre-eminently the representative of the property of the country. It had all the instincts and the prejudices, but also all the qualities and the capacities of an educated propertied class, and it brought great local knowledge and experience to its task. Most of its work was of that practical and unobtrusive character which leaves no trace in history. Several useful laws were made to rectify the scandalous abuses of Irish prisons, to improve the condition of insol-

vent debtors, to prevent burials in churches, to establish hospitals and infirmaries, to check different kinds of disorder as they arose, to make harbours and canals, to encourage local institutions and industries; and, except during the conflict on the Regency question, the parliamentary machine had hitherto moved on with very little friction or disturbance.*

The mere perusal of this passage is sufficient to show how entirely the conditions of the Irish question have changed. The Constitution of 1782 vested power in the hands of the territorial aristocracy of Ireland. The men who composed the two Houses of the Irish Parliament a century ago, professed the English form of the Protestant religion, were largely of English extraction, and owed their possessions chiefly to English confiscations. In the contemporary Home Rule movement the landlord class has simply no place. It is essentially a movement of Celtic peasants, deeply—a Protestant would say bigotedly—attached to the Catholic faith, animated—who shall say unreasonably?—by race hatred, which centuries of ruthless persecution have burnt into their blood and bones, and hungering for the land whence the sword of the “Saxon” conqueror drove their forefathers. “Do you think,” asked Sir Lawrence Parsons, in his masterly speech on the Catholic question in 1793, “do you think that you will meliorate the Constitution by introducing into it such a copious adulteration of the rabble?” But by the last Reform Act the power of determining Parliamentary elections has passed entirely into the hands of the portion of the community thus contemptuously designated. Grattan held it “essential to the safe working of representative institutions in Ireland that they should be under the full guidance and control of the property of the country, and that the greatest of all calamities would be that their guidance should pass into the hands of adventurers and demagogues.” And upon a memorable occasion, after inveighing, with all the power of his majestic eloquence, against “the disconnection of political authority in Ireland from wealth and property,” he added the significant caution: “If you transfer the power in the State to those who have nothing in the country, they will afterwards transfer the property. . . . Of such a representation the first ordinance would be robbery, accompanied with the circumstance incidental to robbery—murder.”

But if it is important to note this great difference between the conditions of the Irish question a century ago and now, it is no less important to apprehend that the essential character of Irish patriotism is absolutely unchanged. If there is any one fact which stands out clearly in the history of the Constitution of 1782, it is the intensity of the national spirit which existed in all

* Vol. vi. p. 442.

classes of Irishmen. "Ireland a nation" was the brief but pregnant formula which then expressed the most cherished aspiration of Hibernian patriotism. "Ireland a nation" is now, as we all know, the most popular theme of the orators of the present Home Rule party, from Mr. Parnell down to Dr. Tanner. The dominant idea of these gentlemen, if there be any meaning in words, is Irish autonomy. There lies before me, as I write, a catena from their speeches, in which this is avowed with entire openness and straightforwardness. They, at all events, do not impose upon us with any *pictæ tectoria linguæ*. And their frankness and honesty are worthy of respect. To me, one of the most disheartening and humiliating signs of the times is the judicial blindness which appears to have fallen upon so many leading Englishmen, and which, as it would seem, prevents them from discerning what—even apart from these candid avowals—is patent to all men, elsewhere, throughout the civilized world. As though the facts were in the least altered by declining to look them in the face; as though any quantity of parliamentary rhetoric and rigmarole could transmute the thing that is not into the thing that is. I confess my patience fails me when I hear the grievances of Ireland lightly dismissed as sentimental, traditional, race grievances. Even if that were an entirely correct account of them—which it is not—such grievances are much deeper and much more enduring sources of enmity than personal injuries. They are "portions and parcels of the dreadful past," which is the sad inheritance of the Irish peasantry. "A debt accumulated through seven centuries," it has been well said. Yes, and at compound interest. The Celtic people of Ireland feel that the English connection is what one of their most authoritative writers called it three centuries ago: "grave jugum sub quo tota natio ingemiscit." "None of us," said Mr. Parnell in his famous Cincinnati speech*—"none of us, whether we are in America or Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England." And similarly, in a more recent oration:† "Speaking for myself, and I believe for the Irish people and for all my colleagues in Parliament, I have to declare that we will never accept, either expressly or impliedly, anything but the full and complete right to arrange our own affairs, to make our land a nation, to secure for her, free from outside control, the right to direct her own course amongst the peoples of the world."

So much must suffice upon this most momentous subject. Let

* Delivered at Cincinnati on Feb. 23, 1880, and reported in the *Irish World*.

† Delivered at Mayo on the 5th of November 1885, and reported in *United Ireland*.

me conclude by presenting to my readers Mr. Lecky's reflections upon the essentials of good government in Ireland.

The problem before the Irish Parliament [under the Constitution of 1782] would, under the most favourable circumstances, have been an extremely difficult one, and most analogies drawn from purely English experience, and especially from later English experience, only tend to mislead. The goodness of laws and political institutions is essentially relative, depending upon their adaptation to the character, circumstances, wants, and traditions of the people for whom they are intended; and in all these respects England and Ireland were wholly different. There is no greater delusion than to suppose that the same degree of popular government can be wisely accorded to nations in all stages of development, and that a country in a backward stage is really benefited by a servile imitation of the institutions of its more advanced neighbours. A country where the traditions of many peaceful centuries have knitted the various elements of national being into a happy unity, where there is no disaffection to the Crown or the Government, where the relations of classes are normal and healthy, where the influence of property is unbroken, and where those who are incapable of judging for themselves find natural leaders of character and intelligence everywhere at their head, can easily bear an amount of democracy which must bring utter ruin upon a country torn by sedition, religious animosities, and agrarian war, and in which all the natural ligatures of society have been weakened or disjointed. An amount of democracy which in one country leaves the main direction of affairs in the hands of property and intelligence, in another country virtually disfranchises both, and establishes a system of legalized plunder by transferring all controlling authority to an ignorant and excitable peasantry, guided and duped by demagogues, place-hunters, and knaves. A system of criminal law and of criminal procedure which is admirably adapted for a country where crime is nothing more than the outbreak of isolated bad passions, and where every man's hand is against the criminal, must fail to fulfil the first purposes of justice, if it is applied without modification to a country where large classes of crime are looked upon by great masses of the population as acts of war, where jurymen will acquit in the face of the clearest evidence, and where known criminals may live in security under the shelter of popular connivance or popular intimidation. In a rich country, in which many generations of uninterrupted prosperity have raised the industrial spirit to the highest point, in which energy and self-reliance are almost redundantly displayed, and in which the middle-class is the strongest power in the State, nearly all industrial enterprises may be safely left to the unassisted action of private individuals. It is not so in a very poor country, where the middle-class is small and feeble, and where a long train of depressing circumstances have reduced the industrial spirit to the lowest ebb. Perhaps the worst consequence of the legislative union has been the tendency it produces to measure Irish legislation by English wants and experience, and to force Ireland into a plane of democracy for which all who have any

real knowledge of its circumstances must know that it is wholly unfitted. Very different conditions require very different types of administration, and, in Ireland, the elements of self-government lie, and always have lain, within a higher plane and a more restricted circle than in England, and the relations of classes and the conditions of opinion are incomparably less favourable to popular institutions. A stronger and firmer executive, a more restricted suffrage, a greater concentration of power, a more constant intervention of Government, both in the way of assistance and initiative, and in the way of restriction and control, is imperatively required.*

W. S. LILLY.

ART. V.—THE JEWS IN FRANCE.

1. *La France Juive*. Essai d'Histoire Contemporaine. Par EDOUARD DRUMONT. 2 Vols. Cent sixantième Edition. Paris : C. Marpon et E. Flammarion.
2. *La France Juive devant l'opinion*. Par EDOUARD DRUMONT. Quatre-vingtième mille. Paris : C. Marpon et E. Flammarion.
3. *Le Juif, Le Judaïsme et la Judaisation des peuples Chrétiens*. Par le Chevalier GOUGENOT DES MOUSSEAUX. Deuxième Edition. Paris : F. Wattelier et Cie. 1886.
4. *La Question Juive*. Par JACQUES DE BIEZ. Paris : C. Marpon et Flammarion. 1886.
5. *Les Juifs rois de l'Epoque Histoire de la Féodalité Financière*. Par — TOUSSENEL. 2 Vols. Troisième Edition. Paris : Gabriel de Gonet. 1846–86.
6. *La Juiverie*. Par G. DE PASCAL. Avec une Lettre. Préface par EDOUARD DRUMONT. Paris : Librairie Blériot. 1887.
7. *La Russie Juive*. Par KALIXT DE WOLSKI. Paris : Nouvelle Librairie Parisienne. Albert Savine, Editeur. 1887.
8. *L'Algérie Juive*. Par GEORGE MEYNIÉ. Deuxième Edition. Paris : Nouvelle Librairie Parisienne. Albert Savine, Editeur. 1887.

THERE are few questions on which the spirit of the age is so sensitive as upon the "persecution of the Jews." No sooner is any attempt made, either in Berlin or in Bucharest, in Tunis or St. Petersburg, to repress the rapacity of the Jews,

and to circumscribe their power of oppressing others, than a cry of horror and dismay is raised from all parts of the civilized world; the statesman and the orator, the noble and the exalted in every country deem it their duty to appear on the public platform, and to protest in the name of enlightenment, of liberty, of tolerance, of Christian charity and of humanity, against the ill-treatment which these poor Hebrews are being subjected to. Nothing can equal the general sympathy which their distress calls forth from all sides, except, perhaps, the apathy and cold indifference with which the humanitarians look on when real atrocities are perpetrated upon their fellow-Christians. Three hundred thousand Catholics are massacred in China and Tonquin; priests and nuns are thrown out of their own houses, hunted and persecuted in France, the Catholics are outlawed in their own country; feeble old men, poor dying women, helpless children, are thrown homeless and destitute upon the hillsides of Ireland, to live or die, as best they can, in the snow and winter blast, whilst the roof which had sheltered them and their fathers before them is set on fire or levelled to the ground, in the name of the law, and scarcely any notice is taken of these horrors. What is stranger still, even when the Jews are caught red-handed in the act of persecuting Christians, outraging religion, and undermining society, and their evil deeds are being exposed before the tribunal of public opinion—even then, we find this same excessive tenderness and mawkish sentimentality breaking forth in some places. To raise an outcry against any individuals independently of their deeds, simply because they happen to be of a particular race, creed, or country is most censurable, and may, according to circumstances, be even criminal; but when specific charges are brought against a class of men, and these charges are supported by authenticated facts, these individuals cannot shelter themselves behind a name, or take advantage of a prejudice existing in their favour. The public have a right to examine on their own merits the charges and the facts on which it is sought to establish them. This is what it is purposed here to do regarding the Jews in France and M. Drumont's book; and I shall endeavour to do so with impartiality.

It is well, perhaps, to state at the very outset that M. Drumont is a Catholic, a Frenchman, and by profession a journalist, but independent of any of the political parties which divide France just now. He was for some time employed in the "Bureaux de la Préfecture de la Seine," but finding office work too dull, he became connected with the Press. After serving for some time on the staff of the *Liberté* and other papers, he joined the *Monde*. In his capacity of journalist and reporter he had

exceptional opportunities for gathering the information required to write such a book as "*La France Juive*." He has succeeded in giving to the public a most fascinating book ; a book evidently written by a man who is in earnest, and who feels strongly on his subject. Juvenal's "*facit indignatio versum*" was never better illustrated. There runs through every page, from the first to the last, a fire which is most captivating. In its arrangement the book lacks, perhaps, here and there logical order ; it seems rather a collection of "jottings by the way" than a systematic treatise. But the interest of the book is so great, the revelations one meets at almost every page are so startling, that one hardly notices the want of connection between the different parts of the work. Now and then, M. Drumont gives a strained interpretation to some verses of the Psalms and other passages of the Scriptures ; and to suit his purpose he makes perhaps a little free in the application of them, but there is nothing absolutely shocking or irreverent in the use he makes of his texts. To our mind he seems too indiscriminating in his prejudice against the converts from Judaism. He has met, in the course of his investigations, so many impostors and sham converts from Judaism that he seems inclined to think that the dose of original sin in a Jew must be more than double ; he requires the baptism of five previous generations before he considers the original stain fully washed out in the Christian descendants from Judaism, and before he would have in them the same confidence he is prepared to give to an ordinary Christian. He forgets that if there has been a Mgr. Bauer, and other scoundrels who, for their own base purposes, have received baptism because it was expected to pay, there has been an Alphonse Ratisbonne, a Théodore Ratisbonne, a Chevalier Drach, and others, whose sincerity no one ever questioned ; he forgets that the venerable Libermann, the saintly Superior-General of the Missionary Society of the Holy Ghost, upon whose virtues and sanctity the Church has pronounced her verdict,* was a convert from Judaism. With the exception of these few minor points, I have nothing but the most unqualified commendation for the author.

What a revelation his book has been to the world at large ! It appeared to French society, as M. de Biez expresses it, like a most brilliant beacon, suddenly lit up in the midst of a dense fog. It fell upon Parisian society like a bombshell, or a bolt from the blue sky. No one was prepared for it ; Jew and Gentile were alike astounded at the suddenness of the

* See "*Life of the Venerable Paul Mary Francis Libermann*," by Rev. Prosper Goepfert, C.S.Sp. "*Vie du Vénérable Père Libermann*," par le Cardinal Pitra. Deuxième Edition. 1872.

blow and the boldness of the attack. It required no little courage to conceive and carry out such a work as this, under the circumstances in which the author was placed. Without a patron, unaided by any political party, with no other support but the truth of his cause, he entered upon a direct open attack on the most formidable power in Europe, a power before which even kings have capitulated—the power of the money-bags. It was but natural that he should have for a moment felt some misgivings about the wisdom of his undertaking. But if, like Napoleon's greatest general, Ney, "the bravest of the brave," he felt a shivering just before the battle, he has, like him, jumped into the saddle and dashed fearlessly into the midst of the fray, without once looking behind him. He tells us in the sequel to his two volumes "*La France Juive devant l'opinion*," that when his publisher came to him with the first copy of his book and asked him: "What about the lawsuits?" he looked with tearful eyes at his wife and children, at the furniture of his rooms, and felt his blood run cold; but kneeling down on his study floor, he addressed a fervent prayer to the God of his fathers, after which, resolving to do and dare, he exclaimed, "in God's name"—"*A Dieu vat*," as the Breton fisherman says, when loosing the moorings of his smack, he makes for the open sea.

If we are to judge by the results, the prayer has been heard. The success has been enormous, unparalleled. "*La France Juive*" has been, and is still, the book of the season, the talk of every one. In a few months 160 editions and more than 300,000 copies were sold, in spite of the opposition raised against it. All the influence at their command was used by the Jews to obstruct the free sale and circulation of it. Not a copy could be had at any French railway station. Messrs. Hachette & Co., who enjoy in France the monopoly of the railway book-stalls, as Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son do in Great Britain, would not be allowed to expose it for sale, although the most objectionable literature is freely supplied. The booksellers in many a provincial town, where the Jews are strong and the booksellers probably under "obligation" to them, dare not put the book on their counters for sale; but the demand for it being very general, they sell it underhand like smuggled goods.

We are by no means surprised to hear that the Jews, either of France or any other country, do not relish M. Drumont's book; and that other people besides the Jews may possibly object to it. It is a most formidable and crushing indictment, not only of the Jews in France, but of the present French Government and of Parisian society as well. The author says boldly and fearlessly whatever he has to say, without respect of persons, caring but

little on whom his censure may fall, once he has satisfied himself that the censure is deserved and called for.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, he seems to have done his work conscientiously. If the facts he gives are strong, the charges he makes damning, he is most careful to supply chapter and verse. He has purposely abstained from entering upon matters that reached him from private sources, how much soever they would have been to his purpose. "I could have gone behind the scenes," he tells us, "to see and speak of what is hidden to the lay public; the invitations I received were many and pressing; but I had taken my place in the pit, in front of the foot-lights, and there I resolved to remain." When it became known that he was collecting materials for his book, and especially since he has published it, he received communications from the most unexpected quarters, offering to give him information on the scandalous misdoings of sundry Jews. The victims of their rapacity, having been unable to find any redress against their persecutors, cherished the hope that in M. Drumont they would find an avenger of their private wrongs. But he has invariably declined making use of any such information. He claims to have introduced in his work nothing which had not already been before the public in some way or other. The facts are taken either from Jewish sources, such as the *Bulletin de l'Alliance Universelle*, "Etudes Juives," *l'Univers Israélite*, The Talmud, "Archives Israélites," and other works not usually in the hands of the Gentiles; or they were buried in the public records, like our Blue-Books, which few people care to read; or they appeared isolated, and had thus failed to strike the public mind, or if they did, they were soon forgotten, and failed to create the extraordinary sensation which he has produced by collecting all these facts, binding them together, showing their relation to one another, their unity of aim and purpose, and making it clear to all the world that they are the result of a vast conspiracy against Christian society. He has accumulated so many striking proofs to this effect, that no impartial thoughtful reader can help exclaiming with the Republican Jacques de Biez, "Le Juif, voilà l'ennemi." He shows France degraded, ruined financially, politically and morally, by the Jews. He supplies the names of the chief actors, and their respective share in the unholy work. His cry of alarm has not been unheeded. He has evidently stirred the country's heart to its very depths. Since "La France Juive," with its appendix, "La France Juive devant l'opinion," has appeared, there has been formed an "Alliance Anti-Israélite Universelle;" a newspaper has been started with the object of promoting the expulsion of the Jews from France; the Jewish question has become a plank in the political platform, it is carried to the

hustings, and no candidate for Parliamentary honours in France can henceforth afford to omit the question from his programme.

The object of M. Drumont is to bring his readers face to face with the Jew as he really is. He proves, both by the public records and the Jews' own words, not only what they are aiming at, and have for centuries been aiming at, the means they command and employ for carrying out their plans, but he exposes in the full glare of daylight what the Jews have done and are doing in France in furtherance of their nefarious object.

Many whose way of life does not, fortunately for themselves, bring them much in contact with the Jews, and who know them but by report, fancy that they are a harmless, inoffensive, and much ill-used people, whose only object in life is to make money. They buy our old clothes, old pictures, and old furniture—which is rather a convenience for the community; they sell eye-glasses, and traffic in other commodities, but there is no offence in that; they carry on a little usury, but that is the fault of those who borrow money from them as much as theirs; some of them have made princely fortunes, but that is their luck, or their merit. Upon such readers Drumont's book will come as a surprise.

I. *Aim and Object of the Jews.*

There lives not a Jew, M. Drumont tells us, whether he has given up the exterior practices of his religion or not, whether he professes to be a sceptic or a freethinker, who does not firmly believe that he belongs to a superior race, the destiny of which is to rule over all the races of mankind, and to become the arbiter of all the other nations. They say that if they are scattered over the surface of the whole earth, it is because the whole earth is to be their possession. Their recognized official organs, such as the *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, the "Archives Israélites," and others, openly tell us: "We are the superior race, the world belongs to us, we shall and must be the masters of the world." The faith in this destiny is not of to-day nor of yesterday—it has never forsaken the Jew. When Titus destroyed Jerusalem and dispersed the twelve tribes, they carried this faith with them in their restless wanderings through the world.

St. Jerome, who knew the Jewish doctrines and traditions well, speaking of the dream of Nabuchodonozor and the little stone, which, rolling from the mountain top, is to break the statue of Nabuchodonozor, says, "The Jews explain this passage in their favour, and refuse to see in the stone an emblem of Christ. In their opinion this stone signifies the people of Israel, suddenly grown sufficiently strong to overthrow all the kingdoms of the

earth, and to found on their ruins the empire of Judah !” * The faith in this glorious destiny has given the Jews that dogged perseverance, that irrepressible constancy which has carried them through centuries of hardships. The belief in this advent is most fully set forth in the “Kabbala Denudata,” or “Tradition Unveiled”—a Jewish work, printed by a Jewish publisher † in the seventeenth century—in which we read the following most explicit pronouncement :

And all the princes shall serve Israel, and the nations of the earth how numerous soever they may be on the surface of the globe, will be the servants of Israel. They will be subject to no other influence but that of the Church of Israel, which will be their Queen and Mistress ; from her they shall receive their sustenance, they will feed on the crumbs of her table, and on what will have been left after all the children of Israel, to the very last, will have eaten and sated themselves. All principalities will then be subject to Israel. The kings will accept her yoke willingly, serve her all the days of their life, and carry out all her behests. All the nations will lick the dust off her feet.

The Talmud, which has been substituted by them for the Bible, as the code of their religious belief as well as of their morality, tells them that they have an inalienable right to the property of the Goym (Christians) ; it is therefore lawful to rob and deceive them in every possible way. The promise was made to Abraham, their father, that his seed shall possess the earth. The Goym have consequently no right to possess any portion of it ; they are simply usurpers. It is lawful, even meritorious, to kill even the best of the Goym. A Jew accused of the murder of a mere Goy is not guilty of blood and cannot be punished. Any three Jews can free another Jew of any promise, oath, contract he may have made or *is going* to make within the year to any Christian. They call that the “Kol-Nidrai.” ‡

The law of Moses which says, “Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour,” “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s house, nor anything that is his,” “Thou shalt not kill,” “Thou shalt not steal,” is not binding on them, they say, except in their dealings with orthodox Jews. Mere Gentiles cannot be considered as their neighbours, any more than the brute (these are the very expressions of the Talmud). Social relations become absolutely impossible with people whose actions are

* Drach, “L’Eglise et la Synagogue,” p. 18.

† “Kabbala Denudata.” Sulzbaci : Abrahami Lichtenthaleri. 1677.

‡ Drach, “Harmonie entre l’Eglise et la Synagogue.” Lettre deuxième, p. 82.

guided by principles of morality which are subversive of the code of ethics which obtains among civilized nations. It is in the Talmud and its teaching that we must look for the cause of the antagonism and dislike which the Christians of every country in all ages entertained towards the Jews. It is usual to attribute to ignorance, superstition, and religious bigotry the exceptional condition to which the Jews were subject in the Middle Ages; but is not the instinct of self-preservation in Christian nations of itself sufficient to account for the rough treatment given to people who carried out against their fellow-men such a programme as is detailed in the Talmud?

A High Chancellor of France in the eighteenth century called that Talmud and the Jew trained by it "the monster of civil society." Goschler, a convert from Judaism, says: "The Talmud has at all times fostered the most anti-social doctrines, and inspired in every Hebrew the fiercest hatred against Christians." Pfefferkorn, another convert from Judaism, says: "You would in vain look for a more dishonest and more dangerous sect, or one more fatal to the Christian nations, than the Jewish sect. Day and night these men are devising means to destroy and upset the power of the Christians."*

The Rabbis who were brought before St. Louis, King of France, to give an account of their doctrines and practices, confessed that the Talmud requires the Jews to pronounce every morning curses and imprecations against the Catholic Church, her ministers, the Catholic kings, and all the enemies of Israel. The Catholic Church is considered by them as their great enemy, the great obstacle to the realization of their hopes, and the promises made to Abraham. Even such freethinkers among the Jews as James Darmesteter, call Christianity or Catholicism "a Jewish heresy which has for eighteen centuries impeded the intellectual development of Europe." They think, therefore, that they are justified in entertaining against the Church the fiercest hatred, in seeking by open and secret persecution to undermine her influence. Everywhere they band themselves with her avowed enemies. Whenever they see the Church humbled and down-trodden their exultation and insolence knows no bounds. The *Univers Israélite* says:

The sons of progress and enlightenment have now little more to do than to push with their foot this worm-eaten Church; the day of her ruin can be easily foreseen. Every Israelite must feel the desire to hasten on that day and to co-operate in a work in which their most sacred interests are at stake.†

* Pfefferkorn. "Die Kirche und die Synagoge."

† *L'Univers Israélite*, 1867. vol. x. p. 223

There can be no doubt about the aim and purpose of the Jewish race; it is here clearly established that the consummation they all wish for is the ruin and breaking up of Christian society, the conquest of the world, and the triumph of Israel.

II. *Instruments for Carrying out that Object.*

1. If their aspirations are high and their ambition unlimited, the means they command to carry them out are equal to their designs. From one end of the world to the other the Jews are bound together by the strongest ties of solidarity and brotherhood. There is no distinction between rich and poor; they may deal in old clothes or be the kings of the Stock Exchange, they are all members of the same family. Through the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," with a central committee in Paris and local committees in every country in the world, they are overspreading the whole universe like a sort of Freemasonry. M. Crémieux, who was the head centre of this "Alliance Universelle," called it "the most beautiful and most fertile institution the world has ever seen. No more powerful instrument of domination could be devised—the whole world is subject to its rule." So it certainly seems to be, if we are to judge from the results given by M. Drumont. It embraces all the Jews, even those who may have renounced their religion. They are all acting in concert and follow, through various means and different ways, a deeply laid plan. Whether in France or in China, in Melbourne or in London, their aim and object is the same—the triumph of Israel and the destruction of Christian society. Whether he uses his talents as a conspirator, or his peculiar aptitude for the treachery of the spy, whether by the manœuvring of the Hebrew ring on the money market, the Jew robs the Christians of their wealth, or by the teaching of the school, the University, and the Press, he robs the people of their faith, his object is one and the same—the ruin and destruction of Christian society. In their war against the Catholic Church they are aided by all those who with them curse Christ and His Church, by those who are in rebellion, open or secret, against legitimate authority, by all the outcasts who, like themselves, are watching for their opportunity for destroying existing institutions; they find especially faithful and willing allies in the members of the secret societies, foremost among whom are the Freemasons.

2. Freemasonry is one of the many, and certainly one of the most powerful, engines they have invented for their war against Christian society. For masonry is the offspring of the Synagogue. The Freemasons owe their origin to the Jews—so the Abbé Davin proved; so the "Révélations complètes sur la Franc-maçonnerie," by Leo Taxil, one of their adepts, whose conver-

sion two years ago produced such a sensation, would give us to understand. How could we otherwise explain the flavour of Hebraism which pervades the whole Masonic ritual? What could the construction of the Temple of Solomon, the Ark of the Covenant, the Candlestick with the seven branches have to do with the acknowledged objects of Freemasonry? Everything in their organization seems to point to a Hebrew origin. The Hebrew and Masonic almanacks are nearly the same; both begin their year in March; the names of the Masonic months are the very names used by the Hebrews: Adar, Veadar, Nissan, Iyar, Sivan, Tammouz, Ab, Eloul, Tischri, Heschvan, Kislev, Tebeth, and Shebat. The acacia—so dear to Masons, as their rallying sign, the leaves of which adorn their button-holes on all festive occasions—is but the mystic shittah, shittim, the setim-wood, sacred among Hebrews, of which Moses in Exodus orders that the Tabernacle, the Ark of the Covenant, the Table, the Bars, and many of the utensils used in the Temple, should be made. Their passwords are Hebrew. We find the same traces of Jewish origin in the Masonic sisters' ritual, where Judith, Jacob's ladder, Eva, Noah's Ark, Mount Ararat, &c., are in great requisition. A most remarkable feature in all the quotations from the Bible, and allusions to it, which we find everywhere in the Masonic ceremonial, is that they are all from the Old Testament, the New Testament is altogether ignored as if it did not exist. This certainly betrays a Jewish tendency. The only reference we find to the New Testament is their abominable parody of the sacraments of the Catholic Church, especially the Last Supper and the Most Blessed Eucharist.

The most rabid members of the craft, those who parade everywhere their hatred of the Catholic religion, such as "Nubius" and his worthy confederate "Piccolo Tigre," are Jews. Adam Weishaupt, the founder of Illuminism, the worst and most aggressive form of Freemasonry, was a Jew; Paschalis, a Portuguese Jew, is the founder of the Lyons Lodge of "Illuminés." It is a well-known fact, related by many authors who have written on Freemasonry, conspicuous among them the famous Eliphaz Levy,* that of the nine members who constitute the Supreme Council of Freemasonry, and direct the movements of the craft all the world over, at least five must be Jews. Alban Stolz, in his work on Freemasonry,† says the most imminent danger for the altar and the throne in our modern days comes from the power which the Jews have acquired by means of Freemasonry.

* Eliphaz Levy. "Histoire de la Magie."

† "Mörtel für die Freimaurer." Alban Stolz.

These Freemasons seem to be as cosmopolitan and unpatriotic as their confederates the Jews themselves. Here, for instance, is the Agenda paper issued by the Lodge of Vincennes on the 24th of August 1886, for a meeting to be held on the 3rd of September following: "To consider the reasons why France, especially the Freemasons of France, should desire that Germany should retain Alsace and Lorraine." Their most authorized orators tell us that "a Freemason should be ready to disown his own country." They are not less emphatic on the part played by Freemasonry in the war against established institutions. Henri Martin calls Freemasonry "the Laboratory of Revolution;" Félix Pyat, "the Church of the Revolution." Freemasons have taken an active part in all political struggles. Another says, in rather expressive if somewhat mixed metaphors, "Freemasonry is a Colossus with a thousand heads, with a hundred hands, which throws its affiliations like a huge net over the whole country so as to prepare the needed social reforms."

The Jews and Freemasons work at all events in perfect harmony, oppressing the poor, persecuting Catholics in every shape and form, corrupting society, pillaging, ruining, degrading France.

3. The Jew, says the Hebrew Darmesteter,* knows better than any one else the vulnerable points of the Church. In the discovery of them he is guided by his knowledge of the Scriptures, and the instinct of the oppressed. He is the teacher of the unbeliever; all the rebels of the intellect turn to him either openly or in the dark. He is the chief artisan in the immense workshop of blasphemy of the great Emperor Frederick, of the princes of Swabia and of Aragon. It is the Jew who forges that murderous arsenal of irony, of sarcasm, of argument which he will hand over to the sceptics of the Renaissance and the libertines of the eighteenth century; and the biting sarcasm of Voltaire is but the last reverberating echo of the word whispered six centuries before in the darkness of the Ghetto—ay, even sooner, at the very beginning of the religion of Christ in the time of Celsus.

Renan, so favourable to the Jews, tells us† "that Raschi (the celebrated rabbi, Solomon), and the Tosaphites (or Talmudists), made Nicholas de Lire, and Nicholas de Lire made Luther." Spinoza, as every one knows, was a Jew. Malo, in his "History of the Jews," accounting for the weakness the Jews have for revolutions of all kinds, says: "They look upon the revolutions which agitate the world as the forerunners of their freedom and

* "Coup d'œil sur l'Histoire du Peuple Juif." Darmesteter.

† "La France Littéraire," tome xxvi.

triumph. Everywhere revolutions and political catastrophes are the hope of the orthodox Jews." *

"Every war, every revolution, every political or religious commotion in the Christian community will bring us nearer to the supreme end which is the object of our wishes," says one of their Rabbis. *L'Univers Israélite* for 1866 (vol. iii. p. 129), speaking of the Reformation and the French Revolution, which seem to the Jews kindred movements, says: "The Israelite would be very ungrateful if he did not recognize what he owes to the movement which for more than three centuries has been shaking, and for eighty years has upset, the old state of Society." Cerfbeer de Medelsheim, who is of Jewish descent, says: "Their disastrous influence is felt especially in matters which affect the fortunes of every country; there is not an important enterprise in which the Jews have not the lion's share, no public loan which they do not monopolize, no disaster which is not of their brewing, and by which they do not make large profits." †

In a remarkable article published in the July number, 1884, of the German review, *Vom Fels Zum Meere*, Marshal Moltke describes the anti-social part played by the Jews in Poland, and the share they had in the ruin of that unhappy country. Michelet, whom nobody will accuse of bigotry or of clericalism, says in his "History of France": "The Jews, a living image of the East in the midst of Christendom, seemed planted there to foster animosities. They were said to correspond in seasons of political catastrophes with the infidels, and to invite them to invasion."

On the 20th of June, 1869, there was held in Leipzig a general assembly of Jewish representatives from all the countries of Europe; in that synod a motion was proposed by Dr. Philipson Boun, seconded by the Belgian Chief Rabbi, Astruc, and carried by acclamation to the following effect: "The Synod recognizes that the development and realization of modern principles are the surest guarantees for the present and the future of Judaism and of its members, these principles are the most energetic factors towards the existence, vitality, expansion, and highest development of Judaism."

What are these modern principles but infidelity, scepticism, religious indifference, which, whilst they ruin Christian nations, are the surest guarantee for the triumph of the Jews. Renan says: "The Jew forms invariably a capital element in every conspiracy and in every revolution." Revolutions have never failed to be most profitable to Jews. It is the time for wholesale plunder

* Malo. "Histoire des Juifs," p. 526.

† Cerfbeer de Medelsheim. "Les Juifs: leur Histoire, leur Mœurs," p. 9.

and robbery, for big jobs, for big bargains, and they always lead to big loans. It is in other ways, too, the most effective method for carrying out their programme, as laid down in the Talmud—the destruction of Christian civilization and of Christian society.

The French Revolution and the death of Louis XVI., according to Drumont, were resolved upon in the Jewish Masonic Wilhemsbad Convention, held in 1787, and presided over by the Jew, Adam Weishaupt. He makes this statement on the evidence of persons who were present at the convention. The different revolutionary organizations which are at present undermining European society, have all their strong contingent of Jewish element. Herzen, one of the chiefs of the Nihilists in Russia, is a Jew, so is the Nihilist Goldeberg, so is Deutsch, the Nihilist, arrested some time ago in Odessa. All the Nihilist trials prove that the Jews are very numerous in the Nihilist ranks. This may account for the fact that the Jews have been declared public enemies in Russia, and that it is not safe to travel in Russia without a baptismal certificate, as Mr. Samuel Montague, M.P. for Whitechapel, and Mr. Lewisohn before him, have experienced. The founder and leader of the Socialists, Karl Marx, is a Jew. So are the chief propagandists of the Red International Society, Lasker and Lassalle. The infamous Socialist paper, *Freiheit*, is conducted by Jews. Before he became a statesman the Jew, Naquet, who has written some clever books on chemistry, was a Socialist conspirator, and as such he published a recipe for the fabrication of gun-cotton, in order that “the sons of Liberty might have within easy reach the means of blowing up whole cities, if they find it expedient for the triumph of their cause.” Perhaps he has given up gun-cotton, but he is trying an equally effective means of uprooting the very foundation of Christian society by the Law of Divorce, which he proposed and carried in the “Chambre des Communes,” and which the Rabbi Astruc, of Brussels, prepared for him, as is clearly proved by the correspondence that passed between them, and since made public.

The famous pétroleuse, Louise Michel, lives in the same house with a Jew, Moyse, Conseiller Général of the Département de la Seine, and lately a candidate for the French Senate. It is well to have useful people close at hand in case of an emergency, and to keep on good terms with them.

The organizers and abettors of the strikes among workmen are Jews. The leaders of the strikes of the miners of Decazeville, their apologists in the newspapers and in the French Parliament, are Jews.

4. Renan, in the lectures he delivered in the Collège de France on the Hebrew race, and which are quoted with much pride and

complacency by the editor of the "Archives Israélites," makes use of expressions such as these: "The future belongs to the Jew;" "L'avenir appartient au Judaïsme." From what Drumont tells us it would appear as if the present was already pretty much in their hands, in France at least. There is no State in Europe but is mortgaged to the Jewish bankers. Protracted international wars, large standing armies, have burdened every country with a ruinous public debt, which makes the Jews the arbiters of Europe. Peace and war depend on their beck. Their financial system, as Montesquieu said, is supporting the States of Europe, as the rope may be said to support the unfortunate wretch who is hanging from the gallows. But France especially is at the mercy of the Jews. The Jew as money-lender, usurer, swindler, is busily at work draining the country of its capital, as the leeches are sucking out the life-blood of the horse which has fallen into a pond. The masses toil and labour; the vine-grower, the agriculturist, the artisan, drudge and slave, toil and moil from morning to night to eke out a miserable existence; the profit of their work goes into the coffers of the Jews, who neither plough, nor sow, nor spin. The capital of France is valued at 150 milliards of francs, of which the Jews possess 80—over one-half. Rothschild has more than three milliards for his own share. The widow of James Rothschild died worth 600 millions of francs. The wealth of Monte Christo, fabulous as it seems, is nothing to this. Hirsch, Bischoffsheim, Erlanger Camondo, Ephrussi, possess each a capital nearly as large as Rothschild. The most important railway lines are in the hands of the Jews. The Great Northern, running between Calais and Paris, is the private property of the Rothschilds.* The canals, such of them as are worth speaking of, belong to the Jews.

5. If gold is the first and chief power in the world, the public press holds undoubtedly the second place. The Jews are not ignorant of this. They rule the press of every country by means of their gold. The public press in Paris and in the provinces is to a large extent in their hands. It is only here and there that we find an independent newspaper in France. *Le Voltaire*, *La Presse*, *Le Siècle*, *Les Débats*, *Le Constitutionnel*, *La République Française*, *La Nation*, *La Revanche*, *Le Gaulois*, *Le Figaro*, *La France*, *La Liberté*, *La Lanterne*, are all sold to the Jews, or edited by Jews. With the exception of four or five, all the Parisian papers are under their control. This gives them an

* Toussenel, in his famous work, "Les Juifs rois de l'Europe," tells in an extraordinary story how poor Rothschild got possession of the Great Northern Railway, the Government of Louis Philippe handing the line over to him for 99 years, after 100 millions of francs of public money had been spent for building the line.

immense power over public opinion, which they manipulate as they please. The unthinking part of mankind, which, after all, form the majority, take from the newspapers their political creed, and very often their principles of right and wrong, of honour, of virtue, of uprightness, and of patriotism. The newspaper sets before the masses the idol of the hour; tells them what to admire and what to disapprove; what to adore and what to burn. Absolute masters as they are of the press, the Jews can make and unmake reputations; they have it in their power to undermine faith and belief—and they use their power. By flattering the passions of the masses they can declare war upon institutions and governments as they list.

6. The principal telegraph agencies, the “*Agence Havas*,” “*Agence Reuter*,” and “*Agence Stefani*,” are completely in their hands; they can thus, to suit their purposes, spread false news about diplomatic difficulties, rumours of war, and thereby raise and lower the money market at will.

7. They are more powerful than kings. Their gold is the universal talisman, the secret of all power, the instrument of every enjoyment, the tempter of every conscience, the mysterious influence which rules the world, the master of the nations which have given up their allegiance to Christ. With it they can purchase everything which has its price, everything which is purchasable. Nothing is safe against their encroachments: the land no more than the railroads and the canals. By their mortgages they have long held the land in their grip—and by degrees it is becoming their property; and soon the monopolists in land, which the Great Revolution had swept away, will be replaced by monopolists more hateful and more intolerable, because completely out of touch with the people. The Jews Rothschild, Hirsch, Reinach, and Bischoffsheim already own nearly the whole of the two Departments of Seine-et-Oise and Seine-et-Marne; new purchases are made every day by Hebrew usurers. The choicest and richest Bordelais and Bourgogne vineyards are the property of these Jews. The Chateau-Lafitte belongs to Gustave Rothschild, the “*Romancé*” to Alphonse Rothschild, and the “*Mouton*” to James Rothschild, and so forth. Soon Frenchmen will not be allowed, except by favour of the Jews, to drink the wine growing in their own country.

Kings of the railways, the Stock Exchange, the corn market, the press, the telegraph, they are absolute masters of France, of everything which interests the security, the happiness, nay, the vitality and very existence of the nation. If the very air we breathe could be sold and monopolized, says Toussenel, the Jews would monopolize and buy it. Such is their power that it strikes with terror all thoughtful men who look into the future.

Petrus Borel, that ill-fated genius whom the Jews harassed to death, was perhaps right when he said: "Those Jews, formerly proscribed and burned at the stake, will soon have so decimated, subdued, and beggared us, that it will be hard to find any remnant of Christianity in Europe, except in some out-of-the-way corner of the suburbs of our large cities, where the Christians shall be confined to rot in misery, dirt, and degradation, like the Jews in the Jewries and Ghettos of the Middle Ages." The Jews themselves, so prudent and cautious until they have gained their end, seem so secure in their position that they throw off their usual reserve, and speak openly with the insolence of ruthless conquerors, who have nothing to fear. The Jew Mirès, one of the friends and boon companions of Napoleon III., said lately: "If the Christians wish to hang us, they had better make haste, for in fifty years they will not possess as much as the price of a rope: there will be left but their two eyes to cry." The Jewish Baron Hirsch was heard telling one of his Hebrew friends, as from the top of his staircase he pointed at the dukes, duchesses, marquises, counts and countesses who were retiring from an entertainment given at his residence: "Do you see these people? Before twenty years are over, they will either be our sons and daughters-in-law or our hall-porters."

8. It is clear the Synagogue has well carried out the advice given by Jules Simon, their philosopher, to "take quietly possession of the land, and let the Aryan Goym emigrate to heaven." Whether got quietly or otherwise, the land and everything in it seems to be very nearly in their possession. How it got there M. Drumont explains. In the first place he tells us that there is a mysterious latent force which draws gold to the Jew, as iron is drawn to the loadstone. If the gold does not come quickly enough, speculations, financiering, stock-jobbing, swindling, forgeries, robberies shorten the operation.

Nothing succeeds like success. Some people, full of admiration for, and amazement at, the gigantic fortunes built up by Rothschild, Hirsch, Ephrussi, and others, tell us that they owe these fortunes to their financial genius; others are silly enough to say that the financial system of the Jews is the strength of France—they should rather say, her weakness. The Jewish financial system consists in the art of producing an artificial panic in the money market for the benefit of the large unprincipled capitalists, and the ruin of the uninitiated industrious money-making middle-classes. The Jewish financial system is a continual snare, in which the Aryan son of toil is always caught, stripped of his savings, and beggared, to enrich the parasite Hebrew. According to that system the Jew alone gains, everybody else loses. "He is," as de Biez says, "a financier of a peculiar kind, with an arithmetic

quite his own; he puts down nought and carries all." Everybody knows what an immense factor the present telegraphic system is in the rise and fall in the money market. The knowledge of a diplomatic complication, of a sudden great political or commercial event, which is kept a secret from the public, gives a large capitalist the same advantage over his less favoured competitors in the money market as loaded dice gives to one gambler over another. It is a matter of notoriety that Rothschild had, under Napoleon III., free entry to the Ministers' Cabinet, and that no secret was kept from him. Some time ago it was publicly proved that the "Agence Havas" delivers Rothschild the telegraphic news one hour before it is communicated to the general public. A man who has such means at his disposal requires no great genius to become in a few minutes the lord and master of fortunes which it has taken several generations to build up. The panic created in February last about the probable outbreak of a war between France and Germany, brought no less than 300 million of francs to the coffers of Rothschild and Bleichroeder. The Hebrew bankers command such immense resources, they are so unscrupulous in using them, that their ring can at any time break any firm or company unwary enough to interfere with their monopoly. Thus, for instance, they brought about the failure of the "Union Générale" which created such sensation and caused so much misery a few years ago. Our space will not permit us to go through the long list of Jewish frauds and swindles as given by Drumont; here are a few taken at hap-hazard:—The "Directeur du Crédit National," Jean David, an Israelite, robs the shareholders of three million of francs and disappears. By means of lying prospectuses no less than thirty bogus companies, of which Drumont supplies the titles and dates of issue, with number and value of shares, have been floated in an interval of a few years by the Jew, Erlanger. The sum which Erlanger and his confederates thus realized amounts to 300 millions of francs. The Egyptian Loan, managed by the Jews, amounted to 1,389,175,000 francs; of this sum but 875,000,000 found its way to the Khedive's exchequer, the balance remaining in the hands of the Jews. The Honduras Loan was, in one way, a still more brilliant affair. Messrs. Bischoffsheim, Scheyer and Dreyfus raised, in 1880, in the name of the Honduras Government a loan of 157,000,000 francs, of which the Honduras authorities declared they never received one cent. The "Société Financière Tunisienne" is another great financial scandal of the Hebrew Masonic Republic which at present rules the destinies of France. It was in order to prepare the ground for the operations of that Jewish company that the otherwise unaccountable Tunis expedition was undertaken, in which 18,000 French soldiers lost their

lives, either in the hospitals or on the battle-fields. The Jews, Biedermann and Carlin, buy up all the colza oil in the European market, and by means of this operation they raise the price of colza oil 100 per cent. Suddenly they bring the whole concern to a collapse. By following on the same lines, Ephrussi is at present the king of the corn market, as much as the Jew, Moses Ranger, who failed in Liverpool for £75,000, was the king of the cotton market. This sort of wholesale robbery goes by the dignified name of speculation, financiering, stockjobbing. The Jews are no less expert in the more vulgar branches of thieving, which are simply various means of "getting back their own." Bail, the author of "*Les Juifs au dix-neuvième Siècle*," himself a Jew and an apologist of the Jews, confesses that eleven out of every twelve thieves or swindlers sentenced in Leipzig are Jews. Cerfbeer de Medelsheim, another Jew, regrets that the sordid greed for easy lucre should lead so many Jews astray—into jail—and, speaking for the Jews of France, he says: "Criminal statistics prove the proportion of the Jews sentenced for robbery and fraud is more than 50 per cent." They consider any occasion fit for levying money on the Gentiles, even the "*Fêtes de Charité*!" The sailors on the coast of Batz do not watch shipwrecks with more eagerness than some of these Jews seem to watch earthquakes, floods, fires, in fact, any disaster that may take place in any part of the world, be it at Chio, Ischia, Murcia, Szegedin, to organize what they call "*Fêtes de Charité*"—*i.e.*, balls, bazaars, &c., and if the statements made in various newspapers speak the truth, these Jews don't forget that "charity begins at home." This swindling seems to have become quite the order of the day under the Jewish Masonic Republican *régime*. Every one seems anxious "*faire sa pelote*," as Madame Grévy calls it, and to make hay while the sun shines. Thus we find, for instance, that in the year 1883, the Municipal Council of Marseilles, on which several Hebrews have seats, spent 120,000 francs (£4800) for envelopes, and 75,000 francs (£3000) for pens, penholders, and pencils. Talk of the London Corporation scandal after that! What is £42 for a pamphlet by Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, or £50 for another by Mr. Leigh, to £3000 for pencils and penholders? These Jews have raised forgery and swindling to the dignity of a fine art. They have artists of this kind in every department. Horse jobbing, old pictures, articles of *vertu*, old china, old manuscripts, anything and everything may serve to display their talents. One Saphira seems to have surpassed them all in cunning and clever trickery. He selected the Moabite archæology as his line of business. The Berlin Museum paid him 6,000,000 francs for some antique Moabite vases, which M. Cler-

mont Ganneau proved to be common modern utensils made a few months before by some Arab potters in Jerusalem, whose names and addresses he gave. This same Saphira, who worked much in the Moabite line, had the audacity to offer for sale to the British Museum a supposed copy of the Moabite text of Deuteronomy, which, he said, was from twenty-seven to twenty-eight centuries old. The British Orientalists were in ecstasies at this discovery, endeavouring to decipher this extraordinary relic of a bygone age, when M. Clermont Ganneau's book, entitled "Archæological Frauds in Palestine," revealed to an astonished world that the MS. was fabricated by Saphira himself; it even described the process employed in the manufacture. The same work of M. Clermont Ganneau exposes many other forgeries from this same inventive Saphira and similar craftsmen—all Jews. The names of Hebrews appear so frequently in connection with those shady modes of money making that the "Archives Israélites" have repeatedly asked, in the name of *liberty of conscience*, that the mention of the creed and religious persuasion of persons sentenced by the courts should be suppressed, as it does not appear in what the interests of justice can be advanced by the public knowing that a robber, a swindler, or a pickpocket is a Catholic or a Jew. Yet when they get hold of a scandal, real or imaginary, in the Catholic community, they make the whole civilized world ring with their clamours about Catholic immorality.

9. Gambling seems of late to have taken most alarming proportions in Parisian society. The society papers owned by the Jews have made it fashionable, and no gentleman with any ambition to a standing in "society" can deny himself that luxury. This gambling is chiefly carried on in the cercles, or clubs, which are almost exclusively kept by the Jews. Everywhere, it would appear, the idea prevails that the keeping of gambling hells is a speciality of the Hebrew race. Disraeli, whose fellow-feeling for the Jews cannot be questioned, in his "Young Duke" makes mention of a Baron de Berghem (there are several Jews of that name in Paris) as the owner of the gambling hell in which his young hero is induced to risk and lose a hundred thousand pounds in one sitting, which lasted two nights and a day, just to see what gaming was like. The sums squandered in those Parisian gambling hells are fabulous. *Le Matin*, a Paris paper, published, in 1884, statistics of the money gained by the "bankers" who keep the gaming tables in those cercles, and consequently, lost by those who frequent them—he puts at 59,600,000 francs as the lowest estimate of the profits of these bankers within the last six years.

III. *Progress of the Conquest.*

It is interesting to follow the development of the plan of the Jews against society in their history in France from their first appearance in Gaul in the time of the Roman occupation. The author shows how the descendants of Israel, after shuffling themselves into France, have, thanks to naïve tolerance, become the masters of the destinies of Frenchmen.

Without entering into the details of their chequered career in France, their usuries, their growing wealth, influence and numbers, their expulsions by successive kings, and their invariable returns to the country from which they had been driven, the various penal laws enacted against them by the powers that be, not through a spirit of intolerance or religious animosity, as M. Drumont well explains, but in sheer defence of the people against their malpractices, their history may be summed up in a few lines: when the Jews were most prosperous France was lowest and weakest, and *vice versa*. During the reign of Louis XIV., when France was the leading nation in Europe, there were but four Jewish families in Paris. The Great Revolution, proclaiming the Rights of Man, emancipated the Jews, and threw all the gates of France wide open to them. They poured in from all sides upon the distraught country, and in the confusion and feverish excitement prevailing at the time, they made good their footing in it. The Revolution is quite an epoch in their history. The Jew Salvador calls it "A second Sinai for Israel;" Cahen, belonging to the advanced school of thought, but remaining a Jew all the same, says: "The Messiah has come for us on the 28th of February, 1790, with the Rights of Man."*

No sooner were they emancipated, than they began to work at their trade. Not a few of the principal actors in the frightful tragedy which followed the proclamation of the Rights of Man were Jews. Marat—the infamous, bloodthirsty Marat—was a Jew, David was a Jew, Simon, the executioner of Louis XVI., was a Jew, Cloutz, Guzman, Peregra, Treys, were Jews also. The Jews got the lion's share of the plunder of the churches, the monasteries, the chateaux of the emigrant and exiled nobility. The crown jewels, with a few exceptions, all fell to their lot.†

The young artillery officer, whom Fortune and his own genius suddenly raised to the throne as Emperor of France, kept for a

* Cahen: "Archives Israélites," 1847; vol. viii. p. 801.

† It is a notorious fact that at the sale of the crown jewels of France, last year, the Jews bought the best and the most valuable lots.

while their encroachments in check. Of all those who have ruled over France since the Revolution, Napoleon I. is the only one who seems to have understood the Jews. Whilst he allowed every French citizen to pay for a substitute instead of serving himself in the army, he denied the Jews that alternative. He wanted to see them "de près," as he said.

He introduced most wise regulations concerning their status and pursuits. A law of July 20, 1808, supplemented by another of September 8 of the same year, forbade the Jews to settle down in any town or village without complying with very minute and stringent police regulations, the principal one of which was that they were to bind themselves to cultivate the land and pursue agriculture in general, not to undertake any traffic or commerce, and especially to abstain from usury and money-lending.*

Quiet and unobtrusive during the Empire and the Restoration, the Jews felt more at home during the reign of the citizen king, Louis Philippe. They grew bolder and more outspoken as their power and influence increased. Drumont is rather hard on the whole Orleans family, whose friendship for the Jews he explains by the fact that the bond between them is their common love for money. They are fellow-worshippers of the Golden Calf. The Bourbons, he says, spend their money with an open hand. When they have no money they borrow, and spend it on their enemies and neglect their friends. The Napoleons are equally liberal and free in spending their money, but, contrary to the manner of the Bourbons, they spend it on their friends and not on their enemies. The Orleans spend it neither on their friends nor on their enemies, but keep it, and in this they betray their fellow-feeling with the Jews. Of course this was written before the Duke d'Aumale's munificent donation of Chantilly and its valuable collections of art to the French nation.

The power of the Jews had already grown so great during the reign of Louis Philippe as to cause some alarm to the Duke of Orleans, then presumptive heir to the throne of France, and the only member of the Orleans family who felt no sympathy for

* One of the most interesting bits of information given by Drumont is the history of the introduction of Jewish modern family names and surnames. Napoleon decreed that they were all to assume a family name which was not to be taken from the Old Testament (!) It is then we see for the first time such names as Lisbonne, Paris, Lyon, Marseille, Picard, Bourgeois, Laurier, appear as family names. Joseph II., who willingly imitated his neighbours, made regulations of the same kind in his empire, with this difference, that the names were, in each case, given by the Crown officials. When the applicant showed an inclination to be liberal, he might be presented with such poetical and high-sounding names as Wohlgeruch, Edelstein, or Goldadler; if stingy, they were labelled Galgenvogel (gal-lows-bird), Saeufer (tippler), &c.

the Jews. In a letter addressed to his royal father, and made public in 1841, the Duke said :

It is most urgent that without any further delay the people should be rescued by the Royal power from the clutches of the Jews, or the Jews will ruin royalty. By means of their intolerable usury they oppress and crush the people, and cause the masses to curse those set above them. If we do not hunt the Jews from France the Jews will hunt us from it.

The unfortunate prince did not live to see this prophecy realized. His warning was left unheeded ; the Jews remained, and six short years after these words had been written Louis Philippe lost his throne, and in a hasty flight had to leave France for ever.

Under Napoleon III. they become aggressive. They speak with the insolence of masters who may not be gainsaid even by the Emperor himself. Napoleon having, in the preface to his "Julius Cæsar," said that "the nations which misunderstood and opposed the rulers sent to save them acted like the Jews who crucified their Messiah," Crémieux, the High Priest of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," publicly denounced this allusion to the crucifixion of the Messiah by the Jews as an insolent outrage upon freedom of conscience. "We live," he exclaimed, "in a time and a country where creeds and religion *must* be confined to the conscience of every man, and where the different forms of worship may not be displayed outside the churches and temples." Napoleon lived surrounded by Jews ; they were in his Cabinet, in his household, everywhere. Fould was his Minister ; Rothschild, Mirès, Solar, were his intimate friends.

The mathematical tutor of the Prince Imperial, Koralech, was a Jew ; the confidential friend and spiritual adviser of the Empress was a Hungarian Jew, Bauer. The poor Emperor had to pay dear for his infatuation about the Hebrews. The Franco-Prussian war, which cost him his crown, was prepared and aided by Jewish spies. Nine out of every ten spies caught during the war were Jews. When arrested by the French soldiers, they were as ready to betray the secrets of the Prussians as they had been to spy on the French ; they seemed to care but little for one country more than another. The Jew has no country. France, Germany, England or Austria, is to him but a dwelling-place, which he uses for his convenience. Such a thing as patriotism is altogether unknown to him. He is essentially a cosmopolitan, and settles wherever he can make most money. "Ubi aurum, ibi patria," is his motto. When the Queen of Roumania asked the Jew Blowitz, the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, what countryman he was :—"To tell your Majesty the truth," he replied, "I am not quite sure of it

myself. All I know is that I was born in Bohemia, I live usually in Paris, where I write English." The whole Jewish race is but one great clan, regarding every creature outside of itself as a stranger and a legitimate prey. Renan says the Jew has no country, no other interests but those of his sect; he is a stranger everywhere, and has often been a great curse to the country to which fate has driven him.*

In every period of the history of the world since the foundation of Christianity the Jew has been plying the trade of spy and traitor. Bismarck, who ought to know them, says, "Wherefore was the Jew created, unless to be a spy." He is a born spy. Nature has endowed him with all the meanness, cunning, deceit, and rascality required to make a successful spy and informer. "Thieving and lying are kind to the Jew," said Napoleon. Since the days of Judas Iscariot the Jews have made this ignoble trade their own. Simon Maiol, the learned Bishop of Vultoura, says of the Jews of his day: "These traitors, these nefarious scoundrels, sell to the Turks our country, our armies, and our towns, and we feed them and tolerate them."† The most notorious spies and traitors mentioned in history are Jews. Sedecias, who betrayed and then poisoned Charles the Bold, was a Jew; Meise, the murderer of Henry III. of Castile, was a Jew. Oliver Cromwell had in his pay a whole crew of Jewish spies,‡ who kept him well informed of what was going on in the countries with which he was at war. Who has not been amused at the history of Voltaire spying in Metz on the Jew Solomon Levy? This Hebrew, made famous by Voltaire, tried the difficult task of serving two masters at one and the same time, and acted simultaneously as spy for Louis XV. and the Emperor Leopold, at war with one another, and was evidently betraying both. Voltaire, who was quite a match for any Jew, wrote to Cardinal Dubois: "With your Excellency's leave, I beg to submit that this Jew, owning no fatherland except where he can make money, is as liable to betray the King to the Emperor, as the Emperor to the King."§

Louis Goldsmith, the arch-spy, who put Tallyrand in possession of the secrets of all the Cabinets of Europe, was a Jew. Deutz, who like a bloodhound tracked the unfortunate Duchesse de Berry from hiding-place to hiding-place and then sold her to Louis Philippe, was a Jew. General Hicks Pasha was betrayed

* "Archives Israélites," 1868, vol. xii. p. 543, where Renan is censured for the statement.

† Simon Maiol. "De Perfidia Judæorum."

‡ G. de Pascal states that Cromwell proposed to sell Ireland to the Jews for £2,000,000 sterling a year.

§ Voltaire. "Œuvres complètes." Edition Beuchot. Tome li. p. 73.

by Cloutz, a Jew, and led by him into the trap where he lost his army and his life.

The noisiest and most advanced members of the Commune in Paris, the most eager for blood, for the killing of priests and soldiers, those who led and organized the saturnalia which polluted and desecrated the churches of the French capital, the most ardent for the plundering of convents, the instigators of the burning of the public buildings, the Dacostos, Lisbonne, Picard, Simon, Vermesh, Bloch, Leon Frankel, Dombrowski, Crémieux, Mayer, Lockroy, were Jews; and, strange to say, few of them, if any, suffered for the part they had taken in the horrors and crimes of those days.

Whilst the foolhardy enthusiasts whom these scoundrels had, by their wild talk and frothy declamations, driven to open rebellion died on the barricades, rifle in hand, they, like the commanders-in-chief on the day of battle, kept out of the reach of ball and bayonet, stationed themselves in the rear, thence to observe and to direct the movements, to provide for their safety, and "live to fight another day."

During their triumphal march through France the Prussians everywhere respected the monuments, the statues, raised to French military heroes, made illustrious in the wars against Prussia, and by the victories in which the Prussian armies were defeated. It never occurred to them to interfere with the statues of Marceau, Davoust, Ney and Lannes, which they met on their road. The statues of French generals such as Rapp, Kleber, Kellerman, adorn even to-day the towns now subject to Prussian rule.

It was reserved to a Jew, one Simon Mayer, to take advantage of the frenzy which prevailed during the "Commune" for the overthrow of the Colonne Vendôme, the Colonne of the Grande Armée, that national monument of the past glory of France, the trophy of so many victories. This same Jew presided over the massacre of the Generals Thomas and Lecomte. Yet this scoundrel received from Glaibyzoin a safe conduct and escaped scot-free, like all other Communist Jews, whilst many a poor Federalist who shouldered the rifle and entered the National Guard, simply for the pay which saved him and his family from starvation during the Commune when there was no other means of earning a livelihood, were unmercifully shot. The immunity which these Jews enjoyed in life and property during and after the Commune is simply marvellous and most significant. During the last days of the Commune, while Paris was enveloped in clouds of smoke, when the pétroleuses rushed like Mænads through the streets, torch in hand, setting fire indiscriminately to the palaces of kings, the humble homes of the artisan

or ancient cathedrals, when the houses of the shopkeepers and the "hotels" of the rentiers were alike gutted and plundered, *there was not a pane of glass injured in any of the 150 houses which the Rothschilds possessed at that time in Paris!* This seems the result of something more than mere chance. One would have expected that in the frame of mind in which the mob was during these unfortunate days, when murder and plunder seemed to be the order of the day, the Rothschild property would have been the very first attacked. What magician's wand drew around these 150 houses the enchanted circle before which the fury of the populace was broken as the ocean waves break against a granite wall?

Victor Hugo, a most impartial witness, declared that "the Commune was organized by those who have profited by it." It was proved the other day in a police court that Rothschild receives regularly reports of the proceedings of all the most secret anarchist meetings. The most violent orators at these meetings are in his pay. This may be very useful and may account for many things. The Rothschilds have the reputation of being able to find good investments for their capital.

The question may be asked, why should the Jews be mixed up with the Commune? A Jewish lecturer some time ago stated in Paris: "The Jews are rich enough to buy up all France, *and perhaps they will do it yet when dynamite will have done its work.*"

What a bitter irony in the words which Emile Barrault addressed to Rothschild:

Sir, you are a living miracle, thrones crumble one after the other, dynasty succeeds dynasty, the other great clever men disappear as in an abyss. Renowned statesmen, brilliant orators, vanish and are heard of no more. Shareholders, shopkeepers, manufacturers are ruined, everything falls, everything is pell-mell on the ground—the tall on the small and the small on the tall—those who crush and those who are crushed. You alone in the midst of all these ruins remain unshaken. In short, all wealth melts away, all glory is humbled to the dust, every power is hurled to the ground—the Jew alone, the king of the age, remains on his throne.

However, the little cloud, which may be the harbinger of a big storm, is showing in the sky. An outburst of popular feeling, rather ominous and significant, took place in Paris on the day when the first news of the disastrous defeat of Lang-Son was announced. There were large gatherings of ouvriers in the streets; the usual violent speechifying was heard. The *Times*, generally so discreet where Jews are concerned, said that the Chinese had borrowed from Rothschild the money to purchase arms. Suddenly a cry was raised: "Chez Rothschild! chez

Rothschild!" "Let us go to Rothschild." Fortunately, says the *Gaulois*, some persons in the crowd succeeded in calming the popular fury, and dissuading the people from putting their intentions into execution. Will the mysterious persons, this "Deus ex machina" in the crowd, always succeed in calming the populace?

If the Revolution of 1793 was for the Jews like "another Sinai," the dawn of the Third Republic, as the present government is called, was for them like the entry into the Promised Land. Since their forced exodus from Palestine, they never were so completely masters of any country as they are of France at the present day. Drumont's book is, properly speaking, but the history of the doings of the Jews during the present Republic. The rest is but an introduction, a preface to that history. He endeavours to show in the preface what was the aim and object of the Jews, how they prepared the means, and what was the nature of the means they had at their disposal to carry out that object. Now he has but to show the Jew at work, with free scope to give full rein to all his passions, his fierce inveterate hatred of everything venerable and Christian, and a dismal painful history it is.

The Jewish element came at once to the front with the proclamation of the Republic on the 4th of September, 1870, as the froth comes to the surface whenever a storm is disturbing the sea. There were no fewer than five Jews members of the Government after the proclamation of the Republic—viz., Crémieux, Jules Simon, Magnin, Ernest Picard and Gambetta, the youngest and boldest of them all. For Léon Gambetta, at one time the all-powerful Dictator of the French Republic, according to documents which seem to leave no room for any doubt as to their authenticity, belongs to the tribe of Ephraim. He is the lineal descendant of a Jew from Wurtemberg, called Gamberlé, who, at the time of Napoleon's continental blockade, settled down in Genoa, where he married a Jewess whose father had been hanged for forgery. He there changed the Wurtembergian Gamberlé into the more Italian-sounding Gambetta. A son of his migrated to Cahors, where he became a Christian and the father of the famous Léon Gambetta, who, although baptized, remained true to Israel. The old Jew Crémieux, the head centre of the "Alliance Israélite," took young Léon by the hand and made him his private secretary. In that capacity he became soon initiated into the aim and object of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle." The "guerre à outrance" supplied him with a splendid opportunity for bringing into play his Hebrew instincts of enriching himself at the Christians' expense. That "guerre à outrance" ruined France and made a wealthy man of Léon Gambetta. Before the war he was a penurious, briefless, though noisy barrister, depending for his

subsistence on the small pittance Crémieux allowed him for his secretaryship. He had long accounts to pay at the Café Procope and other resorts of the kind, and a very ill-furnished wardrobe. Two years after he was the owner of millions. The confusion which prevailed everywhere at the time, and which he did his best to increase, was most favourable for speculation and embezzlement. Most scandalous fortunes were suddenly made, his own foremost among all, in this year, which proved so fatal to France. No account or voucher was ever produced for an expenditure of over two milliards of public money from September 1870 to March 1871. A most mysterious fire broke out in the train which conveyed the account-books and documents of the War Department from Bordeaux to Paris. The Communists very officiously burned the Public Accounts Office in Paris, with its records, which might have thrown light on sundry transactions. Thus no unpleasant questions were asked, and those who had pocketed the cash kept it.

Scarcely were these Hebrews in possession of their portfolios when they began to look after the general interests of the Jews, without losing sight of their own private claims. Whilst the Prussians were surrounding Paris with their belt of steel and iron, and France lay in the throes of her agony, the Jew Crémieux had time to think of his Hebrew brethren at large, and a decree, issued from Tours, proclaimed the supremacy of the Jews of Algeria above the native Arabs. This created the most formidable insurrection the French troops had ever to encounter in Algeria. The warlike Arabs, who had nobly shared with the French troops the perils of the Franco-Prussian war, and had shed their blood on the battle-fields of France, felt naturally indignant on seeing the Jews, whom they hate and despise, put in a position of superiority over them; they flew to arms under the leadership of the heroic Sidi-Mokrani. When a French officer brought to the dauntless chief the decree of Crémieux, establishing the supremacy of the Jews, he spat upon the decree and returned it to the officer, saying, "I will never obey a Jew." The war was terrible, and France was within an ace of losing for ever her largest colony, which has cost her so much money and blood. But what matters it if the interests of France suffer, if France herself perish, provided Israel prosper.

About the same time the Congress of Berlin, where the treaty of Berlin was concluded, offered a new opportunity to Crémieux and his Hebrew colleagues to use whatever influence was left to France for the advancement of the cause of the Jews. Waddington, the English representative of France at the Congress, had received strict orders not to sign the treaty if the rights of the Jews of Roumania to the monopoly of the trade in alcohol

and other prerogatives were not maintained. The Waddington clause was accepted, but the Roumanian people, finding themselves injured in the Jewish monopoly, resolved on managing their own affairs, in this respect at least, according to Roumanian ideas, and in complete disregard of the Waddington clause. The governors of the French Jewish Republic, too weak to enforce the only article of the Berlin treaty which they cared for, revenged themselves on the Roumanian people by levying a prohibitive duty of 50 per cent. on all Roumanian goods entering France. The traffic between the two countries being very insignificant, the vindictiveness of the Jews who manage the affairs of France only serve to make her ridiculous before all Europe.

I have come to the end of the space at my disposal, and must, therefore, reserve the conclusion of this article for another quarter.

JEFFREE.

ART. VI.—THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

THE project of a Catholic University for Ireland, started by the Synod of Thurles in 1850, has had such scanty measure of success—while on the other hand centres of the higher instruction, such as Cardiff, Bangor, Liverpool, &c., based on the principle that very probably there is no God, have prospered as soon as founded, as if they met a clear want of the time—that there is abundant reason why a Catholic should examine the matter very earnestly and very closely. The Thurles principle—the principle developed in those wonderfully eloquent “Discourses” of Cardinal Newman on the Idea of a University—was, that the completely liberal education of the disciplined and well-instructed man involved the admission of theology as the central and moderating science among the subjects of a University curriculum. Some may think that time and experience have shown that this was a principle too ideal for application to modern life. If it be really so, the generous error should be confessed—and abandoned. If England with her agnosticism be right, and Ireland with her Catholicism wrong, then let the Cardiff-Bangor type—which is also the Queen’s College type—be adopted in the seats of learning which are to train the cultivated Irishmen of the future. The *Freeman’s Journal* has spoken recently of the “prestige”

of Trinity College, and the necessity of obtaining some share in it for all those members of the Catholic majority who are aspirants for University education. A singular notion surely; it is as if St. Athanasius had insisted on the right of his Trinitarian followers at Alexandria to participate in the celebrity of the school of Arius; or St. Raymund of Pennafort sought, for the sake of "prestige," to affiliate Salamanca to Cordova. Still, if Irishmen will welcome no University system which Trinity College does not influence and colour, let the fact be noted, and let the leaders of the nation shape their conduct accordingly.

But there is no sufficient reason as yet for believing that the Irish people have abandoned the ideas which prevailed at the Synod of Thurles, and renounced the hope of getting at last a real Catholic University. What did the project mean? It is no use indulging in generalities and fine words; what practical result did the Thurles Synod and their lay supporters look for? By establishing a Catholic seat of learning at Dublin they hoped ultimately to secure this: that if an Irishman, in any part of Ireland—or of the world for that matter—wished to know what were the latest theories and the most important books on early Roman history, or on Turanian philology, or Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, or quaternions, or the doctrine of probability, or the correlation of forces, or the Elizabethan dramatists; in short, upon any one whatsoever of the subjects of higher and more difficult inquiry with which the human mind is at present engaged, he should be sure of finding some learned Catholic scholar or savant in Dublin capable of giving him all the information that he required, and of showing him all the books, apparatus, specimens, experiments, &c., necessary to guide his judgment. Besides this general object, the encouragement which the bishops afterwards gave to Professor O'Curry shows us that they had a special one—viz., to promote with great care the study of Celtic and Irish antiquities, so that not Irishmen only, but every Celtic scholar in any part of the world, whatever his nationality, might after a time come to know that by visiting Dublin he would have an opportunity of consulting MSS. not elsewhere to be met with, and conversing with men whose profound knowledge was racy of the soil, and corrected by the immemorial traditions of the people.

This, then, was the first object at Thurles, not to provide lectures and opportunities of distinction for clever young men, but to found a seat of learning. To open the walks of the higher education to the Irish youth was also an object; but it was secondary. The bishops rightly judged that if real learning and a true intellectual initiative were secured in the teaching staff, there would be sure, sooner or later, to be no lack of hearers. They announced that they founded the University "in order to

keep alive in our country the spirit of faith, while *enabling it fully to meet the literary and scientific requirements of the age.*"* They desired to obtain a thoroughly Catholic and thoroughly national education for their Catholic youth; but how? Not by dispersing them among colleges widely severed from each other, where they would be crammed to get the classes and prizes of an examining University; but by "providing them with the means of obtaining the *highest order of mental and moral culture*, and thus enabling them to secure for themselves literary and scientific distinction, and to advance themselves in any position, private or public."†

The satisfactory progress of the Catholic University of Louvain, founded, or rather refounded, by the Belgian Bishops in 1835, induced the late Holy Father Pius IX. to recommend it as a model to be followed by the bishops of Ireland. Complying with the advice of his Holiness, the bishops, being assembled in Synod at Thurles in 1850, determined to found a Catholic University at Dublin, which when fully constituted should contain, like that of Louvain, five faculties—theology, law, medicine, philosophy and letters, and science. Dr. Newman was appointed the first Rector, and solemnly installed on Whit-Sunday, the 4th June 1854. Until endowments and fees should make the new University self-supporting, it was arranged that the necessary expenses should be met by means of a subscription organized in all the dioceses of Ireland in the month of November each year.

There is no necessity to narrate at any length the course of events in the new University. The first great misfortune which befell it was the resignation of the Rectorship by Dr. Newman. He had laboured hard, preached and lectured most ably, and initiated many useful measures; still it would be too much to say that he left the University in a safe or flourishing state, and his departure was taken in many quarters as evidence that the enterprise was beset by great, if not insuperable, difficulties. Dublin was in this respect less happy than Louvain, where the first Rector, the illustrious Monsignor de Ram, bore the toils of office for thirty years, and only resigned when the institution, which at its opening had eighty students, was firmly and efficiently organized in every respect, and could point to nine hundred students on its rolls.‡ With the Catholic University the scanty attendance of students was always a difficulty. But with regard to the main object of foundation, the establishment of a Catholic seat of learning, some progress was gradually made. The admirable

* "Catholic University Chronicle," 1866. The italics are our own.

† *Loc. cit.*

‡ Last year, in which it celebrated its Jubilee, the Catholic University of Louvain was attended by 1600 students.

lectures of Eugene O'Curry, on the MS. materials of Irish History, and the social life, &c., of Ancient Erin, delivered within the walls of the University, became speedily known throughout learned Europe. The theological faculty could boast of the subtle and well-stored mind of Dr. O'Reilly; and Dr. Lawrence Forde, a man of vast and solid intelligence, if he had been spared longer to his country, must have attained to great fame as a canonist. In the medical faculty, the distinguished ability of William K. Sullivan, now the President of Cork Queen's College, was employed in the service of the University as Professor of Chemistry.

For more than two years after the departure of Cardinal Newman the University was left in the charge of Vice-Rectors—first, the late Archbishop of Cashel, then the Very Rev. Dr. Gartlan. At length (June 1861) the Very Rev. Dr. Woodlock, now Bishop of Ardagh, was brought from All Hallows, and installed as Rector. Under the new régime there was much activity: the library grew apace, and received several valuable bequests; some houses adjoining the original block (86 and 87 Stephen's Green) were purchased for the University; an Aula Maxima, or hall suitable for public academic functions, was erected; and many an able memorandum from the Rector's pen showed at once the necessity of the foundation, and the justice of its claim to Government aid and recognition. It must, however, be admitted that less was done to strengthen the *personnel*, the teaching staff, than the country had a right to expect. A glance at the "Catholic University Calendar" for 1865–6 shows that the faculty of philosophy and letters at that time was much too feebly constituted. There was no chair of ancient history or archæology, none of methodology, none for the literatures of Spain and Italy, none for any department of Celtic learning, not even for Irish. In the lecture-table there was no recognition of Egyptology, or Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, or Sanskrit, or, in short, of any Oriental literature or language. Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic studies were no less ignored; so were political economy and political philosophy. The late Mr. J. B. Robinson, besides being professor of modern history and geography, was also lecturer on English language and literature. Mr. Robinson was a competent historian, but with English literature he had only a general acquaintance, and it was ridiculous to intrust him with the professional charge of so vast a subject. At the same time, the faculties of medicine and science were organized, relatively at any rate, in a strong and efficient manner.

All these years the Queen's Colleges and the Queen's University, in spite of Catholic reclamations, were maintained by the British Government. The College at Belfast, being founded in the midst of a Protestant population, and countenanced by the

Presbyterian clergy of Ulster, shot ahead of the others, and achieved a solid success. Even at Cork and Galway the able professors appointed by the Government must have laid, but for the hopelessly uncongenial character of the *milieu*, foundations upon which permanent edifices would eventually have been reared. If the thing could have been done at all, they were the men to do it, and more than one of them might have said with a just pride :

Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.

But the thing was not to be done if the Catholic bishops stood firm ; and they did stand firm. Accordingly, in 1879 Lord Beaconsfield passed his " University Education (Ireland) Act," by which the Queen's University was suppressed, and candidates for any non-theological degree were invited to seek it at the hands of a new " Royal University." Of course this was not what the Catholics wanted, but they despaired of obtaining anything more. The Senate of the new University was to be a mixed body, and the matriculation, which was the gate to all grades, degrees, honours, and prizes, was to be open to all competitors indifferently, whether they had been prepared in colleges and schools, or by private tuition. The statutes empowered the Senate to appoint twenty-eight Fellows in arts, and eight in medicine, for the purpose of carrying on its examinations, and there was an understanding that one-half of these appointments should be Catholic. The Senate might also require any Fellow to teach in a college containing matriculated students of the Royal University. In this way it was considered that a sort of indirect endowment might be given to the institution in Stephen's Green through the Senate's requiring its Catholic Fellows to lecture there.

How did this arrangement affect the Catholic University? Not favourably by any means. It was in the time of the bad harvests ; and doubtless many of the bishops felt the annual collection for the University to be a burden from which they would gladly relieve their flocks, if some not intolerable compromise could be found. Cardinal Cullen, the real founder of the University, had just died (Oct. 1878), and the educational affairs of the diocese passed into the less vigorous hands of Dr. McCabe. The Episcopal Committee for governing the University seems to have come to the conclusion in the course of 1879 that since Catholic students could now obtain degrees from the Royal University without stooping to any unlawful compliance, it would be expedient, for a time at any rate, to leave in abeyance the right of conferring degrees which the Catholic University, by Papal grant, undoubtedly possessed, and to let the institution

in Stephen's Green be known for the future as the "Catholic University College." It was perhaps anticipated by the Bishops that the Royal University would be brought into working order much sooner than was found practicable ; otherwise they would surely have taken care that the ways and means for the support of the institution in Stephen's Green should not fall short so suddenly as they did. Dr. Woodlock was consecrated Bishop of Ardagh in June 1879 ; he was succeeded as Rector by Mgr. Neville, the Dean of Cork. The annual collection must have fallen very low in the years '79, '80, and '81 ; for in May 1882 the new Rector was obliged to give notice to the professors and others, who had hitherto drawn their stipends from the University fund, that their services would no longer be required from that date. When such a deplorable incident could occur, it need hardly be said that the fortunes of the Catholic University at this time had fallen to a very low ebb indeed.

In the spring of 1882 the Senate of the Royal University had appointed its Fellows, and the first examinations were commenced soon afterwards. In August 1882, under the clause in the statutes above mentioned, some of the Fellows began to lecture at the Catholic University College. But a considerable annual sum, apart from the salaries of the teaching staff, was required merely to keep the college on foot ; and now that the collection had come to an end, where was the money to come from ? Cardinal McCabe, at a meeting of Catholic Fellows held in the college on the 8th November 1882, informed them of the plan by which he hoped to overcome this difficulty. He proposed, he said, to form a consultation council, consisting partly of clergymen, partly of laymen, and with its aid to raise a "Diocesan Education Fund," for three objects, which he specified ; one of the three was the sustentation of the Catholic University College. But he must have failed to think the plan thoroughly out, for in practice it came to nothing. Subscriptions to the "Fund" did not come in, and therefore the cost of keeping up the college fell on the Cardinal himself. In the course of a year he appears to have found that the arrangement would not work. The Society of Jesus were prepared to take over the college ; terms for surrendering the premises to them, but with the right of re-entry at the expiration of a certain notice, were arranged between the Society and the Bishops ; and in November 1883 Father Delany entered into possession as President.

Under the terms just alluded to the college is at present worked ; and if they were but such as gave the new occupants a fair chance, and if they breathed over the institution that benevolent spirit of episcopal favour with which the Belgian bishops have always encouraged the University of Louvain, the prospects

of the college, considering the known ability and energy of the President, would afford little room for disquietude. But, most unfortunately, a new view of the character and *raison d'être* of the Catholic University began to be pushed into prominence about this time. It was suggested that the Catholic University might be considered to consist of all the principal Catholic colleges in the country, among which the Catholic University College was to be included. Now there was no great harm in giving this new meaning to the term "Catholic University"—although "Pan-Hibernian Academy" would have expressed the notion better and occasioned no confusion of thought—if the original design of establishing a Catholic seat of learning in St. Stephen's Green were steadily adhered to. A college may be a seat of learning, and be full of learned men, just as well as a university. There is no essential difference between them, except that one gives degrees and the other does not. The "Collège de France," for example, though it grants no degrees, is famed for being one of the chief seats of learning in Europe.

If, therefore, the bishops, following the example set them by the Belgian episcopate, had perseveringly supported the Catholic University College—after its transfer to the Jesuits, as well as before—the great design inaugurated at Thurles would have remained intact, and the augmented teaching power, obtained partly by the senatorial assignment of Fellows, partly through the appointment of tutors by the President, would probably have attracted a large number of students. However, for reasons still imperfectly understood, a different policy was adopted. The buildings in St. Stephen's Green were handed over to the Jesuits, but the use of the University church was interdicted to them; and the library was sent away to the diocesan seminary at Clonliffe. The dismantling of the library was really a pitiful sight. So great was the number of the books that to move and cart them away was an operation of several days. They are now at Clonliffe—available for the ecclesiastical students there, who do not want them; and beyond the reach of the lay students in St. Stephen's Green, who do want them. Again, the loss of a thousand good and enlightening influences which the closing of the University church* entails, becomes more manifest and more painful the longer one reflects upon it.

With regard to books, it is interesting to note the practice of the great Bishop of Djakovo, Monsignor Strossmayer, one of the founders of the University of Agram—a University which, though only founded in 1874, is rapidly realizing for the Slav Catholics

* As such, for it is kept open as a chapel of ease in the parish of St. Kevin.

of Croatia all that it was once hoped the Catholic University would do for Ireland. It is evident that he regards the provision of a large library at a seat of learning as a matter of primary necessity. Emile de Laveleye * relates that the Bishop took him to the place where the new library was about to be built. "He will place," says Laveleye, "the large collection of books which he has been making for forty years in the library, and now the professors will have the necessary material for their studies and researches."

There is, of course, not the slightest doubt that the bishops, in removing the library and closing the church, intended no harm to the cause of the higher education in Ireland. But people look at men's actions, and when they see thousands of books carted away from the University premises, and hear that the church—on which eighteen thousand pounds were spent, and in the pulpit of which have preached Newman, Card. Cullen, Father Thomas Burke, Petcherine, Ratisbonne, &c.—is now used as a chapel of ease, they naturally conclude that the institution in Stephen's Green is in disfavour with the bishops. In a Catholic country the wide diffusion of such a belief about any institution dependent on popular support for its prosperity means its ruin.

No authoritative vindication of these acts has ever been given ; but it seems probable that the adoption of the shadowy theory already described about the Catholic University is the true explanation. If the design of founding a seat of learning is to be given up, and the name "Catholic University" is to stand for an imaginary institution *in nubibus*, to which a number of pre-existing Catholic colleges are supposed to be affiliated, then the institution in Stephen's Green must be regarded as on the same footing with all the country colleges, and it has no special need of books ; or, if it has, the Jesuits must supply them for themselves.

Surely the generations that are to be will not easily forgive the Irish Catholics of to-day, if under fatal misguidance they renounce that ideal of a seat of the highest culture for which they strove so long, and content themselves with the "Pan-Hibernian Academy" which is offered them in its place. They may be quite sure that no objection will be offered to the transformation by the Protestants either of England or Ireland :

Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.

Trinity, residential and concentrated, will continue to be the only institution in the country deserving the name of a seat of learning,

* "The Balkan Peninsula, 1887," p. 221.

unless, perhaps, Belfast Queen's College should justify its right to the title. The Irish Catholics, dispersing their young men, their books, all their literary and scientific materials and means, among a dozen colleges dotted about the country, will have themselves to thank for that intellectual *inadequacy* in all walks of life (except politics), which is certain to be the result.

The game is not yet lost, because the Government admit that the State is still a debtor to the Irish Catholics in this matter of the higher education. Everything depends on the manner in which the debt is paid.

The first question that arises is this :—Should an entirely new departure be taken, and a Catholic college or university be founded *de novo*, under the guidance and patronage of the Government? or should whatever is done proceed upon the old lines, recognize the efforts and achievements of the past, and at last give effect to the great ideas which were formulated at Thurles and developed by Newman?

In presenting this alternative there is no intention of undervaluing Government aid and control. In every civilized country the Government is the organized intelligence of the population; in the institutions which it provides or oversees, favouritism, corruption, and the unprofitable expenditure of money, either find no place, or are sooner corrected than in those where it does not intervene. In the case of educational as of less important institutions, its influential aid, whether in the form of election or veto, assent or dissent, active or passive co-operation, is necessary to their well-being. What it cannot usefully originate in education, and ought not to impose, is the cardinal principle—the inspiring idea. This, for a Catholic people, is supplied by the Church, and ought to be adhered to with inflexible constancy. But it is idle to deny that exemption from the control and deprivation of the aid of the modern State is a grievous misfortune for any institution, even when its foundations have been laid by the Catholic Church.

Those who contend, therefore, that the originating idea of a University should proceed from the religious element in man, are not to be supposed to deny the right of the State to inspect, and if necessary, control, any such University, nor to dispute the benefit of such interference.

In a civilized country whatever is phenomenal is, and ought to be, subject to State regulation. All that is sanitary and architectural is the province of the ædile; all that is educational and moralizing (or demoralizing) is the province of the censor. Whichever side of the alternative above stated the Irish Catholics may select, it may, we think, be confidently asserted that they all desire to join hands with the State, and not stand aloof from

it, as for many years, through no fault of their own, they were compelled to do.

The majority may perhaps prefer to regard the Catholic University as an experiment which has failed, and to found, in concert with the Government, a brand-new institution upon the plan of Cardiff or Bangor, well paid and well provided in all ways, and placed under exclusively Catholic management. But if they take this course they should do it with their eyes open. By allowing the institution in the Green to collapse, or to lose all the distinctive features of a seat of learning, they will be owning before the face of the world that the original project of a Catholic university for Ireland was chimerical, and that all the efforts to carry it out have been futile. The thread of continuous life connecting the Catholic University College of 1887 with the scheme inchoated at Thurles has certainly been worn thin, but it has never yet been broken. Irish Catholics will themselves be the first to break it if they transfer their efforts for the bestowal of the higher education on their sons from their own creation in Stephen's Green, either to the Pan-Hibernian academy already described, or to some new institute, to be fabricated after consultation with the Chief Secretary and the law officers for Ireland.

Without doubt such an institution might become, with good management, a signal success; but so, and much more easily, might the Catholic University College become, if episcopal favour, aided by the State, were to repair its breaches and extend its bounds. It is always better, where it is possible, *stare super antiquas vias*. All that is necessary is, that the heads of Irish Catholic society should consult together, and after coming to an understanding with the Government, should adopt some plan containing features more or less resembling these here noted down:

1. The restoration of the University Church to its original use. Laymen may easily get out of their depth when handling such a matter; but surely it would be possible, while handing over the church to the present administrators of the College, to impose conditions which would leave its use, for University purposes, at the unfettered disposal of the Episcopal Board.

2. The establishment of a good library, with provision for efficient management and due augmentation. It is to be hoped that, as the first step in this direction, the books of the old library would be brought from their retirement at Clonliffe and restored to the College.

3. The *épuration* and enlargement of the teaching staff. The College should be regarded as a place only for strenuous students, whether teachers or learners. All the more important subjects recognized throughout Europe as properly belonging to

the sphere of the higher education should be carefully provided for by the appointment of fit men to teach them. The necessary expenditure—for museums, laboratories, &c.—should be made on the scientific side. The general purpose of providing in process of time for the Catholic population a seat of learning, not less competently officered and not less adequately furnished with means and instruments than Trinity College, should be kept steadily in view both by the bishops and by the Government.

The past of the Catholic University of Ireland, though unfortunate, has not been inglorious. It has trained not a few able men, who have helped and are helping to make a happier future for Ireland. It was presided over in its infancy by one of those extraordinary men, whose genius, at long intervals of time, sheds a brilliant light on the confused intellectual strivings of our race. Let us not break with this past, but rather reverently preserve it, and build on the foundations laid at Thurles one of those “academes”

That keep alive the true Promethean fire.

ONE OF THE OLD STAFF.

ART. VII.—DR. STUBBS ON ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL LAW.

Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History and Kindred Subjects, delivered at Oxford, under Statutory Obligation in the years 1867–1884, by WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Bishop of Chester and Honorary Student of Christ Church, late Regius Professor of Modern History, &c. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1886.

A VOLUME of lectures on modern history read and printed in Oxford by a Professor of its University is at least a great curiosity; for until lately the learning there was not much conversant with anything that was not about two thousand years old. Now another order prevails, and Dr. Stubbs has not written only, but also published, seventeen of his lectures, which are both full of learning and greatly interesting. Moreover, they are absolutely free from the taint of the irreligious and profane spirit, which, rightly or wrongly, is commonly believed to be now more or less dominant in that seat of learning, once renowned for its strict observance of ancient usage and wholesome customs.

Notwithstanding the learning of the Professor and the pellucid treatment of his subjects, the attendance on the lectures was not good. The ingenuous youth consciously or unconsciously respected the old traditions of the place, and kept their feet from entering the school where the Professor of Modern History would have been glad to see them; for alas! he says of his lectures that he "had to deliver them to two or three listless men" (p. 32). This must have been hard work, especially for a man who, having something to say, took great pains to say it well, and who is really able and learned. He is not angry, however, with the idlers, but he is very much distressed, and there is a mournful note in the story of his trials. "Afterwards," he says, "I lectured on texts rather more freely; latterly, as my classes regularly diminished, I took up more out-of-the-way subjects, and very nearly succeeded in getting rid of my classes altogether" (p. 382). It is impossible not to respect the Professor for his candid confession of disappointment.

The Professor certainly deserved greater respect and a larger audience, for his lectures are worth reading; as sermons in general are more efficacious in the pulpit than in a printed volume, it is to be presumed that these lectures, so pleasant even to read, must have been worth hearing; but, alas! they were neglected. It is quite possible, though Oxford has been reformed upon the most scientific principles and another spirit infused into it, that the old contempt for professors has survived the reformation, and that Dr. Stubbs was ignored by the academic youth, not because of his own shortcomings, but because he came before them as a member of a despised order of beings not respected by undergraduates, generally contemptuous of their teachers.

The learning of the Professor cannot be justly disputed; he is also most honest in the use of it, and therefore entitled to every commendation. Where he misapprehends matters which may be called ecclesiastical politics, he has done so unconsciously; under the pressure, perhaps not consciously recognized, of his own position outside the Church. The anti-Roman tradition in England is very old, very strong, and very common, and it was not possible for Dr. Stubbs, being where he is, always to detect its presence or to resist its influence. By some people he may be denounced as an Indifferentist, but the charge is utterly unfair; he is not indifferent, and he has clear opinions firmly held; he is not even impartial, for he knows that truth must be maintained; he is always in earnest, and takes his side in the fight, but he fights as an honourable and loyal foe, without meanness, and with perfect courtesy in the use of his weapons. We say it with pleasure, and with a clear persuasion of his good

faith, which shall not be called in question while we are discussing some of his doctrines, opinions, or assertions.

Perhaps the best way to make him known to those who have never seen him or heard him is to transcribe, as we are about to do, a few words from his last lecture, which he has indignantly and sarcastically headed, "A Last Statutory Public Lecture." Those lectures seem to have been a burden which he very reluctantly carried, and he has in his gentle way made a mock of them more than once, or rather of the obligation to write and read them.

I am going to leave with Oxford many, very many, friends; to leave, but not, I trust, to lose them. I hope that I have made no enemies; I have more dread of making enemies than is at all consistent with a properly constituted moral courage. I hope that I have succeeded. At all events, I have never reviewed the books of ally or opponent or any one else, I have never given pain or incurred hostility in that way. I have abstained from controversy, religious, political, or historical, for I have tried to live up to my own ideal of a strong position, that it consists far more in proved confidence in your own cause, in the vigilant maintenance of your own defences. I trust that I have never plucked a candidate in the schools without giving him every opportunity of setting himself right. I hope that I have never intrigued or bullied. I do not say this with any wish to imply that such things are ever done here, although the popular idea of the professorial character might suggest the need of a disclaimer. . . . Then, too, I have never been able to reconcile myself with smoking, late hours, dinner-parties, Sunday breakfasts, or University sermons (pp. 385, 386).

Here is a lifting of the veil that is between the inner life of Oxford and the inquiring gaze of those who wish to know something of it, for it is not possible to read this without doing that which is called reading between the lines. What has come over the preachers of the University, who every Sunday read wonderful discourses in the pulpit of St. Mary's, when the new Bishop of Chester puts the sermons away with the smoking he never indulged in? Dr. Stubbs does not speak at random, he knows how to weigh his words, and how to make them express his meaning, as we shall see in the following passage, which is taken from the twelfth lecture.

In the eleventh lecture (p. 244), the learned Professor tells us that he is "not one of those critics who incline to a very disparaging estimate of Henry VIII." He is not satisfied with Lord Herbert's estimate of him, still less is he satisfied with the picture painted for us so elaborately by Mr. Froude, nor does he "believe him to be a monster of lust and blood, as so many of the Roman Catholic writers regard him." Now let us hear

Dr. Stubbs. The Roman Catholics will not quarrel with him, though he hardly approves of their treatment of the English Antipope :

I do not attempt to portray him after my own idea, but I seem to see in him a grand gross figure, very far removed from ordinary human sympathies, self-engrossed, self-confident, self-willed ; unscrupulous in act, violent and crafty, but justifying to himself, by his belief in himself, both unscrupulousness, violence, and craft. A man who regarded himself as the highest justice, and who looked on mercy as a mere human weakness. And with all this, as needs must have been, a very unhappy man, wretched in his family, wretched in his friends, wretched in his servants, most wretched in his loneliness : that awful loneliness in which a king lives, and which the worst as well as the best of despots realizes. Have I drawn the outline of a monster ? Well, perhaps, but not the popular notion of this particular portent. A strong, high-spirited, ruthless, disappointed, solitary creature—a thing to hate or to pity, or to smile at or to wonder at, but not to judge (pp. 290, 291).

The picture is perfect, but it is the picture of Satan, and not the picture of a man.

In reading these lectures, it is impossible not to be struck by the sound common sense of the Professor. He has no mercy on popular delusions, not even on the delusions of men who consider themselves thinkers and guides of spirits needing true direction. But he is never sour or bitter, though he strikes hard. Cobden is reported to have said that men would learn more from an article in the *Times* newspaper than from the works of Thucydides. It is not known that Mr. Cobden either did or could read Thucydides, but it is well known that he changed his opinion of the wisdom of the *Times*. Dr. Stubbs refers to this, and makes the following commentary upon it, as becomes a man who had read Thucydides, and been examined in it :

I will venture to say that there are English journals now claiming a world-wide circulation, and assuming to be the very interpreters of history and political morality, in preference to whose lessons I should recommend the student to seek for lessons of history and political morality among the arrow-headed inscriptions of Assyria or the papyri of the Neapolitan Museum (p. 106).

That is his opinion of our free and independent press.

He did not join in the cry for “the endowment of research,” not that he objected to either research or endowment, but because he was too honest to tolerate the imposture which in practice would be the endowment of idleness, and possibly of the most complete incapacity. There are those who think there is or ought to be a science of history, and of these he asks for an answer to the question he puts in the following words :

And is not the fact that the idea of a science of history finds

acceptation, not among practical historians, but among high-paced theorists, a proof that such a possibility belongs to theory and not to practice; that it is aimed at as a new grace for the all-accomplished *doctrinaire*, rather than as an object to be sought by those who seek after wisdom? (p. 90).

Our Professor is not a man of theories, but one who respects facts and deals with the realities of the world, not with the unsubstantial visions of philosophic minds. That certainly is the character he assumes, and on the whole not without good reason. But, nevertheless, on looking more carefully into his lectures, it is possible to entertain the notion that persons may disagree with him, and suspect that he has occasionally been moved more by his affections than by his reason. When we are gravely told that Dr. Hook was "one of the best and greatest men that Oxford has ever produced," and again that "Leopold von Ranke is not only beyond all comparison the greatest historical scholar alive, but one of the very greatest historians that ever lived" (p. 57), we feel some difficulty in giving our perfect assent to the Professor's teaching. Some observations of a kindred character meet the reader, certainly, as he advances, and they stir up at least the feeling of wonder that they come from one who has made so many of an entirely different order. He speaks as if he thought "Hallam and Palgrave, and Kemble and Froude and Macaulay" (p. 12), not altogether safe guides to follow when they tell us the history of generations passed away, and it is quite possible to find people who will sturdily refuse to distinguish between Macaulay and Leopold von Ranke. In the fourth lecture the learned Professor takes us completely by surprise, for we there read as follows:

There were days, centuries ago, when the schoolmen fancied that they could bring into class and line all human knowledge, and encroach to some extent upon the divine, by syllogisms and conversions and oppositions. Much precious knowledge those men handed down to us with much verbiage and false logic, but even they for the most part left history alone. They ticketed every portion of man's moral anatomy. . . . They benefited mankind by exercising and training subtle wits, and they reduced dialectics, almost, we might say, logic itself, to absurdity (p. 90).

We certainly did not expect this from Dr. Stubbs. Hallam or Macaulay might have so spoken, and with consistency, but assuredly not so Dr. Stubbs. It is probably the echo of the old tradition that through him, perhaps unconsciously, has come down to us from that precious generation of boastful men to which we are indebted for that which is commonly called the revival of learning, but which in reality was the beginning of that appalling ignorance which threatens at this moment to be the dominant

power of the new civilization. Very few people know anything of the schoolmen, but the word is very frequently heard, and generally received with more or less contempt whenever it is uttered. It is not maintained, nor is it necessary to maintain, that every schoolman was a Solomon, or even a great genius; but it is possible, without the slightest risk of being considered temerarious, to refuse assent to the doctrine of the Oxford Professor, who in this matter has himself been temerarious. He charges all the schoolmen apparently with arrogance or vanity. Now, some of them were certainly men of mortified lives, perhaps all, and some of them are saints. The writings of many are known to some at least, and they are not unknown to Dr. Stubbs, who would have written more to the purpose if he had given us the name of even one schoolman who had ventured to do that which is laid to the charge of his brethren. Now the Regius Professor of Modern History is very far from being ignorant in the matter of the schoolmen, and more than this must be said of him: he has a certain admiration of them, knowing that they were men not without understanding.

I do not undervalue them [he tells us], because the great men among them were so great that even such a method did not destroy them; in reading Thomas Aquinas, for instance, one is constantly provoked to say, What could not such a mind have done if it had not been fettered by such a method! (p. 90).

The question is easily answered: it could not have given us the "Summa," and there is no evidence whatever that St. Thomas had even the slightest suspicion that he was fettered at all. If his mind was fettered by his method, the fetters were forged by himself, put on by himself and worn by himself, and that not only without inconvenience, but with incalculable advantage for all who have recourse to the books for which we are indebted to his mind and its fetters, if any existed.

This observation of the learned Professor is no doubt one hardly to be expected from him, and though it may surprise us for a moment, yet it belongs to him most properly; for, on reflection, there is nothing in it inconsistent with the principles that underlie his historical and theological opinions. He, perhaps, belongs to no party as a partisan, but he has a little leaning towards the school of the men called Ritualists rather than towards any other school among the many to which the Establishment, fruitful in sects, has hitherto produced. With him the so-called Church of England is an ancient and venerable corporation, with a majesty peculiarly its own, not subject to the Roman Pontiff—that all of us know—and never at any time subject lawfully, for the English law in ecclesiastical matters was English and national, not Roman.

We had some difficulty in trusting our own eyes when reading

this in the lectures of Dr. Stubbs. "Neither the canon law," he writes, "nor the civil law was accepted here" (p. 303). If then the canon law was not accepted in England, the Holy See had no jurisdiction in the country, for Rome has but one law, by which all churches are governed. In another place the Professor maintains this strange opinion—telling us that the Decretals "were not received in England," and immediately adding that they "continued to be the code by which English causes were decided at Rome" (p. 307). This admission destroys the Professor's opinion, for if English causes were settled in Rome according to canon law, that law must have been the sovereign law, and must have been also the law of England; for we do not appeal to a court that has no jurisdiction over the matter in dispute, or ask to have our causes decided by a law we do not acknowledge, and we may therefore say with some confidence that the English litigants who carried their causes into the Roman courts thereby confessed openly that the Roman law was also the law of England, and that they were bound by it.

It seems that so learned a man as Dr. Stubbs can be the serf of ancient prejudice even when earnestly striving to come to the knowledge of facts. He probably had some notion that his Church either was, or ought to have been, always as it is now, independent of Rome. "The independence of the Gallican Church," he writes, "turns, as an historical question, on the non-reception of Roman decrees, the acceptance of the Council of Basel, and the non-reception of portions of the Tridentine canons." . . . (p. 307). Thus independence and disobedience come together in the Professor's theory as two sisters, or rather as mother and daughter, and their hideous ugliness does not alarm him, for he goes on: "So, in England, neither the civil law nor the canon law was ever received as authoritative except educationally, and as furnishing scientific confirmation for empiric argument; or, in other words, where expressly or accidentally it agrees with the law of the land" (p. 207).

Here we have the Anglican in his proper dress. The learned Professor began by saying that neither the canon nor the civil law was accepted in England; having thus delivered himself, he then says that English causes were decided at Rome according to the canon law; but if that be so, the canon law was accepted in England. No, says the Professor, it was not, unless where "it agrees with the law of the land." This is the end of all discussion: the law of the land is above the law of God, the law of the land is supreme, and the Church is subject to the State. This is that poison of heresy which has ruined so many men, and is ruining them every day; men bow down in miserable abjection at the dictates of secular legislation, however wicked it may be, turn their

backs upon the law of God, and break it whenever it pleases them to make their own laws in direct violation of it.

The law of the land may be good, but it may also be bad. By the law of the land under Jeroboam, the son of Nabat, the people of Israel were forbidden to go to Jerusalem, whither they were bound to go, and the law of the land under Nabuchodonosor required the observance of that monarch's decree directing, under penalties, the worshipping of the golden statue; but three holy men, Sidrach, Misach, and Abdenego, having no respect for the unjust decree, were disobedient, as the priests and Levites were before them, when Jeroboam set up the golden calves in Bethel and in Dan. As it was of old, so should it be now; the law of the land can never bind any one when it is in opposition to the natural or revealed law. No State can make binding laws in contempt of the laws of God. The modern world is vicious in this that it has raised the laws of the State to an order higher in its imagination than is that to which they belong, claiming for them a respect which cannot be always due to them nor ever to some of them. They are not so sacred as people imagine, for people meditate vain things, nor are they truly revered even by those who are the most clamorous for their observance. They who urge their binding force most loudly upon others are generally the first to set them aside when they find the observance of them inconvenient to themselves. No man and no State, possessing the least sense of decency, can make laws which shall be at variance with the law of the Maker of the world. That is a truth, however, which States continually set at nought; and it is now regarded too generally all over the world a sufficient answer to all objections, that so and so is the law of the land. Hence the anarchy in opinions and the anarchy in government; for the fundamental conditions of morals are not respected, and so we have for a principle, not to be disputed, the modern notion prevailing over nearly all Europe—the supremacy of the popular will, which is simply and utterly a principle of perpetual change, destructive in the end of the notions of right and wrong, which are the natural endowments of man. It is not pleasant to find in Dr. Stubbs a leaning towards the chaotic opinions of the day, and a certain sympathy with lawless men, though now they are dead and buried. If ever there was a lawless man that man was Henry II., of whom St. Bernard said to the King of France when he was yet but a boy: "From the devil he came and to the devil he will go." *

* Girald. Cambr. de Instruct. Princip. (p. 161). "De diabolo venit et ad diabolum ibit" notans tam patris tyrannidem præteritam quam filii præventuram, amborumque cruentam in Christos Domini, Sagiensem, scilicet, episcopum, et Cantuariæ archiepiscopum atrocitatem detestandam.

The Oxford Professor, it seems, thinks well of this diabolic scion, and has spoken very highly of him, almost affectionately; there were "signs of general enlightenment" about him, and he "was neither the mere voluptuary that his enemies represented him, nor merely the man of business that his more lasting works prove him to have been" (p. 121). There can be no doubt whatever that Henry II. was an "enlightened" man according to the accepted meaning of that word in our day, for he hated the Pope; but we did not expect to hear from Dr. Stubbs that "he took an independent line in religious toleration, and refused to persecute" (p. 120). Certainly in these days the king's notion of toleration is different from the notion that prevails among the enlightened. These people, perhaps, will think the king extremely tolerant when he drove out of the realm all the relations and friends of St. Thomas of Canterbury, sparing neither young nor old, not even the mother with her new-born babe.* Not able to lay hands on the archbishop himself, he had recourse to meanness and malignant cruelty in order to embitter the exile of the man whom he once regarded as a friend.

As it was a bishop and his friends that suffered, a cultivated and enlightened age may think that the king did well, so we must let it pass and go on to another transaction some two years later. There came to England at that time a troop of German heretics—who perverted, however, only one woman—some thirty men and women, and the king heard of them. As he was at war with the archbishop and rebellious to the Pope it was profitable for him to preserve or obtain a reputation for orthodoxy. He summoned his bishops together, and having ascertained from them that these miserable Teutons were really heretics, he had them branded on the forehead and severely scourged in public. He then exposed them to the risk of dying of hunger, by commanding his subjects to give them neither food nor shelter.† This was the work of the ruthless persecutor of St. Thomas, who has obtained from Dr. Stubbs the title of "champion of literary culture." No doubt the distinction is perfectly well deserved.

* S. Thom. Cant. (vol. i. p. 47), Rolls Publications. Non infanti vagienti, non decrepito seni, non in puerperio decubanti mulieri parcere. Processit ulterius furor immanis, et piis auribus horrenda crudelitas. Nam compulsi sunt adulti jurare quod contristandi causa suum archiepiscopum expeterent.

† Gulielm. Neubrig. Hist. Rerr. Anglic. (lib. xi. c. 13, p. 134). Rolls Publications. Præcepit hæreticæ infamiæ characterem frontibus eorum inuri, et, spectante populo, virgis coercitos urbe expelli, districte prohibens ne quis eos vel hospitio recipere, vel aliquo solatio confovere præsumeret. . . . Scissisque cingulo tenus vestibibus publice cæsi et flagris resonantibus urbe ejecti, algoris intolerantia, hiems quippe erat, nemine vel exiguum misericordiæ impendente, misere interierunt.

The Emperor Julian was great in literature ; before him was Nero, a man of refined taste and an accomplished musician, but nevertheless guilty of arson and murder.

The learned dissertations of the Oxford Professor are marred by this praise of a tyrant, however cultivated, and by his teaching about the acceptance of the civil law and the canon law in England. The non-reception of the latter, could it be proved, would minister a grim joy to many an Anglican, for it would be to them a sign of their national independence and of the usurpations of the Pope, which their ancestors had unwillingly endured because of their ignorance of their rights and liberties. Dr. Stubbs probably has some fellow-feeling with these men, and would probably be glad himself to discover that the Pope had no jurisdiction in England, or failing in this, that he had no right to it when he had it, England being self-sufficient and self-contained.

If it be asked who drew up the charters of the Saxon kings, it is not easy to make answer without admitting the existence of lawyers. There must have been lawyers in England as well as on the Continent, and they must have had the same training, otherwise, how are we to account for the general resemblance of all the documents of the same age ? There was no training possible for them except in the law schools of the fallen empire and in the formulæ of the Roman courts of law, there being no other system of law so universally acknowledged as the law of old Rome, purged in some degree of its pagan miseries. After the conquest of the country by William of Normandy, the lawyers, as soon as the sword was returned to the scabbard, if not before, found occupation for themselves, and the most remarkable among them, the most unscrupulous and the most prosperous for a time—he climbed up till he sat in Durham on the throne of St. Cuthbert—was Renouf Flembord.* William of Malmesbury† says that he was so skilful a pleader that no one could withstand him, and Ordericus Vitalis describes him as a man who would have been a merciless proconsul in old Rome if he had lived there. This was the man who established that practice of the kings

* St. Anselm knew him well, and the meek and charitable saint has given this account of him. (Epp. lib. iv. ep. 2). Quando de Anglia exiit erat ibi quidam professione sacerdos, non solum publicanus, sed etiam publicanorum princeps infamissimus nomine Renulphus, propter crudelitatem similem flammæ comburenti pronomine Flambardus ; cujus flamma qualis sit non in Anglia solum, sed in exteris regnis longe lateque innotuit. Hunc rex nuper defunctus contra voluntatem omnium religiosorum, contra omnem justitiam ad episcopatum sine omni ejus correctione sublimare me exulante præsumpsit.

† Gest. Regg. Anglor. (lib. ii. ss. 314, p. 497), Ed. Hardy—Invictus cauidicus, et tum verbis tum rebus immodicus.

of England which they considered so advantageous to the Exchequer, the seizure of the revenues of vacant churches.*

In the reign of Stephen another great lawyer appears, Aubrey de Vere,† who, when the king had imprisoned Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, defended the act on the doctrine of Lanfranc. Roger, he said, was in gaol not as the bishop but as the king's minister, receiving the king's pay. Roger the bishop, however, denied the fact; he was neither the king's servant he said, nor in the king's pay. Aubrey de Vere was a man with few scruples, and, moreover, he was not the only lawyer at this time, for the clergy generally gave very serious attention to legal procedure in the reign of William Rufus,‡ and now, under Stephen, Vacarius lectured in Oxford for a time on the civil law. But, as it was a new learning in that University, there was opposition made to the professor, and King Stephen ordered him to refrain from lecturing. In that confusion people even burnt the books which, according to the commandments of the king, no one was allowed to retain. Nevertheless, the study of the civil law was not abandoned; on the contrary, men gave themselves up to the new learning of Vacarius with greater fervour than before.§ It was a very profitable study also.

Gervase, of Canterbury, in his *Life of Theobald the archbishop*, says that lawyers and the Roman civil law came to England for the first time in the reign of Stephen. That must mean that law was taught systematically by professors, and not learned by practice in the courts; for it cannot mean that the Roman law was never known before in the country, which had been divided into provinces, and was moreover the third diocese under the prefect of Gaul. The five provinces into which the country was divided made one diocese. Each province had its governor under the vicar, who resided in York, and received his instructions from his superior, the prefect of the pretorium of Gaul.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the Roman law kept its hold on the country during the Danish incursions and the more successful invasions of the Saxon, for in those days there was little or no law in the land; but it is certain that from the days of the Conqueror the way was open for it again through his legislation. It is openly taught in the reign of Stephen, and is

* Orderic.: *Hist. Eccles.* (lib. viii. c. 8). *Hujus consilio juvenis rex, morientibus prælatis, ecclesias cum possessionibus olim sibi datis invasit.*

† Malmesbur.: *Hist. Novell.* (lib. ii. ss. 23), Ed. Hardy. *Albericus quidam de Ver homo causarum varietatibus exercitatus.*

‡ *Id.* *Gest Reg.* (lib. iv. ss. 314). *Nullus clericus nisi causidicus.*

§ Polycrat. (lib. viii. c. 22). *Ne quis etiam libros retineret edicto regio prohibitum est, et Vacario nostro indictum silentium, sed Deo faciente, eo magis virtus legis invaluit, quo eam amplius nitebatur impietas infirmare.*

found to be the inspiring principle of Henry II., when he made his attack on the jurisdiction of the Pope, by his attempt to regulate the order in which appeals should be made in the prosecution of ecclesiastical suits.

The Roman law was undoubtedly received in this country—there was no help for it. The lawyers had no other system of law by which certain cases could be determined or justice done. Selden, in his dissertation upon *Fleta*, and Dr. Duck, in his book on the use and authority of the civil law, trace the influence of the old Roman law in the administration of the realm. It was very natural it should be so, for there was no parliament to make laws, and the king was too busy with other matters to do anything but issue his mandates. He must have trusted his lawyers, who only had any knowledge of jurisprudence, to draw up the decrees he sanctioned, whose legal training was founded on the *Pandects*, and previously on the *Code of Theodosius the Second*.

The civil law was not only taught at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but was, and even now is supposed to be, the very law administered in the Chancellor's Court there. It made an entrance into those great schools very early, and has successfully resisted the efforts made to turn it out; it keeps its place even now in theory. Ignorance of its value and neglect of its principles have done it more harm than the violence of King Stephen. Even to this day the Queen's Advocate is considered to be learned in it, and his opinion is always asked in questions about the rights of nations, because he is known to be able to instruct the Government by his legal erudition, which is believed to have been evolved out of a profound study of the *Pandects* and the *Code*.

It is very true that the Roman civil law has never obtained in England so largely as on the Continent, where it never ceased to be in force and observance more or less. The heathens who became Christians under the jurisdiction of the "*Præfectus Prætorio*" of Gaul, had been brought up under the Roman law, and after baptism continued under it. They respected it in everything not forbidden or made unlawful to the Christian. It had formed the manners and customs of the people, but these manners and customs could not be laid aside at once, and in fact were not laid aside everywhere for some generations, even in matters where they should have been abandoned at once. But the Roman law was not all bad, and good Christians had no difficulty in living under it. It was often the sole protection of their property and persons. Thus in the sixth century we find Remigius, for seventy-four years bishop of Rheims, making his last will and testament in solemn form, according to the Roman law, respecting therein,

to secure its observance, the law of the Prætor.* Again, another bishop, St. Hildwindus, of Le Mans, had respect to the same legislation, making his will so as to be valid according to the civil law.† The old legislation about wills accommodated itself to the Christian law, and even bishops acknowledged it.

The Romans abandoned this country early in the fifth century, but while they were here their laws prevailed, as they did in France. The country was a diocese governed from York, but the administrator in York was subordinate to, and under the jurisdiction of, the “Præfectus Prætorio” of Gaul, whose residence was first at Trier, then at Arles. There is no reason for believing that this country was not then subject to the Roman law. On the contrary, there is reason for believing that the Roman law came in with the Roman legions,‡ as did also Roman manners and Roman culture, not always to the advantage of the inhabitants, who too easily learned the ways of their masters, and perhaps, like over-zealous novices, went beyond their rule. If the law of England be uniform, founded on one principle, as perhaps Dr. Stubbs would maintain—it is certainly consistent with his principle to maintain it—we have then to account for the Court of Chancery, the process of which is altogether different from that of the Court of the King’s Bench. The Chancellor never listened to a witness. The Chief Justice required the presence of witnesses, and would settle no dispute without a jury, while in the Court of Chancery a juror was utterly unknown. The Chief Justice of the King’s Bench was sometimes a soldier, and most likely made much of the law that he administered, declaring it to be the customary law of the land. No one would venture to contradict him, for he had armed men at his beck and call to execute any decision he might make; nor was it settled that the Court of Chancery was the higher Court till the reign of James I.

The Court of Chancery was originally a court where the civil law was really dominant; it was the creation of ecclesiastics trained in the schools of civil law and of canon law. The blessed Thomas More was probably the third layman that ever sat in it as Chancellor, perhaps the first learned only in the common law.

There were other courts of justice in the land where the common law was not administered. The Court of the Admiralty is or was

* Terrason, *Jurisprudentiæ Romanæ Monumenta* (p. 90). *Testamentum meum condidi jure Prætorio.*

† *Ibid.* p. 96. *Quod testamentum si quo casu jure civili aut Prætorio vel alicujus novæ legis interventu valere nequiverit.*

‡ Cornel. Tacit. *Agricol. Vit.* c. 21. *Inde etiam habitûs nostri honor, et frequens toga: paullatimque discessum ad delirimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur cum pars servitutis esset.*

perhaps a very important court, for it administered justice not only to Englishmen, but also to foreigners. That justice must have been grounded on a law, or principles of law, acknowledged by the foreigner as well as by ourselves, and we learn from Godolphin that the Roman or civil law was the "law allowed, received, and owned as the law of the Admiralty of England." * It was the civil law that was administered in the high courts of the Marshal and the Constable. Those courts were lawful courts, and the law they professed was allowed as in the Court of the Admiralty, and had even the sanction of Parliament, which enacted (1 Hen. IV. c. 14) "that all the appeals to be made of things done out of the realm shall be tried and determined before the Constable and the Marshal of England for the time being."

In the reign of Richard II. the jurisdiction of the Crown was put in commission, the king assenting, or, if not assenting, compelled to acknowledge himself subject to the control of eleven commissioners. The authority of these commissioners was disputed, and they charged the disputants with high treason; these disputants were the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and the late Chancellor Michael de la Pole, and Nicolas Brambre, an alderman of London. They were to be tried before the High Court of Parliament, and that High Court, before proceeding to extremities, demanded the opinion of certain men learned in the law concerning the sufficiency of the charges for the purpose of inflicting the punishment of treason.

Among those whom the Parliament consulted on this occasion were the "sages of the civil law." With these in consultation were the "justices and serjeants, and other sages of the law of the realm." † The answer on the part of these lawyers was that the charges were insufficient by either law—that is, the law of the land and the law laid down in the Pandects and the Code; the High Court of Parliament thereupon decreed that as there was no law by which it could punish these unhappy men, it would proceed against them, having the power, "according to the law and course of Parliament," which is a law that nobody has ever been able to understand.

There is an apparent unfairness in the way the Oxford Professor treats this question. He does not deny, but constantly admits, the influence of the civil law; he goes so far even as to say that the country could not have been governed without it. "In the infancy of international law"—these are his words—"and the administration of both Admiralty and martial law, the English

* "A View of the Admiral Jurisdiction." Ch. x. p. 123. London. 1685.

† Rot. Parliam. 11 Richard II. (vol. iii. p. 236). Sages du ley de roialme et auxiut les Sages de la ley civil.

jurists had to go beyond their insular practice, and to no other source could they apply themselves" (p. 309). That other source was the Roman civil law, of which he had said before that it was not accepted in England. The Courts of the Admiral and of the Marshal were English courts, and dispensed justice according to law, which law England had certainly accepted and observed.

The Court of Chancery was a court not of common law, but in reality of the civil law. Its judges, with few exceptions, were for centuries civil lawyers or canonists, or both, and the processes of the court were processes of the Roman law. Moreover, it may be contended for with great if not perfect certainty that the court is, or rather was, a court the origin of which is due to the edicts of the Prætor. Not, of course, a court erected or founded by any Prætor, but a court for the administration of justice on the principles embodied in those memorable edicts. It could hardly have been otherwise; if it was found necessary to moderate the unbending severity of the common law, and avoid the infliction of the greatest wrong by the dispensation of justice in its strictest form, the judges appointed for that end found principles and a law ready at hand for the purpose, in the doctrines of which law they had been trained themselves, as the Professor readily admits.

There is a certain vagueness in the language of the Professor throughout his lectures whenever he touches the independency, religious and political, of England; perhaps it might be said that there is even inaccuracy in it. Thus he says of the civil law, that it was "rejected not only by the stubborn obscurantism of Stephen, but by the bright and sagacious intellect of Henry II." (p. 303). Stephen certainly suspended Professor Vacarius, but he made use of Aubrey de Vere, who was a lawyer; and Henry II., as was said before, attempted to bring one part of the civil law into the law of the land. It is not easy to explain how matters could have been ordered otherwise. Englishmen went abroad, and foreigners probably came to England; the government of the country was carried on by lawyers, who were employed also in making treaties with other governments which employed lawyers in the same way for the same ends. These lawyers could not have understood one another unless they had some principles in common, but these principles were for many generations drawn from the Theodosian Code and the Pandects.

It could not be otherwise. The Romans had been, as pagans, masters of the greater part of Europe, and imposed their laws upon the tribes they had conquered, and exacted tributes from kings, being feared wherever they were known.* Germany,

* 1 Machab. viii. 12. Quicunque audiebant nomen eorum, timebant eos.

Spain, France and England had to accept the law of the triumphant Prætor. The great Papinian, with Ulpian and Paulus for his assessors, is said to have held his court in York, and we may be quite certain that even his *obiter dicta* were very carefully respected, when he uttered them from his tribunal, not less than the decisions of Geta,* the younger son of the Emperor, who had both the judicial and the political administration of the diocese in his hands by grant of Septimius Severus his father.

There may be some pleasure of a certain kind in the indulgence of the delusion that this country was independent of other countries, possessing everything necessary for its own well-being, and evolving its own laws out of its own consciousness and unique wisdom. There is also one advantage in it for certain persons; it prepares the way for the defence they make of their schism. This is one use to which these lectures of the Oxford Professor has been put. He is considered to have revealed himself in these lectures as a sound divine, able to repel the aggressions of the Pope, though it is very doubtful whether he ever imagined that he was rendering that service to his fellow-countrymen, obstinate in their error, refusing to be cured.† The "law of the land" is a very fine phrase, and there is a sound in it, when properly pronounced, that reminds us, by the contrast, of another phrase, somewhat more potent: "Rome has spoken." The latter is the word of the Pope, the former the word of the Antipope; thus another form of "non serviam," "I will not obey;" the fit expression of rebellious man fallen from his high estate.

Let us see now how he treats the canon law. Having said that, like the civil law, England rejected it, he then proceeds to admit that the Decretals "continued to be the code by which English causes were decided at Rome, and began to be an integral part of the education of English canonists" (p. 307). Certainly, if English canonists were educated in the Decretals they could hardly learn this independent English canon law to any good purpose, or use it when they litigated the questions entrusted to them. Their learning came out of the law of the Pope, and they must have held that law to be law for them and their clients. He admits, and he cannot help admitting, the influence of the law, but he denies its binding force. "Of course," he says, "very much of the spirit of the Sixth and the Clementines found its way into England, but the statute law was increasing in vigour, the kings were increasing in vigilance" (p. 308). That is, the canon law was checked by the Acts of Parliament and the

* Herodian. Histor. (lib. iii. c. 14). τὸν μὲν νεώτερον τῶν υἱῶν τὸν Γέταν καλούμενον, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ ὑπο Ρωμαίους ἔθνει δικάσοντά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικήσαντα πολιτικά τῆς ἀρχῆς, δὸς αὐτῷ συνεδρους.

† Jerem. xv. 18. Plaga mea desperabilis renuit curari.

tyranny of the kings. The Professor clearly applauds the successful rebellion, and then calls the canons "foreign law." That is nothing but the repetition of the old cry: "No foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm." We know that the statement was not and is not correct.

Again, it is "the law of the land," that is, the supreme and perfect law, Acts of Parliament. The Act for the regulation of public worship,* the cherished work of two Protestant archbishops, is the law of the land, but the friends and admirers of Dr. Stubbs pay it but scanty reverence, they are loud in their clamour against it, and hate it as men ought to hate sin. But it is as good law as the law of *præmunire*.

Now if anything not made in England ever came into England and made itself at home in England, notwithstanding every hindrance and annoyance, it was the canon law, the Decretals, the Sixth, the Clementines, and the Extravagantes, both the *Communes* and those of John XXII. They came each in its turn, in spite of Acts of Parliament and of kings, and sometimes even with the help of kings. The canon law came in with the Catholic faith, and was at home here when the Roman legions kept order in the land. It came in again to the Saxon territories with St. Augustin of Canterbury, who sent his doubts and difficulties for solution to the Pope, precisely as all bishops are doing to-day in all parts of the earth; for the canon law is the Gospel of our Lord, formed into a rule for the outward ordering of the lives of men. A very considerable portion of the canon law was made really for England itself. Disputes in this country were finally litigated in Rome, and there determined by the Pope. That decision of his Holiness was a declaration of the law; and the Decretals abound in decisions made for the settlement of English questions, but more especially for the correction of English manners. It must be admitted that these sentences of his Holiness were accepted in England, for it is not reasonable to suppose that our forefathers incurred great expenses to obtain a decree which they never intended to respect. One of the popular complaints against the Pope is, and was, that he plundered the world by his exactions of money; but somehow or other, in spite of English hatred of losing money, the money went to Rome precisely as money goes to-day to Lincoln's Inn and the Temple; men will quarrel and trespass on the rights of their neighbours.

"Every great canonist," says our Professor, "throughout the

* 37 & 38 Vict. c. 85.

Middle Ages in England was also a great civilian" (p. 302). Surely there is nothing wonderful in this, nor was it peculiar to England. Every great canonist, not only in England, but everywhere else, and not in the Middle Ages only, but in every age, is and was learned in the Pandects and the Code; some of them have written voluminous treatises on the differences of the two laws, their irreconcilable contradictions. There is also current among them a saying belonging to a class called Brocards, which accepts and perpetuates the fact which Dr. Stubbs seems to have regarded as peculiar to the Middle Ages and to England, "*Canonista sine legibus parum valet.*"

The friar minor, John of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury in the thirteenth century, understood this truth, and made a law to enforce it. In some measure, perhaps, he was not able to do all he desired, for men in his day, as in ours, were not in love with laborious studies, preferring immediate profit to a reputation for learning which could not be attained without years of hard work. The archbishop, careful about the administration of justice in the lower courts of his province, made a decree at Lambeth in 1281, forbidding any one to practise as an advocate in the ecclesiastical courts who had not carefully attended lectures in canon and civil law at least for three years before his admission to plead in court.* The old custom required five years.

Lyndwood, in his commentary on this decree of the English archbishop, cannot hide his dislike of it. He prefers the retention of the old practice of five years to this mutilation of legal studies. He knew of no reason for the archbishop's decree, but that of his willingness to allow uninstructed advocates to plead in the inferior courts. In the superior courts, where causes of greater importance were litigated, Lyndwood required greater knowledge of law than could be gained in three years, he being himself a learned lawyer and a judge.

Our Professor makes another remarkable observation, but with some diffidence: "I think I am right in repeating that it was mainly as a branch of church law that the civil law was studied at all; but I do not mean that it was so exclusively" (p. 309). The civil law was studied certainly by the canonists, and their study of it was necessary as well as useful; but surely it never entered into the head of canonist or civilian that the Pandects were a branch of ecclesiastical law. The civil law is really the enemy of the canon in many ways, and that fact alone is sufficient to explain why the canonists studied it. They studied it as a general in the field studies the movements of his adversary, and

* "*Wilkins. Concil.*" ii. 61. *Statuimus, ut nullus de cætero permittatur advocacionis officium publice exercere, nisi prius ad minus, per triennium, audiverit jus canonicum et civile cum debita diligentia.*

the meaning of them, that he may order his own movements to greater advantage.

There is also another reason for that study. There was in the world, before the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, a strong and resolute empire with laws, judges, and settled processes of its courts, long established and well known. When the first Christians shrank from suing one another in the secular courts, before pagan judges, they held their own courts in their own assemblies, reverencing the directions of St. Paul,* but they could not hold those courts without adopting the forms of the courts with which they were familiar. With the growth of the canon law those forms lived on and were in many ways most useful; they were simple, they were also effective, but as they were not the inventions of the canonists—for the canonists found them in possession—it was necessary to study the law with which they came, at least some of them, into the world. Moreover, much of the civil law rests directly on the law of nature; and the formula by which the precepts of that law are expressed are of great service for their conciseness and the fulness of meaning laid up in them. Lyndwood† himself has not omitted to justify the study of the civil law, even on the ground of the references to it in the gloss, and the necessity of having a perfect knowledge of canon law, which is not attainable without the knowledge of the civil law as well, at least in some considerable measure.

Now the Archbishop, John of Peckham, required the advocates who pleaded in the ecclesiastical courts to hear lectures for three years at least from professors of the two laws. There can be no question made as to his meaning when he speaks of the civil law; but if we are to trust our Professor when he says that the canon law was not received in England, we must understand the phrase “canon law” used by the archbishop in a sense wholly different from that which it bears everywhere else. It is quite impossible to admit that the archbishop did not understand those words as everybody understands them. He therefore required the advocates to learn the canon law of Rome, not local canons only, and if they were to learn that law, it must have been that they might use it; surely that is of itself conclusive that the canon law was received and observed in England, and was as much the law of England as any Act of Parliament.

Dr. Gibson, who was a Protestant bishop, first of Lincoln then

* 1 Cor. vi. 4. *Sæcularia igitur judicia si habueritis : contemptibiles, qui sunt in ecclesia, illos constituite ad judicandum.*

† De Procurat. c. veloces. v. *et civile*. Puto quod sufficit ut talis audiverit jus civile secundum remissiones quæ ponuntur in Glossa juris canonici, et sine quibus jura canonica, præsertim in judicialibus non possunt bene intelligi nec sciri.

of London, compiled, and in the year 1713 published, his "*Codex Juris Anglicani*," and therefore obtained from the Whigs and Dissenters who were endowed with any wit the distinction of being known as Dr. Codex. In this compilation of the ecclesiastical laws of England, we are told in the preface (p. xiv.) of "the light that may be had from the '*Body of the Canon Law*,' which, till the time of the Reformation, remained a rule to the Church of England, and being received by long practice remains so still, as to such parts of it as are not inconsistent with the laws of the land." The law of the land has wonderful virtues.

Lord Stowell is perhaps a better authority for this than Dr. Gibson, for he was a lawyer of great learning and judge in the Consistory Court of London. Notwithstanding his Protestantism, which was strong, he acknowledged more than once in his judgments, given in court, that the canon law was in force in England as it was in all Europe. In *Dalrymple v. Dalrymple* he says: "That the canon law is the basis of the marriage law of Scotland as it is of the marriage law of all Europe,"* and England is in Europe, and marriages were solemnized in it.

A better authority still, perhaps, is the judgment of the Barons of the Exchequer in *Stavely v. Ullithorn*. There "it was held, *per curiam*, clearly that the Council of Lateran, which freed that Order [Cistercian] from payment of tithes, was a general law received in England for this Council is as forcible as an Act of Parliament which concludes all parties: and the Court were also of opinion, that if there were any such agreement for payment of tithes before the Council, that yet this Council, as a general law, which includes all men's consent, had dissolved it, and the lands were discharged."†

Until within a few years there was no denial of the observance and obligation of the canon law in England, independently of the assent to it of kings, lords and commons. People were content with the usual explanation that it was an effect of Papal tyranny to which nobody made either resistance or objection. But now we have a new theory; the country was independent and dealt with the Pope as with an equal, accepted his decrees if it approved of them, and rejected them if it did not like them. Dr. Stubbs with his great learning has played the game of these new men with new doctrines. It is perhaps not a mere guess only to charge him with the authorship of the "*Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Constitution and Working of*

* Haggard, ii. 81.

† Hardres. Reports of Cases in the Exchequer. Temp. Carol. II. p. 101.

the Ecclesiastical Courts.” There at p. 17 may be read this, the italics are ours :

But the canon law of Rome, although always regarded as of great authority in England, *was not held to be binding on the courts*. No new Code was imposed at the Conquest or later. The laws of the Church of England from the Conquest were, as before, the traditional church law developed by the legal and scientific ability of its administrators, and occasionally amended by the constitutions of successive archbishops, the canons of national councils, and the sentences or authoritative answers to questions delivered by the Pope.

If the Professor did not himself write that report, the writer made use, not only of his learning, but of his words ; for among the historical appendices there are five furnished by him, and the passage now quoted may be found almost unchanged in the first of them (p. 25). There, too, the Professor asserts that the Decretals of Gregory IX., with other books of the “law, were not authoritative.”

Then, admitting the opinion of the Oxford Professor and his brother commissioners, we come to this : That the Pope had no authority in point of law, that is, had no jurisdiction in England. The English bishops consulted him from time to time—that is confessed—and he gave his advice or solution of the doubt, and the bishops accepted his answer for what it was worth in their judgment, and our lawyers made use of his answers in their discussions and pleadings. That was, according to Dr. Stubbs, the relation of England to the Holy See.

For our part we should say that such an explanation of notorious facts was not the best, if a celebrated heresiarch in the fourteenth century had not anticipated the Professor on this point. William of Ockham, of the Grey Friars, having fallen away from the truth, laboured with all the strength of his great powers to exalt the State above the Church, and to make the Pope the slave of his subjects ; in short, a constitutional sovereign, reigning not governing. In the course of his rebellion he had to give account of certain facts which were fatal to his new doctrines, and among these was the deposition of Childeric by the Pope Zacharias. To this William of Ockham* replied, by saying that the Franks, in a fit of humility doubting their own judgment in that matter, consulted the Pope because they thought he was a wiser man than any of them. They asked him if they could

* Octo. Quæstt. qu. ii. c. 8. Illi igitur Franci dubii forsitan de propria potestate Papam tanquam sapientio rem quam ipsi essent seu haberent—nondum erat studium Parisiis—consulebant et interrogabant an eis secundum Deum liceret suum regem deponere. Nostris autem temporibus quidam de potestate sua nullatenus dubitantes regem suum deposuerunt, Papa nullatenus requisito.

wanting the sanction of the national church, were ratified in councils held by Peckham (p. 25).

In the Oxford lectures we have this :

The constitutions of Othobon, which were confirmed by Peckham at Lambeth, and which, with those of Otho, were the first codified and glossed portions of the national church law (p. 308).

The independence of the Church of England is the doctrine that underlies this extravagant statement thrice made, and it is made for the purpose of maintaining that doctrine, which, if made good, helps, as people vainly think, to justify the schism and the present condition of the Protestant community. The Grey friar, John of Peckham, whom the Black friars accused of pomposity and of a readiness to contradict the Thomists, was a bold man and a resolute archbishop. Though he excommunicated St. Thomas of Hereford, he never dreamt of confirming or ratifying the constitutions of the two cardinal deacons, as Dr. Stubbs maintains. He knew his place and his rights too well to sit in judgment on the legates of the Pope. We might go further and say that there was neither bishop nor priest in England who would have dared to ratify the constitutions of Otho and Othobon during the whole of the thirteenth century. The Archbishop of Canterbury was a very great and powerful prelate—nor did the dignity lose its lustre in the hands of Peckham—but no Archbishop of Canterbury, who valued his soul's health, would have ventured to ratify legatine constitutions. These were constitutions to be observed with reverence, not confirmed by a subject or even modified.

That which Peckham did was this: In Lambeth, in the year 1281, he held a council, and in that council he published anew the constitutions of the two legates which had been already published, as he says distinctly, and at the same time made a decree that they were to be observrd for the future without fail.* It is a plain confession that the constitutions were the law of the land, but that they had not been duly respected. Again at Lambeth in the next year, namely 1282,† the archbishop had the constitutions of Othobon read—not of his own proper movement, but out of obedience to the mandate of the cardinal who had ordered his constitutions to be read, every word of them, by the two archbishops and the bishops every year in their synods.‡ These

* Wilkins, Concil. ii. p. 42. Constitutiones Ottonis et Ottoboni, dudum legatorum in Anglia, in conciliis per eos celebratis promulgatas innovavit, et in posterum inviolabiliter observandas fore decrevit.

† *Ibid.* p. 51.

‡ Constit. Othoboni. Cap. *Honoris*. Præcipimus ut omnia statuta hæc, quæ in hoc nostro concilio sunt promulgata in scriptis habeant, et ipsi archiepiscopi et episcopi eadem in synodis suis annis singulis de verbo ad verbum perlegi faciant diligenter.

the law of the land. But the inference thus drawn is against the facts, for the Professor himself has confessed that the Court of Admiralty and of the Arches administered law which was not made in England, and yet they are English courts with jurisdiction in England over the Queen's subjects in the proper matter of their resort. Nevertheless the Professor and his fellow-commissioners maintain quite calmly that the canon law was never accepted in this land. The marvel is the greater when we remember that one of the commissioners was judge of the Court of Arches, another one of the judges of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Courts, and had been for some years official Principal and Dean of the Court of *St. Maria de Arcubus*. It may be convenient and even necessary now for Anglicans to maintain all that the Professor teaches them, but that cannot change the facts. The law of the Pope had its course in the kingdom once; it was law in the kingdom, not because Parliament and the Crown accepted it, but because it was the law of one who had the right to make laws for every Christian man. At one time it was not doubted, and even at another time, when it became convenient to do so, it was not denied that the canon law had been for ages in force in the country. It was the pleasure of Henry VIII. once to require an oath of all his subjects—the penalty of refusing to take it being death as a traitor—to be obedient to him in all things. This he embodied in an Act of Parliament (35 Henry VIII. c. i.), and on oath every one was to say that he or she did “freely and clearly renounce, relinquish, and forsake that pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction both of the See and Bishop of Rome, and of all other foreign Powers.” It seems from this that Henry VIII. admitted the evidence in the country of the jurisdiction of the Pope. But jurisdiction is much more than the authoritative answer of a wise and good man whom the bishops might consult when they were in difficulties and humble. Henry VIII. certainly at one time believed that the Pope had jurisdiction even over him, and that the canon law was in force in England without respect to the royal authority and assent.

This is not all that is surprising in the lectures and the Report which the commissioners accepted and made to her Majesty. “*Abyssus abyssum invocat* ;” there are unknown depths in the sea of heresy. We read in the Report as follows :

The canons passed in legatine councils under Otho and Othobon, ratified by the national church under Archbishop Peckham (p. 18).

In the first appendix to the Report of the commissioners we have the following account, in the words of Dr. Stubbs, of the decrease of the two cardinals, Otho and Othobon :

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constitutions were not laws made by the English bishops, but laws made by the legates of the Pope with his authority, and thus so far was Peckham from confirming or ratifying them that he confessed himself bound to observe them as the orders of his superior. Equally startling is the following passage in the lectures, and to be found also nearly word for word in the Report and the Appendix in the places already referred to. Thus speaks the Oxford Professor :

In the reign of Henry V. William Lyndwood, the Dean of the Arches, collected, arranged, and annotated the accepted constitutions of the Church of England in his *Provinciale*, which, with the collections of John of Ayton, generally found in the same volume, became the authoritative canon law of the realm (pp. 308, 309).

If this be accurately told we must suppose that in the reign of Henry V. there was a great and notable change in the administration of the church, seeing that it became then possessed of a new code of laws ; for the words of the Professor are (p. 325), "The canon law as drawn up by Lyndwood," and that canon law "authoritative."

Again, if the constitutions were already, as the Professor calls them, the "accepted constitutions," it could not be said of them that they "became" the canon law of the realm, seeing that they were already law. Moreover, the reason why Lyndwood annotated them was, in all probability, that very fact : that they were the law. Lyndwood and John of Ayton gave no sort of authority whatever to the canons, any more than Blackstone gave to the statutes he explained in his Commentaries.

That which Lyndwood did was this : he had the Decretals before him, and he made a book to resemble them as much as possible. He took passages out of the provincial constitutions, and arranged them under titles, as in the Decretals. He could not find canons enough to stand under every title that is in the Decretals, and thus his collection is smaller, but nevertheless divided, like the Decretals, into five books, and the matter of each corresponds with the order in which matters are treated in the Decretals.

But Lyndwood has omitted to annotate many of the canons of the Province then in force, at least in theory ; but nobody would say that a canon not inserted in the *Provinciale* is a canon that might be set at nought. The Dean of the Arches did not profess to annotate every canon, nor did he think that his work was anything more than the commentaries of other learned lawyers on the canons which they undertook to illustrate and explain.

This stands perfectly clear beyond the reach of doubt, seeing that we have the word of Lyndwood himself for it in the pre-

face, addressed to Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose vicar-general he was, and who, a lawyer himself, had urged Lyndwood to undertake the labour of explaining the canons, which were then, he says, not too well observed by everybody. He followed the plan of the Decretals, omitting prefaces and superfluous expressions, precisely as did St. Raymund de Pennafort, when he was employed by the Pope Gregory IX. in arranging the Decretals. As St. Raymund inserted Decretals of Gregory IX. in his compilation, so the Dean of the Arches in his inserted certain constitutions of Chichele, who had persuaded him to make the collection and to add the notes. This is told us by Lyndwood himself,* who certainly was too good a lawyer to imagine that even the "*Decanus Sanctæ Mariæ de Arcubus*" could make law either canon or civil which could have the slightest binding force on those whom laws made by higher powers could with difficulty control at all times.

John of Ayton did before Lyndwood's day that which Lyndwood did, wrote glosses on the text of the canons of the two legates Otho and Othobon; but he differed from Lyndwood in this, that he did not arrange the canons under different titles, according to their matter, as in the Decretals and in the *Provinciale*. He left the constitutions of the legates in the order in which they had been published, and it does not appear from anything he did or said that he had any intention of adding to the authority of the constitutions, or that they "became the authoritative canon law of the realm," because he had written glosses to explain certain words and phrases of the text.

Perhaps nothing is known of John of Ayton beyond the fact that he was a canon of Lincoln and learned in the law, which is an inference drawn by those who read his glosses, but of Lyndwood more is known. He was the Dean of the Arches to whom the Archbishop of Canterbury sent all the appeals of the province for decision, and a man before whom all the suffragans had to bow; he was practically the judge in the last resort in England, and the litigant disappointed in his court must carry his complaint to Rome. These two lawyers had no intention of forming a "code," or of doing anything as if they had authority. All the authority of their glosses resolves itself into their knowledge of the law. Lyndwood had to administer the law as he found it, he could not make it, and the law he had to administer was the law of the Pope; for his court, though a high one in England, was an inferior and subordinate tribunal, not having the power of

* *Ea quæ de ipsis utiliora fore censui, resecatis superfluis, et quibusdam ex eis abbreviatis, correcte in unum opus collegi, et sub congruentibus titulis ad instar libri Decretalium serius collocavi.*

determining finally any question, because an appeal would lie whenever the litigant, dissatisfied with the sentence, wished to carry his cause further for further discussion.

The law administered in the Arches Court was the law administered in Rome, and the processes of the court were substantially identical with those of the sovereign court in Rome. There can be no doubt in the matter. It is plainly admitted* by John of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, saying of his own court, the Court of the Arches, that it was the servant of the court of his Holiness, to which the appeals were carried. Certainly, if any one knew the nature and functions of his court, it was that conscientious and vigilant friar who gave so much trouble to the wicked, and had his own share of trouble himself.

Schism and heresy are a disgrace, and so held to be even by those who are living in them. That is why they are so ready to adopt the very flimsiest sophistry for the maintenance of their innocence and freedom from the very greatest evil that can be the lot of a man baptized. If the Oxford Professor could show that the Pope never had any jurisdiction in England, it would be a comfort to him and all his friends. But he has not done it, and he cannot do it; for even in denying that the canon law was accepted in this country, he has to admit the existence of the episcopal and archidiaconal courts, and the small court of the Dean of St. Mary-le-Bow, who had jurisdiction over only thirteen parishes, but who, being the vicar-general of the Archbishop of Canterbury, ruled in the last resort the whole of the southern province, before whom archdeacons and bishops trembled. It would be at least interesting to know how Dr. Stubbs, denying the prevalence of the common law, can account for the existence of the Dean of the Arches, and of the great authority vested in him as the official principal of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Certainly, he cannot find any Act of Parliament to rest it on. The Dean of the Arches was not, like Lord Penzance, the produce of spite and an Act of Parliament. The statute law did not know him, any more than the common law did, except as an enemy who had come in and established himself in the land without their leave, keeping his place in spite of their sullen acquiescence.

D. L.

* Peckham Registr. Epp., Ep. 403, p. 521. *Curia nostra Cantuariensis sacrosanctæ sedis Apostolicæ, tanquam devota filia continue famulatur.*

ART. VIII.—WHERE WAS ST. PATRICK BORN ?

1. *Where St. Patrick was Born.* By the Rev. COLIN C. GRANT in DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1887.
2. *Documenta de S. Patricio*, Hibernorum Apostolo, ex libro Armachano. Edidit E. HOGAN, S.J., in Universitate Catholica Dubliniensi, linguæ Hibernicæ et historiæ lector. Bruxellis. 1884.
3. *An Inquiry as to the Birthplace of St. Patrick.* By T. H. TURNER, M.A. A Paper read for the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland, and published in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. v. part 1. Edinburgh. 1874.
4. *Loca Patriciana.* By the Rev. J. F. SHEARMAN. Published in the *R.H.A.A.I.*, fourth series, vol. iv. No. 35, p. 435.
5. *Essays on Religion and Literature.* The Birthplace of St. Patrick. By J. CASHEL HOEY. Edited by H. E. MANNING. London.
6. *The Birthplace of St. Patrick.* By the Right Rev. P. F. MORAN, Bishop of Ossory (now Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney). DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1880.

JUST a year ago an article of mine appeared in the DUBLIN REVIEW* under the above title, with the same list of works heading it, save the additional work which now stands first. The object of my article was to show that, while St. Patrick's birthplace was in Britain, it was not in North Britain, at Alclyde. Our national apostle in his "Confession" gives indeed his birthplace, but its identification has hitherto been a puzzle to antiquarians. Some of the later Lives simply mention Alclyde as the Saint's birthplace, while the older Lives endeavour to explain rather than literally reproduce the Saint's words descriptive of his birthplace ; but the explanation appears to me self-contradictory, and this, coupled with the historical incongruities attaching to Alclyde, led me, in the article referred to, to question the Alclyde theory and the arguments by which it is supported.

All that the biographers of our national Saint could spell out of his description of his birthplace is, that it was a place where Roman armies used to encamp ; the most that modern historians have gathered from the description is that it was a river's mouth. These two features, so common to every part of Britain, have

* October 1886.

made it very difficult to point with any probability to any spot as his birthplace. But the several hints given in the "Confession" and in the Saint's admitted letter to Coroticus, together with the old Lives, furnish grounds for a probable opinion, amounting to a moral certainty, that the object of our inquiry is in South rather than North Britain. To prove this was the aim of my former article, whose net result may be given in my own words: "It is quite clear to my mind that Scotland or Northern Britain is not the birthplace of St. Patrick."

As I have already suggested, while our evidence has been sufficient to show in what part of Britain in general St. Patrick was born, it is almost useless in determining the precise spot, and I had on that account to speak with some hesitation. For this reason the writer whose work heads this article says: "Bath or Frome either equally suits Father Malone, who is not more particular as to a fixed place than other theorists." Now, I undertake in this article to change all this, and fix on the precise locality of the Saint's birthplace. Without anticipating the outcome of my argument, I may state that the place of which we are in quest lies some few miles, not south, as the Bath theory led us, but north of the shores of Bristol. I shall not budge one yard nearer to Caledonia; and the direction I take shall be guided by the Saint's own words.

Even independently of the Saint's express words in direct reference to his birthplace, we might with much probability infer that it could not be in Caledonia or Alclyde.

Firstly, he tells us in his "Confession" that he forfeited his nobility, and that his father was a Decurion. Now a Decurion formed one of the Senate. The colonies or municipal towns only had the privilege of a Senate—the power of adopting the imperial laws in the fullest manner, or enacting their own. The Decurions formed the Corporation of the municipal towns, and were called the Little Senate.* Now Dunbarton or Alclyde was not one either of the colonies or municipal towns. Nor, even though we were to grant to modern advocates of a Scottish birthplace for St. Patrick leave to move it from the holy tower of Dunbarton to Kilpatrick, on the south of the Clyde, could they find here a city of a municipal character. Father Shearman, seeing, I suppose, the force of this objection, says that St. Patrick's father was a military Decurion in charge of 300 horse.

But I am not aware that Spanheim, Arrian, or any classical authorities have assigned 300 men to a Decurion. I am not aware that more than ten men usually, according to the etymo-

* "Quorum cætum recte appellavit antiquitas Minorem Senatum." Majorien: "Novellæ," 11, ad *calcem*.

logical meaning of the word, were assigned to him,* or that more than a triple multiple of ten, with their sub-Decurions, thus forming an entire body of 33, were ever assigned to the Decurion. This rank would not surely confer nobility. But the position of civil Decurion was one of risk and expense, and hence a very considerable amount of rateable property was required for the rank of Decurion.† From these were selected the executive magistrates of the city, the collectors of the public revenue, and all officers to places of trust and emolument. On that account the idea of civil Decurions or senators in Alclyde is not to be entertained.

Secondly, even though we were to overlook the contradiction to all the old Lives involved in removing the Saint's birthplace to Kilpatrick, the historical context would not warrant it. Any person who even superficially glances at the state of society in Scotland at the end of the fourth century may fairly infer that Kilpatrick was not the Saint's birthplace. Ever since Agricola and Adrian erected their ramparts respectively at the Clyde and the Tyne, it taxed the ingenuity and power of Roman generals and emperors to defend their settlements against the invasion of the Picts and northern tribes. These fierce barbarians, so far from being restrained either by the northern or southern rampart, often precipitated themselves on the southern portion of Britain, and carried destruction even to the shores of Kent. Septimius Severus, Diocletian, and Theodosius had to repair the ramparts broken through by the incursions of the barbarian Scots and Picts; and although South Britain had been for ages divided into three Roman provinces, ruled under Roman law, it was only about the year 370 a fourth province, comprising the country between the two ramparts, was formed under the name of Valentia, in honour of Valentinian.‡ And at the beginning of the fifth century, Honorius, not being able to defend this province or any of Britain against the barbarians, wrote to the Britons to defend themselves.

In addition to all this we are to take into our account that the country was pagan till about the year 400. Nennius became the apostle of the southern Picts. Bede informs us that previous to

* Festus, Varro, Vegetius. The etymological meaning of the word affected, it is thought, the civil as well as the military Decurion; for originally every tenth man in the colony, it is considered, was chosen to form the *Curia* or Senate.

† Theod. Code: "Novellæ," 35. Three hundred solidi were required.

‡ Nec falso nomine Pictos

Edomuit Scotumque vago mucrone secutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas,
Incaluit Pictorum Sanguine Thule.

(Claudian, in 3 Cons. Hon. v. 53.)

the erection of "*Candida Casa*," or Withern, there had not been a church in the country.* Whatever knowledge of Christianity penetrated among the people came casually through a Christian soldier. Is it likely that a society presenting such a civil or military or religious aspect could represent such a Christian community as that in which St. Patrick was brought up? He speaks of his father having been a deacon and his grandfather being a priest, and states that his captivity and trouble were deservedly traceable to the neglect of instructions which used to be given by the priests.

Does not this suppose a well-established Catholic society, but incompatible with the pagan state of society on either side of the Caledonian Roman rampart?

But if we look to Wales, how different is the prospect! Here was a well-established Catholic community. Even so early as the year 314 the bishop or archbishop of Caerleon is supposed to have represented the Church of Wales at the Council of Arles.† Hence, every expression used by our national apostle in reference to his birthplace would readily and naturally conform to such a place.

Thirdly, the Saint in writing to Coroticus, or Ceretic, and to his soldiers who partly slew and partly carried into captivity his newly baptized converts, implied that the murderers were his fellow-citizens. This meant more than the freedom of the city, or the "*Jus Latium*," which made all who enjoyed it fellow-citizens in a general sense. Our great Saint said that he would not call them fellow-citizens, or fellow-citizens of pious Romans. He took an occasion to add that he forfeited his nobility for externs, though his own know him not, and that in his regard the words of Scripture were verified—"A prophet in his own country has no honour." All this, I repeat, implies fellow-citizenship in a really strict and physical sense. Moreover, the letter of expostulation and excommunication was not only to the British prince, but to his soldiers to whom it was to be read. Where can we find in Kilpatrick, an unknown village, the described city and garrison for such a soldiery? Kilpatrick was on the borderline of restless raiders; it was the cockpit for contending civilization and barbarism. Our Saint in his letter of excommunication commanded all who were holy and humble of heart not to eat, or converse with, or take their alms till they had done condign penance. How could a Church to which allusion is made in this letter be supposed to exist in any part of Scotland, much less in an unknown village? Even the capital of the province, "*Candida Casa*," did not contain such a Christian com-

* Lib. iii. ch. iv.

† Stillingfleet, "*Antiq.*," Works, vol. iii. ch. ii.

munity. The country was peopled principally by Picts, Scots, and Saxons. The Picts had fallen away from the teaching of Nennius, and hence our apostle calls them apostates, while the roving Scots and plundering Saxons were pagan. There are good grounds, then, for asserting that the picture sketched by St. Patrick in reference to the soldiers of Coroticus did not find its antetype in Kilpatrick.

Moreover, St. Patrick reminds Coroticus of the pious conduct of the Gauls and Romans, who sent holy priests among the Franks and other extern pagans in order to redeem baptized slaves ; whereas he slew or sold into extern lands Christ's virgin members, who were born free, to apostate Picts and Scots. Now, in order to have the contrast or antithesis complete, as the Saint intended, the Picts and Scots should be of a different country from Coroticus, and therefore not from the country of Alclyde.

Once again : St. Patrick calls Coroticus and his soldiers fellow-citizens of fiends because, among other reasons, they were companions of the Scots and apostate Picts. Now, if Coroticus were a ruler of Strathclyde, he could not consistently be upbraided for being a companion of those among whom he should have lived, and over whom he had to rule. For in the year 432, when Palladius passed over to Scotland on his way to Rome from Ireland, and touched, probably, at Portpatrick, he is said to have been on the confines of the Picts and Britons.* The country of the Picts then lay between the Clyde and the Tweed : even Adrian's Wall, which ran parallel to the Tweed, is marked on maps as the wall of the Picts. If, then, so early as the year 432, when the remembrance and fear of the Roman legions were scarcely wiped out of the pagan and apostate barbarians, the Alclyde district was called Pictish rather than British, how much more so must this have been the case subsequently, when St. Patrick wrote to Coroticus, and as the barbarians waxed stronger and the legions were a thing of the past? Writing, then, at a time when even the southern part of Alclyde was called Pictish, could St. Patrick in any likelihood have styled himself a Briton if he had been born in the northernmost part of Alclyde?

But if, on the other hand, we suppose the Saint to be a native of South Wales, how naturally his every expression adapts itself to the supposition ! How different is the state of society there from what it was in Alclyde ! So early as the year 347, St. Athanasius speaks of the British bishops who attended at the Council of Sardica ; † and when the Saxons came into Britain,

* "*Documenta de S. P.*," p. 25. *Vita*, 2da, et *Vita* 5ta.

† *Apolog.* ii. p. 720.

about the time St. Patrick was addressing Coroticus, there were in existence the dioceses of Hereford, Llandaff, Lan Patern, Bangor, St. Asaph's, Worcester, and Morgan.*

That Corotic, whom St. Patrick styles impliedly a fellow-citizen, was a native of Wales, is made abundantly evident. Corotic, or Caradoc, who was brought in chains to Rome in the year 51, was prince of the Siluri. Caradoc, who beheaded St. Winifred, was prince of North Wales.† A Caradoc is supposed to have given a name to Cardiganshire.‡ The Caradogs appear to have been as indigenous to Wales as the Pharaohs to Egypt.

We have the additional testimony of Joceline, who states that Corotic was a Welshman; § and the "Book of Armagh" confirms the statement. || This cumulative evidence is borne out by St. Patrick's letter to Corotic. The Saint, while disowning the soldiers of Corotic, had to acknowledge, however, that they really were his fellow-citizens; but while establishing grounds for a charge and guilt against them by their connection with the pagan Scots and apostate Picts, he states that these were only companions to them, and fellow-citizens not to them but to fiends.

An objection remains to be noticed. Fiacce states that St. Patrick was born in Nentur; and the scholiast asserts "that Nentur lay among the Northern Britons—that is, in Alclyde." ¶ But, we may ask, who were the Britons? Wales was the principal stronghold of the ancient Britons at a time when the Roman eagles waved triumphantly over the other parts of South Britain; and when subsequently the Anglo-Saxons had subdued every part of it from Deira to the shores of Kent, Wales retained the name exclusively, and represented the original inhabitants of Britain. Subsequently, when the Angles and Saxons and their heptarchy went down, and were shattered under the heel of the mail-clad Normans, the independence of Wales was maintained till the latter part of the twelfth century. Wales then emphatically deserved the name of Britain; and even to the present day there is no other name in Irish for a Welshman than that for a Briton.

Probus, even in the tenth century, states that St. Patrick was instrumental in the conversion of Normandy, England, and Britain.** The editor of the Lives has had to admit that Probus in this passage understood by Britain, Wales; †† and Joceline, who wrote in the twelfth century, states that Corotic

* Gual. Monum..Hist., lib. viii. chap. iv.

† Leland, "De Script.," p. 258.

‡ "Hist. of Cardigan:" Meyrick.

§ "Finibus quibusdam Britanniae quæ modo Vallia vocatur." (Vita Sexta.)

|| Index to Second Part.

¶ Colgan's translation of "North Britons" by North Britain is misleading, for this in his time was synonymous with Scotland.

** "Trias Thaum.," p. 51.

†† Ibid., p. 62, n. 7.

belonged to a country which lately came to be called by the name of Wales.* There is good reason, then, for suspecting that the scholiast on Fiacca attached the same meaning as his contemporary Probus to Britain, and that North Britons could have meant those in North Wales.

But could there be any reason for the introduction of Alclyde? Yes; for there was a Clyde or Clwyd in North Wales, which flows into the Irish Sea. Mention, too, is made of Strathclyde there, or the valley of the Clyde.† By-and-by this Alclyde could very naturally be applied to Scotland, the country of the "Northern Britons," in the scholium referred to, or the country, as translated by Colgan, in North Britain. This could the more readily have taken place, as even Colgan, who advocates Alclyde as St. Patrick's birthplace, admits that Alclyde, the synonym for Dunbarton in Scotland, was written Arclyde.‡ The rock or castle associated with the word Alclyde, and thus suggestive of the high, heavenly tower in which St. Patrick was represented as born, would render its adoption preferable to that of Arclyde. Mistakes far more serious than this, if such it be, have been committed by Irish as well as by other copyists. Thus, the holy senior, St. Paulinus, *lord* of Campania, who ordained St. Patrick under the shadow of Mount Sarnus, had been transformed by an Irish copyist into the Lord, and subsequently into Lord Jesus on Mount Hermon; and the monstrous transformation has been perpetuated in the latest elaborate Life of our national Saint.§

There was the additional reason for connecting St. Patrick with the Arclyde in Scotland, and subsequently with Dunbarton, that Palladius, called Patrick, died there, having, according to Scottish historians, spent over twenty years in evangelizing the country. But even still the objection remains, that North Wales is not the birthplace of St. Patrick. True; at the same time there is less violence to probability in stating that he was born in North Wales than in North Scotland. As the author of the English Martyrology || and the learned Camden ¶ were mistaken in assigning the Saint's birthplace, the former to Somersetshire and the latter to Pembrokeshire, it is no matter for wonder that the scholiast was mistaken in assigning North Wales rather than South Wales as St. Patrick's birthplace. There is the less reliance to be placed on a statement made not incidentally, in identifica-

* "Vita Sexta." Welsh, a term applied by the Anglo-Saxons to the original Britons of Wales, meant a stranger, and stuck to them. The Welsh called themselves, as did the Irish, Britons.

† "Cambro-British Saints," p. 351. "Four Ancient Books of Wales," i. 73.

‡ "Tr. Thaum.," p. 170, n. 2.

§ Todd's "St. Patrick," p. 325.

|| On the 17th March.

¶ "Description of Pembrokeshire," p. 524.

tion of a place, but glossariaily. Glossarists try not their explanations on things generally known: quite otherwise. If even the burial-place of St. Patrick in the seventh century was a matter of doubt, what wonder that a mistake would arise, two or three hundred years subsequently, in reference to what did not concern our people so much—his birthplace?

My remarks on the scholiasts have been made not for the purpose of lessening but of supporting the credibility of Irish writers. I have found for the most part that not only what was puzzling but self-contradictory apparently in Irish writers became quite consistent under the play of more light, and that the mistake lay not with them, but with their readers or copyists. Our desire is to bring the Lives and their commentators, for their own sakes, into harmony with our Saint's express testimony; for the weight attaching to any Life or scholium is but as dust in the balance against the clearest words of St. Patrick himself; and I proceed now to give these words in reference to his birthplace.

As I shall have occasion to allude to the Lives in reference to the Saint's testimony, I will, for the sake of brevity, refer to them by their number, arranged as follows, according to my judgment, in chronological order:

1. Fiacc, the reputed author of the first Life, merely says: "Patrick was born in Nentur."*

2. Patrick, who was also called Sochet, a Briton by nation, was born in the Britains, begotten of Cualfornius, a deacon, son, as he himself says, of Potitus, a priest, who was of the village of Ban navem Thabur indecha, not far from our sea, which village we have always and unquestionably ascertained to be Ventre.†

3. He was therefore born in that town, Nemthor by name. . . . Patrick was born in the plain of Taburne. The Plain of Tents was so called because the Roman army, on a certain time during the winter cold, fixed their tents there, and hence it was called the Plain of Tabern; that is, the Plain of Tents.‡

* "Natus est Patricius in Nemthurri:" strophe i. I give the Latin version as easier. This metrical Life is attributed to the end of the sixth century.

† "Patricius qui et Sochet vocabatur, Brito natione, in Britanniiis natus, Cualforni diaconi ortus, ut ipse ait, Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit vico Ban navem Thabur indecha, ut procul a mari nostro, quem vicum, constanter indubitanterque comperimus esse ventre." ("Documenta de S. P.," edited most learnedly by Rev. E. Hogan), p. 21. This is attributed to the latter part of the seventh century.

‡ "Natus est igitur in illo oppido Nemthor nomine. . . . Patricius natus est in Campo Taburne. Campus autem tabernaculorum ob hoc dictus eo quod in eo Romani exercitus quodam tempore tabernacula sua ibi statuerunt hyemali frigore, et de hoc nominatus est Campus Tabern, id est, campus tabernaculorum." (Colgan, "Tr. Thaum.," p. 11.) This is attributed to a Saint Patrick junior, but not older than the ninth century.

4. Patrick was therefore born in that town, by name Nemthor. Patrick was born in the Plain of Taburnia. The Plain of Tents was so named because the Roman army on a certain time during the winter cold fixed there their tents; and hence the Plain of Tabuerni—that is, the Plain of Tents. *

5. Saint Patrick, who was also called Sochet, was a Briton by nation. . . . He was born of a father Calphurnius, a deacon, the son of Potitus, a presbyter, . . . of the village Bannave, of the Tiburnian region, not far from our sea, which village we certainly found to be of the Nentrian province, in which giants are said formerly to have dwelt. †

6. From that dispersion his parents proceeded to Strathclyde, in which Patrick was conceived and born. . . . Saint Patrick therefore was born in the city called Nemthor, which can be rendered into Latin as the heavenly tower. This city is in the Plain of Taburnia, which is called the Plain of Camps because a Roman army on a certain time pitched their tents there. In the British language *Tabern* means the Plain of Tents. He is said to have been born on a stone. ‡

7. Saint Patrick derived his origin from the Britons of Alclyde. . . . Nemthor, which etymologically is a heavenly tower, was the birthplace of the infant, who was evidently marked out as a citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem by the large supply of grace vouchsafed to him, and by the wonders that preceded, accompanied, and followed his birth. §

8. A Briton by nation, in the village called Taburnia—that is, the

* “Natus est igitur Patricius in illo oppido Nemthor nomine. . . . Patricius natus est in Campo Taburniæ. Campus autem tabernaculorum ob hoc dictus est eo quod in eo Romani exercitus ibi straverint hiemali frigore, et de hoc nomine est Campus Tabuerni, id est, campus tabernaculorum. Hic autem natus est super lapidem.” (Ibid. p. 21.) This is attributed to St. Benignus, and is referrible to the tenth century.

† “Sanctus Patricius qui et Sochet vocabatur Brito fuit natione. . . . Hic in Britanniis natus est a patre Calpurnio diacono, qui fuit filius Potiti presbyteri . . . de vico Bannave Tiburniæ regionis, hand procul a mari occidentali, quem vicum indubitanter comperimus esse nentriæ provinciæ in qua olim gigantes habitasse dicuntur.” (Ibid. p. 51.) This, written by Probus, is referrible to the tenth century.

‡ “Ex illa ergo dispersione parentes ejus in regione Strato Clude perrexerunt. . . . Sanctus Patricius ergo in oppido Nemthor nomine quod turris cœlestis latine interpretari potest, natus fuit. Quod oppidum in Campo Taburniæ est, qui campus tabernaculorum dicitur eo quod in eo Romani exercitus quodam tempore tabernacula constituerit. Britannica autem lingua Campus Tabern idem Campus tabernaculorum dicitur. Natus autem fertur super lapidem.” (Ibid. p. 35.) This is attributed to Eleran the Wise, but referrible to the end of the tenth century.

§ “De Britannis Alcludensibus originem duxit Sanctus Patricius. . . . Nemthur quod ex vocis etymo cœlestem turrem denotat nascenti infantulo quem cœlestis gratiæ largâ (this mark of the ablative is wrong) indulgentia signis et prodigiis ante et post ortum et in ipso ortu continuo concomitantibus futurum cœlestis Jerusalem civem certo pronunciaverat, patria et nativitatis locus fuit.” This is referrible to the tenth century.

Plain of Tents; for the Roman army pitched their tents there, living near the city of Nemthor, and thus in a residence bordering on the Irish sea.*

Full of interest as all these references to our national Saint are, more interesting beyond comparison are his own words, on which these are commentaries. I give them from the Saint's own "Confession," one of the oldest pieces of composition in the empire. His reference to his paternal residence :

I Patrick had for father Calpornius who was of the town *Benaventaberniæ*. He had,† indeed, a farm close by, where I was made captive.

By referring to the explanation given in the several Lives, one can see that only the last part of the name of the father's dwelling-place has been attempted to be explained or translated by the old writers. They state that *Tabernia* is a Latinized form of the British word for tents. They imply, if the word be noticed by them at all, that "Beneven," the first part of the description, is a name for a plain; but I am not aware that there is such a word with such a meaning in the British language.

The modern school of critics has endeavoured to find in the middle part of the word, "aven," an inflexion of the Irish word for river. And yet that is as vague as the "plain of tents" insisted on by all the old Lives. In this perplexing state of things it occurred to me that so practical a saint could not have given a mere colourless reference to a river or camp-ground as a full description of his birthplace; and I seized accordingly on the version of the words given (No. 2.) in "*Ban navem thabur indecha*," and attempted to prove, in order to come at a distinctive well or river in connection with the Saint's birthplace, that "*Taberniæ*" of the "Confession" was only a corruption of the *tabur indecha*.‡ My opinion of the old biographers, as expressed in a former article, was "that their premises were false," and "that so early as the eighth century a corrupt text was adopted."

* "Brito natione, in pago Taburniæ vocabulo, hoc est tabernaculorm Campo eo quod Romani exercitus tabernacula fixerant ibidem, secus oppidum Nempthor degens, mari Hibernico collimitans habitatione." (Ibid. p. 65.)

† "Ego Patricius patrem habui Calpornium. . . . qui fuit e vico Beneventaberniæ: villam enim prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi." ("Confessio," i. 1.)

‡ It is otherwise: *tabur indecha* is a corruption of *Taberniæ* as found in the Book of Armagh. The *ha* at the end of *indecha* was taken by the copyist from the following word, which consequently is written *ut* instead of *haud* procul. Besides, *indeca*, not *indecha*, is used for Indian in the "Lebor Breac" referred to by me in proof of my mistake.

As no distinct image can be conjured out of "Beneventaberniæ" through a British, Irish, or Latin medium, it occurs to me that everything can be gained by a different division of the syllables. The reader may bear in mind that one of our documents (No. 2) gave four syllables to the word. Another (No. 6) gave Bannave, and thus differs from the corresponding portion of the word as found in the "Confession." Nor have modern writers on the Saint's Life given any help to clear the air. Dr. Todd's "St. Patrick" (p. 355), while giving "Bonavem Taberniæ" in the text, refers for his authority to the Book of Armagh, which, however, gives "Bannavem."

The reference does not bear out his text; and should a correction have been intended by him, the note and the text ought to have changed places. So, too, the late President of the Royal Irish Academy, while undertaking to give a translation of the "Confession," gives us Bannow.* But I hasten on to make good my verdict on the Lives whose text and translation I reject.

The "Beneventaberniæ," as found in the "Confession," was, I suspect, originally Beneventa Burrii or Burriæ. Burrium or Burria is the Usk town on the river Usk, in Wales. The difference, slight as it is, between Bernia and Burnia is accounted for by bearing in mind that *e* is readily mistaken for *u*, and the Irish *n* is most like the archaic form of *r*. Once the Irish scribes conceived the idea of "Tabern," the substitution of *e* for *u* became a matter of course. However, we find the materials for a correct spelling in the word "Taburnia," as evidenced in the quoted documents (2, 3, 4, 5); and while most of these give the inflexion from the feminine stem *burria*, another document (No. 4) gives *Tabuerni*, an inflexion of the nominative *Burrium*.

Mention has been made of "Beneventa," and its appearance in connection with our Saint's birthplace is as remarkable as it was expected. As the eye glances at the old map of Roman Britain, it is caught by the appearance of the settlements or *ventas*. In the first province attacked and conquered by the Romans, the sign and bond of Roman dominion replaces the stronghold of the ancient Britons; and in *Britannia Prima* we see the Caerwenter or Winchester planted in the old *Venta Belgarum*. If we cast our eyes on *Britannia Secunda* we find the town of Northampton styled, according to Leland, *Bennaventa*, in the old country of the *Venta Icenorum*. One should naturally expect a Beneventa in the country of the brave Siluri; the more so as Polydore Virgil suggests that Banneventa was on the Wye, in the *Venta Silurum*, rather than on

* *Trans, of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii. p. 70, for December 1885.

the river Nen, in Northamptonshire; and considering that Banna, according to many,* meant a ruler or prefect, I was disposed to judge that the Bannaventa, in the Venta Silurum, would be found near the Roman stronghold Caerwent. But if Beneventa does not appear there on the existing maps, it is found registered, though in a mangled and disjointed form, in the "Confession" of our national apostle.

Beneventa was a name given by the Romans to their settlements. One of their earliest colonies originated the name. They expelled the Samnites; and having done so, they gave to their new colony a new name, and changed it, as a good omen, from *Malaventa*, which it had since the days of Diomede, into Beneventa. The appearance of the name in South Wales harmonizes with the Roman spirit, and thus marks out the Saint's birthplace among the first settlements in the country of the Siluri. And even though we were to suppose that St. Patrick's father gave its name to the place of capture, we can see in this only the natural desire of a Roman Briton to copy the names as well as the laws and habits of the parent country. Then the peculiarly distinctive epithet *Burrian* was added to Beneventa, as there were several of the same name.

Now, it is well to inquire how the scattered hints in the Lives can be focussed on the spot described in the Saint's "Confession." "Instead of making them the test of truth, elastic and doubtful as they were, we can now test their own truth by the fixed and unerring standard supplied by the "Confession."

(a) First of all, the Lives as well as St. Patrick's own writings, describe him as a Briton; but while the epithet applies to any person in Britain, it meant particularly and unqualifiedly a Welshman.

(b) All the Lives describe the Saint's birthplace as the Plain of Tents. Such was the champagne country that stretched from Burria down to Caerleon. The rich, level country on the left of the Usk particularly afforded the most free scope for the encampment and discipline of an army. Such encampments were necessary before a tower or extensive permanent fortifications were thrown up. But by-and-by the city of the legions (*Caerleon-legionum*) replaced the improvised tents.

(c) The Lives speak of St. Patrick being born (No. 1) in Nentur. This is said to mean a sacred tower or castle (Nos. 2, 5, 8). The editor of the Lives in rendering it into Latin shows that he understood it to mean a holy castle; and because *nen* was not so usually used in later times as *nem* for "heavenly," he gave the Latinized form in *nemthurri*.

* "Banna apud Italiotas summus magistratus vel rex." This word of course has a different root from *Benevanta*.

(*d*) Some Lives (Nos. 3, 4, 5) speak of the Saint being born on a stone, and others of a flood of water deluging him when in charge of his nurse. Now, his connection with a castle and its probably stony flooring, built as it was on the verge of the tidal river, would harmonize with the description.

(*e*) The Lives (Nos. 2, 6) speak of his dwelling as not far from the Irish Sea. Now, this description fits in with a habitation only a few miles north of the Bristol Channel. The Bristol waters and Irish Sea so commingle that near Newport they are not easily distinguishable.

(*f*) The Lives (No. 6) speak of giants said to have dwelt near the Saint's habitation. Just hard by, on the west of Caerleon, is the fabled habitation of giants. It is of an elliptical shape; and though it was probably a Roman amphitheatre, the tradition prevalent in the days of Probus lingers round the place still; for it is at present called Arthur's Round Table.* All these scattered hints in the Lives are brought together, not for the purpose of confirming the Saint's description—it requires no confirmation—but to impart to them a probability, which they otherwise would not possess, by their harmonizing with the description.

(*g*) The Lives (No. 6) speak of Nentre as of the Nentrian province; in other words, the town connected with the Saint's birthplace gave a name to the province in which it was situated. Caerleon was the capital of the Roman province in Wales.

(*h*) There is a story in the Lives (*Secunda, Tertia, Quarta*) touching a miracle performed through the instrumentality of St. Patrick, yet a helpless child. On a certain occasion his uncle, in carrying him to the Senate-house in his arms, dropped dead; and when the bystanders addressed the predestined youth as the cause, or occasion, or interested party in the fatal occurrence, the lifeless man was restored to life and strength. I allude to the occurrence because it incidentally brings out the municipal character of the town as indicated by the Senate-house.

It may not be amiss to mention that the idea of St. Patrick's father as a senator or nobleman, having a country seat or villa some miles from the capital, is borne out by the character of the country at the present day: Burrium or Usk presents traces of numberless gardens and orchards scattered round the town, and walled away from each other as if so many separate country seats.

The words of our Saint in the "Confession" could absolutely mean that Usk was his birthplace. For, though speaking of his father's residence, he, as a matter of course and modesty, by the very fact, spoke of his own in his sixteenth year as not

* Its depth was six yards, its longest diameter seventy-four, its shortest sixty-four yards.

distinct from that of the father. The Saint, we may reasonably suppose, would leave on record what interested his spiritual children ; and as his birthplace was infinitely more interesting to them than his father's, we could fairly presume that in his "Confession" mention of the father's residence necessarily involved his own. In support of this supposition, we have a castle, the "nentur," or holy tower, though in a ruined state, adjoining Usk, built on an eminence, and pronounced one of the most considerable structures of its kind.* And though I am not in a position to establish or deny its Roman character, the castle was in existence long before the Norman invasion. On the other hand, it may be said that though St. Patrick was born on the other side of the Usk river, in Caerleon, he, in his "Confession," written in reference to his apostolate, would touch only on his first connection with Ireland, or his captivity. Hence the mention of the place of his captivity. The Saint may be supposed not to have written what was well known, as often told to his disciples as to his birth in a neighbouring capital. He states that his father had a villa near Usk ; now, it may be fairly said that this was given as a reason for his being captured in a place which was not his natural or permanent home. Otherwise, we should suppose that the Saint gave a reason for being captured at his home. Where but at his home could a youth of fifteen be supposed to have been captured ? It may be inferred that if the Saint, after saying that his father was of or in the Usk—Beneventa, were a native of it, he would have directly stated that he was captured there. But no : he gave directly a reason for the father's residence in Usk temporarily, it may be argued, and indirectly for his capture there, though born elsewhere. This view of the case is supported by the several incidents connected with the Saint, as given in the several Lives, and would lead us to the right rather than left of the river Usk as the birthplace of the Saint.

In conclusion, a brief reply is due to an objection raised by the able writer of the article at the very head of this paper. It takes the form of a pointed question : "Is Father Malone's argument one acceptable or creditable to the Irish people, that they forgot, 'during times of confusion and irruption from pagan barbarians,' whence their apostle came?" The Church of God and her children take note not so much of where or when a saint was born, as when and how he died. The *natalis* of the Church's heroes is associated not so much with where he drew the first breath, as where he laboured and breathed his last. If, then, the spot of the *natalis* had been forgotten, what wonder—

* Edward IV. and Richard III, were born in it.

though not a matter of charge, however the writer referred to makes it a matter for *accusation*—that his carnal birthplace far away over the sea would have been forgotten by his spiritual children. The Book of Armagh tells us that the Saint's burial-place was unknown in the days of its writer.*

"Is Father Malone's argument acceptable or creditable to the Irish people?"

My answer is, that though I would go to the uttermost verge of truth and propriety to humour national prejudice, my first study is to consult the interests of truth rather than the prejudices of the people. I am first Catholic and then national; and as such I am only testifying to the tradition handed down by my predecessors since the days of St. Patrick. They gave up their most cherished traditions when clashing with his words. "*Patrick said*" headed every ordinance in the earlier ages of the Irish Church, in order to disarm national prejudice and gain acceptance for it. The *ipse dixit* of the Saint sufficed for them, and it is sufficient for me; and notwithstanding national prejudices and Scottish theories, I answer the question which heads this article by saying that, in my belief, St. Patrick was born in Monmouthshire, South Wales, at Caerleon, on the bank of the Usk.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

ART. IX.—DR. MIVART ON FAITH AND SCIENCE.

IT is perhaps necessary to take some notice of Dr. St. George Mivart's article in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, entitled "The Catholic Church and Biblical Criticism." The writer has distinctly challenged censure. I have no right, in these pages, to presume to censure any Catholic author, but it is lawful to point out one or two of Dr. Mivart's mistakes, and to try to disentangle some of his confusions of thought.

Dr. Mivart is a very distinguished expert in biological science. He has also published his ideas on several metaphysical matters, as to which he has successfully asserted against the current materialism certain common-sense views. During the last few months he has also, as he tells us, taken up Biblical criticism. I am not disposed to under-estimate the "freedom" of Catholics in matters

* "*Similis fuit Moysi. . . . ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit.*" ("Documenta de St. Patritio," p. 89.)

of science, nor even to dispute his positions in biology, in metaphysics, or in hermeneutics. But in asserting the claims of science to freedom, he has—unwittingly, I believe—said some rather strong things which are wrong in point of theology. No apology need be offered for pointing out these erroneous principles. The excuse will not affect either the career of evolution or the fate of the “divided authorship” of the Hexateuch. But it will be a satisfaction to have from so eminent a man a disavowal of views which in some cases implicitly contradict the defined Catholic faith.

In the article under discussion—and for present purposes we may join with it a certain other paper, entitled “Modern Catholics and Scientific Freedom,” published two years ago*—Dr. Mivart’s principal purpose is to assert the “freedom” of Catholics in matters of science and of Biblical interpretation. He also uniformly avows himself a loyal Catholic, and ready to throw overboard any opinion which is condemned by the infallible authority of the Church. “A loyal Catholic,” he says, “must of course say that when any matter is clearly of faith, his conclusions must be wrong if they are opposed to it” (July 1885, p. 45). And I may admit, at the outset, that he never knowingly contradicts or nullifies this latter avowal. Whether or no his language is always really consistent with it will presently appear.

The principle which seems to be fundamental with Dr. Mivart, and which branches out into a variety of supplementary views, is thus expressed by him :

God has taught us by the actual facts of the history of Galileo that it is to men of science that He has committed the elucidation of scientific questions, scriptural or otherwise, and not to a consensus of theologians, or to ecclesiastical assemblies or tribunals. . . . It is the men of historical science now and not theologians or Congregations who are putting us in the way of apprehending, with some approach to accuracy, what the truth is as to the dates, authorities, and course of development of the writings which were inspired for our spiritual profit.—*Nineteenth Century*, July 1887, p. 50.

It is just the amount of truth there is in this authoritative statement that constitutes its danger. Does Dr. Mivart mean to assert that there are no matters of chemistry or biology which are so intimately bound up with revealed truth that the pastorate of the Church may not be divinely protected in pronouncing upon them? Most people know that the miraculous conception of our Lord Jesus Christ has been asserted to be impossible on physiological grounds. The Real Presence has been rejected for

* *Nineteenth Century*, July 1885.

reasons connected with chemistry. The Resurrection is pronounced by the "critical" school to be a myth, because it contradicts the laws of nature. The whole of the miraculous aspect of Christianity is swept away by a reference to the demands of science. To maintain that the divine guardian of revelation, in teaching the world what is the truth on these and similar matters, cannot at the same time indirectly decide with unerring accuracy the "scientific" doctrine involved in such teaching, is to *dissolve* the power of teaching altogether. The Christian revelation embraces not merely spiritual and mental ideas, but facts and physical occurrences. The sphere of "science" is to investigate facts and physical occurrences; but when these things have become the subject of Revelation, there is no room left, on those particular questions, for any further investigation, and science must simply bow to the teaching of God's witness. This seems to be elementary Christianity. It is very likely that Dr. Mivart will protest he never thought of contradicting it. If that be so, it is a pity he did not explicitly say so. For he must be aware that his words, as quoted above, are taken without limitation by those "scientific" men as to whose verdict he is so nervous. It is exactly this kind of violent talk—this brandishing of the independence of science and of the exclusive competence of science in her own sphere—that furnishes a text for all the railers at theology and the revilers of priestcraft who emulously follow afar off the steps of a Tyndall or a Huxley. Dr. Mivart does not like to be confronted with ecclesiastical decrees, but for the sake of others, whose simplicity his words may possibly take captive, it is really necessary to quote once more the words of the Munich Brief of Pius IX. :

Although the natural sciences rest each on its own principles, which reason investigates, nevertheless Catholics who cultivate such sciences should have Revelation before their eyes as a guiding-star to save them from danger and mistake, whenever they feel that (as often happens) they are being led by natural science to utter what is more or less opposed to the infallible Truth which God has revealed.—*Letter of December 21, 1863.*

But, as I have already admitted, Dr. Mivart will most probably assert that he agrees with all this. He will say : " If the infallible voice of the teaching Church in defining a doctrine of revelation incidentally defines a scientific view I will submit, and I will profess that any conclusion to the contrary must be erroneous. But I limit this admission to definitions *de Fide*. I will not abate one tittle of my scientific views at the bidding of the 'schola theologica,' or the consensus of the Fathers, or the ordinary teaching of the Church, or the universal belief of the faithful, or the decrees of Roman Congregations, or the definition of

Councils." It would appear, at this point, as if we were to be forced upon the wide sea of the controversy on infallibility. There can be no doubt, to any one who is moderately acquainted with scientific theology, that in some cases which come under the sweeping assertion just made, the Church of God could not err, or else the promises are of no effect. And it is therefore mischievous in Dr. Mivart to have so expressed himself. It is, for instance, certain that the Church is infallible in her ordinary magisterium. It is again of absolute obligation not to interpret Holy Scripture against the unanimous consent of the Fathers. Now, I believe that Dr. Mivart does not really mean to contradict these and similar truths. What he ought to have said, and what he would have said had he realized the disastrous effect of random talk on subjects of this kind, is, that as long as either of these authorities pronounce on matters of science or interpretation *which are not bound up with revelation*, they impose no duty of assent in Catholics.

Let it be observed that it does not follow, in the case of all the authorities mentioned, that even if they do pronounce certain scientific views to be bound up with revelation they always impose an obligation of interior assent. But what I object to is, the indiscriminatory assertion that *never* can any consensus of the Fathers, or of the faithful, or any tribunal of the Church under any circumstances demand such assent. The subject is wide and intricate; no man, even a theologian, should treat it without ample room and space. I decline to treat it here, both because there is no opportunity for it, and because I think that what I have now to say will make it unnecessary.

It is indisputable, then, that Catholics are bound to admit that in some cases the authority of the Pastorate, exercised by some of its organs, can indirectly and implicitly define scientific truth. But I consider it impossible to lay down for laymen in anything like an exhaustive manner how and when this would take place. It would be most unadvisable even for a trained theologian to attempt to explain the whole subject to the ordinary layman. But if a layman attempts it himself, the result can only be mischievous. The discussion of the "subject" and "object" of infallibility is very interesting and very useful if a man takes it up thoroughly with due preparation, and with that reverential wish to obey the Church in all things, which is a note of genuine Catholicism. But to propose in a magazine article full of the fear of what agnostic scientists will say about you, and not without a half-repressed and half-expressed animus against certain "ecclesiastical authorities," to draw the lines of scientific theology and anticipate the possibilities of ecclesiastical decisions in cases which have never yet arisen, is neither wise nor useful. Let it be

admitted, for the sake of argument, that Dr. Mivart is justified in claiming "freedom" for some kind of theory of evolution, for the non-instantaneous formation of the body of the first man, and for the divided authorship of the Hexateuch. Why does he not rest content with asserting his freedom, and refrain from formulating a sweeping principle like the one we have quoted? His antagonists, "ecclesiastical obstructives" as he calls them, have never done anything so rash and unscientific on their side as he has done on his. The Rev. Jeremiah Murphy, who wrote against him in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*,* denied that Catholics were free to hold the doctrine that the body of the first man was evolved by the same ordinary secondary laws which are said to have evolved the bodies of other animals, but he took care to add "on this ordinary meaning (of the text of Scripture) we can insist, *unless the evolutionists show that there is sufficient reason for departing from it. This they have not done, and consequently the primâ facie Scriptural view of man's creation need not be abandoned.*" Could anything show more clearly that Father Murphy is not an "obstructive?" Had he acted in the spirit of Dr. Mivart's articles he would have said, "Theology belongs to the Church; man's creation is a theological matter, and therefore no scientific investigation can possibly affect the Church's view about the formation of his body."

What I conceive the reasonable Catholic theologian's position to be in questions of biology and Scripture interpretation may be expressed in four sentences. First, he will not abandon a hitherto universal or quasi-universal consensus of opinion without very strict investigation into the claims of an opposite opinion; secondly, he will not on the other hand admit that anything physical or historical, anything which may be the object of research and experiment, is bound up with revelation unless there is adequate evidence that it is so; thirdly, he will be prepared to allow that the terms in which physical facts and historical events are expressed in theological documents are not of necessity precise or accurate *objectively*; in other words, the divine author of revelation and of Scripture must have spoken accurately, but the recipients of the divine message need not necessarily have understood fully and to the bottom the fact involved. And fourthly he will steadfastly maintain that the Church of God has the power both to define indirectly points of science or history which are involved in revelation, and to judge when they are actually so involved.

With these principles in view, I may permit myself to refer to the case of Galileo. Dr. Mivart has a touching respect for the memory of Galileo. I do not quarrel with him for that,

* December 1884.

though I believe it is generally admitted that he was a most provoking and vain-glorious writer—as some other scientists are in our own day—and that the grounds on which he maintained the heliocentric theory were utterly inadequate, and that therefore when he recanted his teachings he had really no very strong reasons for believing in them.* Putting this aside, however, I must maintain that Dr. Mivart lays a stress on the history of Galileo's condemnation which seems utterly unwarrantable. I will give Dr. Mivart's words :

Ecclesiastical authority gave a judgment directly affecting physics, and which impeded scientific progress. It went therefore *ultra vires*, but it did much more than that. It founded its erroneous decrees affecting physical science, which was *not* its own province, upon an erroneous judgment about the meaning of Scripture, which was universally supposed to *be* its province. In this important matter it was the man of science that was right and ecclesiastical authority that was wrong. The latter sought to impose, and more or less succeeded in imposing, an erroneous belief as to God's word, from which erroneous belief science has delivered us. By this course of action they have succeeded in demonstrating not only our freedom with respect to such passages of Scripture, but also, what they little deemed of, our freedom, as good Christians, with respect to ecclesiastical decrees also. . . . The proceedings which occurred with respect to Galileo afford us actual demonstration of two most noteworthy facts. One is that what is declared by authoritative congregations to be at once against the teachings of Scripture, of the holy Fathers, and of antecedent ecclesiastical tribunals concerning a matter touching science, may none the less be true. The second noteworthy fact is, that men of science may have a truer perception of what Scripture must be held (since it is inspired) to teach than may be granted to ecclesiastical authorities (July 1885, pp. 39–41).

I am not disposed to contest Dr. Mivart's view of the historical facts of the case of Galileo. I do not, of course, admit that the Church's infallibility, or that of the Church's Head, is compromised by the mistakes made. But, short of that, I do not care for the moment to dispute the assertion that mistakes were made by theologians, cardinals, congregations, and the Sovereign Pontiff himself. What I say is, that the Church, in this case, made no *theological* claim which she has since withdrawn as unfounded.

Let us admit that the heliocentric view was condemned as "heretical." It will be observed that the reason which is uniformly given for affirming it to be heretical is that it contradicts Scripture; and if in any particular instance this reason be not added, it is evidently implied, as the whole course of the controversy shows. Now I might perhaps say that in none of

* See the "Encyclopædia Britannica," new edition, Art. "Galileo."

the condemnations—even in that Brief of Alexander VII. which the Rev. W. W. Roberts has “discovered”—is there any evidence of an *ex cathedrâ* definition of the Church or of the Pope. But it is not necessary to insist on this. What I would point out is, that the condemnation is based on a reason. Moreover, the “reason” in this case is the very essence of the “heresy;” there is no other motive for the condemnation. But the reason alleged is the contradiction of Holy Scripture. I do not think any one will deny that this phrase may be used in two very different ways. Doubtless it is sometimes used to signify the formal contradiction of God’s word—the contradiction of the undoubted, admitted, and unassailable interpretation of the Divine revelation. But I contend that the expression is also employed in a much looser sense. There are cases—and this is one of them—in which to contradict Scripture means simply to contradict the common—but not necessarily “Catholic”—view of what Scripture says. To discover when this is the meaning, we have to examine each separate instance and treat it on its merits. The first sign that would guide is that the subject is rather one of science than of theology. It has always been the custom of the Church to “prohibit” certain views on physical subjects, if she thought they endangered the reverence of Catholics for the Word of God. I consider she may be quite right in uttering her prohibitions, even if in some cases she happens to be scientifically wrong. The reverence of “little ones” for the Holy Book is of much more importance than a mistake as to the earth’s crust or even the earth’s motion. But this is by the way. What I would say is, that, as there have been a large class of cases in every period when the Church has condemned views as contrary to Scripture, meaning that they were contrary to what most people thought to be Scripture, so it came to be generally understood that the expression, especially in a matter not clear on the surface, and which of its own nature might form the subject of human investigation, did not mean absolute and final heresy. It would therefore compel assent as the assertion of a very competent person, uncontradicted, compels assent. There would be no harm in discussing it privately, with due respect and caution, so as not to scandalize the general Catholic flock. That this view is correct as to Galileo’s case is proved by the whole tenor of the documents as they are given, for example, by M. Henri de l’Epinois.* We read that Pope Urban VIII. himself asserted that the condemnation by the Index in 1616 branded the doctrine as erroneous, not as heretical. But it certainly was condemned as (technically)

* “Question de Galilée;” Les faits et leurs conséquences (Palmé, 1878).

heretical; the Pope therefore must have meant that the word, in this case, did not mean heresy in its complete and adequate sense; it was "constructive" heresy, if I may use the expression, because everything which implies that Scripture can err is heresy by implication.* I must quote, also, a somewhat lengthy passage from an answer given by Cardinal Bellarmine to Padre Foscarini, a great adherent of the Copernican system. It is very important, as showing the view of the greatest theologians of the day—that Copernicanism was not *absolutely* against faith, and indeed could not be. This letter is cited by Dr. Mivart (from the pages of his friend and guide, Mr. Roberts), but he stops short just at the most interesting passage. It was written the year before the prohibition by the Index in 1616 of certain Copernican books. The italics are my own:

I believe that you (Padre Foscarini) and Galileo would act prudently if you contented yourselves with putting forth your opinion as a hypothesis and not as absolute truth. . . . To say that the sun is really and truly immovable in the centre of the universe, and that the earth revolves round the sun, is a very dangerous thing; you irritate all the scholastic philosophers and theologians, and you at the same time do harm to the faith, for you say that Holy Scripture asserts what is not true. All the Fathers and modern commentators have interpreted literally those passages which speak of the sun in the heavens and its revolution round the earth, and of the earth's immobility in the centre of the universe. Think calmly and prudently whether the Church can allow a meaning to be given to Holy Scripture which is contrary to that of the Fathers and of all interpreters, Greek or Latin.

Here Dr. Mivart breaks off; I continue:

Do not say that this is no matter of Faith; if it is not a matter of Faith *ex parte objecti*, it is matter of Faith *ex parte dicentis*; thus it would be heretical to deny that Abraham had two sons or Jacob twelve, as it would to deny that Christ was born of a Virgin, because both assertions are made by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of the prophets and the apostles. *If there were any true demonstration that the sun was in the centre of the universe, and that it does not revolve round the earth, but the earth round the sun, then it would be necessary to proceed very solicitously and carefully in the explanation of those passages of Scripture which appear to be contrary, and rather to say that we do not understand, than to say that what is demonstrated is false. . . . In case of doubt we ought not to abandon the interpretation of the Fathers.*†

* "Question de Galilée," p. 87-8—where the Italian text of the Pope's words is given.

† Translated from the original Italian given in "The Pontifical Decrees, &c.," by the Rev. W. W. Roberts, p. 117.

I have italicised some words in the foregoing extract because they show most clearly the position of the Copernican question. It is a question not of Faith in itself, but relating to Faith only because it may imply (does imply according to some) an assertion that Holy Scripture can assert what is false. The main question indeed, or the formal and essential question, is, Can Holy Scriptures say what is not true? The question of the sun's place and motion is really one of fact, which does not come into the domain of faith except so far as the Scripture asserts it. To Cardinal Bellarmin, and to Catholics of that day, it seemed clear that Scripture asserted the geocentric view. A plain assertion of Scripture could only be denied by a man who was reckless of Faith, and indeed a heretic. Such plain assertions are, for example, that Abraham had two sons and Jacob twelve. But the Cardinal sees, all the time, that the Scripture statements as to earth and sun are not really as plain, categorical and literal, as the statements about the sons of the patriarchs. He sees, therefore, that the literalness of these statements *could* be denied without *necessarily* proclaiming Scripture false. He sees, in other words, that the literal meaning cannot be of Faith either *ex parte materiæ* or *ex parte dicentis*. Therefore he entertains the possibility of some other—the Copernican—view being proved, and proceeds to state what would then have to be done with the text of the Bible; and the last thing that he would counsel is to deny what is demonstrated, when it is demonstrated. Now Cardinal Bellarmin could not possibly have used such words had he held the geocentric interpretation to be of Faith. But there is much more than that. He implies that no ecclesiastical pronouncement could ever place this matter within the domain of Faith. How do I show this? Because he appeals, in order to prove this view, to the “consensus patrum,” and *still* admits it may be doubtful. Now the “consensus patrum” is a technical name for unanimous Catholic tradition—and whatever is taught in such tradition is “de fide Catholica,” that is, it is part of revealed truth, or infallibly connected therewith. If, therefore, this great theologian adduces the “consensus patrum” in support of a view, and still considers such view to be possibly reformable, it can only be because the thing itself can never be the subject-matter of a definition. In spite of whatever technical formulas, the thing was regarded as not belonging to the class in which infallible definitions were possible. To a man who held this, no sentence of any Church tribunal, or even of the Pope himself, speaking as universal teacher, could irrevocably define or necessarily compel assent to the proposition that the sun moved or that the world stood still; because no man who speaks as Bellarmin does in the letter quoted could ever regard as within

the domain of Catholic Faith a matter as to which he had admitted that the "consensus patrum" might have to be reformed.*

And I maintain that, notwithstanding the reverence which was due to the Roman tribunals and to the Pope himself—a reverence which naturally constituted a law for Catholics—there is a continuous succession of writers, beginning even from the date (1634) of the condemnation by the Inquisition, who, notwithstanding that judgment, considered the heliocentric view might eventually triumph. Among these may be mentioned Gassendi, Caramuel, and Padre Grassi.† The latter is quoted by Dr. Mivart himself. They were all of them men of undoubted orthodoxy, and lived in the seventeenth century itself.

My purpose in mentioning these facts must not be lost sight of. It is not to prove that infallibility is not compromised by the Galileo decisions. It is to disprove what Dr. Mivart asserts, that the ecclesiastical tribunals claimed a *theological* competence which science has made them renounce. He says that we are henceforward altogether free in respect of any ecclesiastical decree whatever about the meaning of Scripture (see the extract given above p. 406). This is without doubt a daring and dangerous assertion. It seems to have been formulated in view of a possible utterance of Church authority on the subject of the body of Adam, or the dates of the Bible. It is a sample of what mischief a layman can do when he takes to teaching theology. Even an ordinary common-sense view would teach a Catholic that if the Church is warned off the interpretation of the written word, she is stripped of half her power of guarding God's revelation. But, says Dr. Mivart, she has in one instance formally claimed it, and has since herself admitted she was wrong. My reply has been to deny that, in the case of Galileo, she has done any such thing. Words mean what they are intended to mean; and what they are intended to mean we can gather from those instructed persons who were on the spot and mixed up with the controversy. What the Church tribunals claimed was to condemn a certain interpretation as making Scripture false; they therefore had primarily in view to condemn the assertion that Scripture could speak falsely; and when they included in that condemnation the actual interpretation in question, it was, as I hold, with the implicit understanding that it might possibly be one day proved to be correct. We must remember that the modern disquisitions on assent had not then been written. If

* And therefore it is of no possible consequence, in spite of what the Rev. Mr. Roberts says, that this letter was written a few months before the Decree of the Index (1616). The Index could not have been any greater authority than the "consensus patrum."

† See "Question de Galilée," p. 267.

they had, the Congregations might have worded their decrees more explicitly. The Church spoke, and men obeyed; just as a father or a confessor spoke and men were bound to obey. But, had the question been asked, no one would have denied that in some matters, on some occasions, the decisions or dicta of these authorities might be lawfully resisted or questioned. If this view be made out, the question is not affected by any reiteration or repetition or confirmation of the original condemnation; and even the Rev. W. W. Roberts's discovery of the Bull "Speculatores" of Alexander VII., though its prescriptions are of supreme authority in the field which they cover, cannot transfer to the domain of faith, strictly so called, the precise matter which is outside of it.

But, of course, there is a sense in which the Church has a right to speak on questions of mere fact, or of science, so far as their treatment affects religion, even when the matter is one which does not concern the Faith strictly speaking, but only the good of souls. Dr. Mivart will not relish this; but I do not see how any one who holds that souls are the chief concern here below can hold any other opinion. No one can deny that it is often wrong to say even what is true, under all circumstances, indiscriminately. It must also be admitted that certain pursuits are dangerous to certain minds and at certain periods. It cannot be denied that the Church is within her rights and is in the main acting prudently when she regulates the reading even of Holy Scripture itself by her children. I am not denying that a duty of silence may have been made obligatory in Catholics by the decrees of 1616 and 1634. I do not know whether such silence did any great harm to science. It was in the nature of things only a qualified obligation. We find Galileo quoted and praised all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from Pope Urban VIII. down to Benedict XIV. But perhaps science did suffer. If so, it is of course a misfortune, but not so great a one as to justify sober writers in talking nonsense. As to the future, the Church, it may be safely predicted, will continue to guard and interpret Scripture as she has done in every age. At times she will pronounce an irreformable dogmatic judgment in matter concerning the Catholic faith. At other times her minor tribunals will qualify propositions and prohibit views, sometimes mistakenly, generally most correctly and profitably. But with a little patience and a little lowly-mindedness the Catholic man of science need never be troubled in mind or disturbed in conscience. He will always be able to see—or the *schola theologica* will always be able to tell him—when he is within his rights in tentatively pursuing a line that has been pronounced mistaken. If, for a brief space, he has to hesitate, if he has to

keep a respectful silence instead of doing as modern scientists prefer to do, and airing his crudest speculations in the periodical press, neither himself nor his science will be the worse for it. For the rest, we can well afford to wait till the thing really happens.

I do not by any means wish to deny that the case of Galileo has had an important effect on the action of Church authorities. It seems quite clear that it has made them more cautious in pronouncing on the interpretation of Scripture when the sacred text speaks of natural phenomena. The reason of this is not so much the fact that science has proved authority wrong in one case, as because that case, taking it with all its circumstances, was one the like of which can never happen again. The Galilean controversy marked the close of a period and the opening of a new one. The heliocentric view was the first step in modern scientific expression. Before the days of Galileo men spoke of what they saw with the naked eye, and on the surface of things; thenceforth they were to use the telescope and the microscope; they investigated the bowels of the earth and the distances of the heavens. It was a far-reaching and most pregnant generalization when men first took in the idea that the arrangements which their books had hitherto called by the expression "nature" were merely a very few of the most obvious aspects of a vast organization, which could be, and which must be, searched into by observation. At once a multitude of familiar phrases lost their meaning, and many accepted truths had to be dethroned. And the effect of the discussion in the days of Galileo was not only to make men revise their formularies about the earth's motion, but to impress them most forcibly with the possibility that such a process might have to be gone through about a very large number of other things. The prevailing views were held by the Church authorities as by every one else. They were not really a part of the Divine revelation. Some people thought they were, and (we may admit it was a misfortune) the very authorities who had to pronounce, used language which was, to some extent, mistaken in the same direction. On the other hand, it is clear now that men of mark and standing asserted over and over again, that the new theories need not in any point contradict Holy Scripture. It was a matter which was not clear all at once. It is often not immediately evident that novel scientific views do or do not contradict Revelation. They have to be made precise, to be qualified, to be analyzed, and that by fallible men. During the process many Catholics will naturally make mistakes, and there is no reason why, now and then, Church authority itself should not make a mistake in this particular matter.

When the requisite reflection has had time to be made, then it is seen—as it was in the case of the views under discussion—that what was held by Catholic persons was something quite apart from Catholic faith. And we have no objection to admit that reflection was quickened and caution was deepened by the case of Galileo. In this sense, and not in any other, that case may be called “emancipatory.” If the Church authorities ever feel themselves called upon to pronounce on the dates or the authorship of the Hexateuch, or on the formation of Adam’s body, they will proceed—we may say it without suspicion of undutifulness—with more enlightened minds than the Congregations which condemned Galileo. The teaching Church is composed of fallible men, who must sometimes in certain departments make mistakes, and who must learn by experience as other men learn. The part of a dutiful Catholic is to lessen the effect of mistaken decisions by prudent silence or respectful remonstrance in the proper quarter, and not to make scandal worse by inept generalizations and unnecessary bitterness.

It is in connection with this part of the subject that I venture to remark on what Dr. Mivart calls the “sin of rashness in assent.” The perception of the sinfulness of assenting rashly is, in his view, one of those “ethical advances” by which this generation seems to have improved on the morality of the New Testament. I must quote it:

It is now evident to us that we have a moral obligation to withhold assent from what is not adequately proved, no less than to give assent to and affirm that which is evidently true. Doubt has acquired for men of science who are Theists a distinctly religious character. Few things seem to them more shocking than to be called upon to give assent to propositions which are not only neither self-evident nor certainly proved, but are even declared to be possibly untrue. Every man of science worthy of the name must not only refuse to give such assent, but must declare that he holds even things he considers proved only in such a way as to be ready to examine and weigh whatever seemingly important evidence may be freshly brought to light against them. For he doubts in obedience to a sense of duty. . . . He will deem the acceptance of any irrational belief in compliance with an emotional temptation to be fully as culpable as the harbouring of an irrational scepticism due to some other unworthy motive (July 1887, p. 35).

Dr. Mivart here asserts two things: first, that to assent to inadequately proved propositions is a sin; and secondly, that it is only now it has come to be considered a sin. The catalogue of sins is already long enough, but Dr. Mivart, as a moralist, opens out new and terrible possibilities. It seems we must now pray for strength to resist belief in all scientific theories whatever—

for there is hardly one which scientists would admit to be "adequately" proved. Our science-teachers must now say, This is Clerk Maxwell's view on Heat, or Faraday's on Electricity, or Tyndall's on Light, or Mivart's on Evolution, but I must warn you that you cannot accept any of them under pain of sin, for they are none of them adequately proved. What can be Dr. Mivart's idea of "assent"? Does he suppose it is impossible to yield assent except on what is called adequate or complete evidence? Nothing is "evident" except the facts of sensible experience, the primary intuitions, and syllogistic conclusions from "evident" premisses. Surely I may without rashness or sin "assent" on far less evidence than this? Putting aside divine faith, may I not assent on the word of a man and on a fairly adequate induction? For instance, if a father or a priest tells a child or an ordinary uncultivated person that our Lord said: "This is My Body," such a hearer can most certainly fully and completely assent to and mentally take to his mind that fact, without the necessity of inspecting an original MS. of the Greek Testament. And if a Roman Congregation pronounce a certain doctrine to be contrary to the text of Holy Scripture, the flock would be quite right in assenting to this and accepting it, at least in ordinary circumstances, even though it was known that a Dutch theologian and a Colonial Bishop held the opposite. But Dr. Mivart will say that he is speaking of a case in which a man knows there are grave doubts as to the truth of an ecclesiastical pronouncement; as it might happen, let us say, if the Holy See condemned those who denied the literal universality of the Deluge. Let it be observed, in the first place, that Dr. Mivart does not in his text limit his assertion in this way, but rather as in other instances generalizes in a hasty and unscientific fashion, regardless of the mischief he is doing. Next, speaking to the point itself, I do not mean to go further than to say, that authority is a true and sufficient motive of assent, whilst I admit that, except in the case of infallibility, assent to a pronouncement of authority may be suspended by contrary reasons, and indeed must be, if the reasons are present to the mind and are sufficiently grave. I do not decline to face the difficulty of Galileo's compulsory retractation. It seems to me that either Galileo had sufficiently strong reasons to prevent his mind from making the retractation or not. I think it possible he had not. It does not seem that he had anything like evidence that the earth moved; if he had not, there was no reason why he should not assent to a strong expression of authority, that authority being one to which he owed filial obedience. The mere possibility, without positive proof, that a thing may hereafter be proved false, does not, according to any rational system of assent that I ever studied, prevent a reasonable and complete

assent. Still, if Galileo had present to his mind strong proof of the correctness of his own teachings, I do not hesitate to say that he was wrong, and indeed committed sin, in making the retraction demanded. Dr. Mivart is, however, unfair and unphilosophical in implying that to yield to authority is to yield to "an emotional temptation." He must understand that authority, even fallible authority, is a true and sufficient motive of assent, that the wish to obey such authority is a rational and virtuous motive pleasing to God, and that the duty of opposing and dissenting from authority, though it is conceivable and possible to exist, is one in which there is far more chance of sin than in the opposite. This is the Christian view of the past ages as it is of the Catholic Church of our own day. There has been no new ethical discovery, except in this, that some of the pious "Theists" to whom Dr. Mivart refers have discovered that the claims of their reason are very much opposed to all and every voice which claims to speak with God's authority. What is new, and not pleasant, is that Dr. Mivart should assert or imply that the pious desire of a good Catholic to bring his mind into the "subjection" of faith, and to obey his prelates, is an "emotional temptation." If any act of the will was ever founded on reason, directed by revelation, surely this one is. Does Dr. Mivart hold religion to be merely a species of emotion?

It is a little difficult to understand what Dr. Mivart exactly intends to imply when he talks about certain "ethical advances" which he considers to have been made by us, as compared with our fathers of the seventeenth and earlier centuries. The word "ethical advance" is ambiguous; perhaps it is intended to be so. Ethics mean morality, and an ethical advance means, I suppose, an improvement in morality. Of such improvement he gives three illustrations (in addition to the new commandment, "Thou shalt not believe what is not proved," which I have just treated). These are, first, the recognition of the claims of the individual conscience to practical respect; secondly, the perception of the moral guilt of gambling, as in State lotteries; and, thirdly, the awakening to the fact that animals have rights, and that wanton cruelty is a sin. Now, an improvement in these respects, and in many others, has been in most ages a most desirable thing. But I must confess that Dr. Mivart here again seems to speak as if the world had the advantage of some light, or some teaching, capable of illuminating and assisting the practical teaching of the Catholic Church. In regard to the "claims of individual conscience," he says they (the authorities who condemned Galileo) "appear to have had no glimmering of perception of the practical claims of the most sacred and inalienable of all rights—the rights of conscience" (July 1885, p. 44). By "rights of conscience,"

Dr. Mivart means the right to hold, or to reject, to do, or to refuse to do, anything whatever, provided one thinks that thing right or not right, respectively. This is a principle which, stated in the abstract, is not only not denied but is uniformly taught by Catholic divines of every century. It had been clearly laid down, as Cardinal Newman shows, and as Dr. Mivart admits, by the mediæval theologians. How is it possible, then, that Cardinal Bellarmin and Urban VIII. could have had "no glimmering of perception" of such teaching? Dr. Mivart says he means "perception of the practical" application of the principle. Is it not just possible that these authorities saw practical consequences a good deal more clearly than their critic? Practically, it often happens that what a man calls his conscience deserves very little respect indeed. Practically, a man's so-called conscience has often been very dishonestly come by. Practically, conscience is often a mixture of culpable ignorance and sinful obstinacy.

Conscience [as Cardinal Newman has well said] * cannot perform its office adequately without external assistance; it needs to be regulated and sustained. Left to itself, though it tells truly at first, it soon becomes wavering, ambiguous, and false. . . . That light was intended to set up within us a standard of right and truth; to tell us our duty in every emergency, to instruct us in detail what sin is, to judge between all things which come before us, to discriminate the precious from the vile, to hinder us from being reduced by what is pleasant and agreeable, and to dissipate the sophisms of our reason. But alas! what ideas of truth, what ideas of holiness, what ideas of heroism, what ideas of the good and the great have the multitude of men?

The "authorities" in the seventeenth century knew something of all this. They considered that any man born into and living in the light of Christian truth, if he rejected any portion of that truth, was, on the face of the thing, not honest. And no doubt in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they judged rightly. In the hundredth case they might be wrong and might endeavour to compel a man to abjure what he conscientiously believed. In that case the man would be bound to refuse such abjuration, and might be a martyr; but the authorities would not necessarily be without "glimmering of perception" of the rights of conscience. The question, it will be observed, is not about Galileo. If Dr. Mivart had confined himself to that case I would willingly have discussed it, and most likely there would be little difference between us. But he again goes out of his way, most unnecessarily, to lay down a wide-stretching assertion, which, as I have shown, so peremptorily requires qualification that, nakedly stated, it amounts practically to false teaching. The process in his own

* "Discourses to Mixed Congregations," pp. 83-4.

mind is transparent; he has worked himself up about Galileo; moreover, he thinks of the many "Theists" who are his friends—who, be it observed, have never lived in Catholic truth, and whose case, therefore, is utterly distinct from any which could easily happen in and before the seventeenth century—and so he enunciates a principle in regard to liberty of conscience which is utterly valueless from an ethical point of view, because it does not apply to the immense majority of the facts. I believe, for my own part, that in modern times and Protestant countries the assertion of an unbeliever that he is acting according to conscience ought certainly to meet with much readier credit than such an assertion should have met with in the ages of faith, or in lands where Catholic truth is uncontradicted. But I do not call this an "ethical advance." It is the application of the old and true morality to a fresh set of circumstances.

As to the "moral guilt of gambling," there is no intrinsic wrong in games of chance where chance is equal. I am not aware, either, that State lotteries are in themselves immoral. I do not for a moment deny that the gambling "frenzy" has done immense harm in many States. But the moral principles involved were perfectly known to mediæval Christian moralists. If Dr. Mivart will read Article CLXVIII. of the "*Secunda Secundæ*," and Cajetan's commentary upon it, he will find the whole subject of gambling treated scientifically from the ethical point of view. As to State lotteries, they no sooner became common than they were prohibited by the Popes in their own States. Alexander VII., well known to Dr. Mivart and the Rev. W. W. Roberts, was, I believe, the first to do so. But it was impossible to stop the lottery in neighbouring States, and the Pope's subjects simply went and gambled elsewhere. The prohibition was, therefore, recalled, and it was decreed that all gains should be given away as alms. Dr. Mivart speaks of the "moral guilt of gambling, as in State lotteries." Does he assert that all "gambling"—that is, every game of pure chance—is immoral? Or does he mean that all State lotteries are immoral? Or does he mean that the State lottery, as a rule, leads to unhealthy excitement, avarice, injustice, and crimes of violence? If he only means the last, he should have said so; and he ought at the same time to have admitted that the moralists of the seventeenth century knew the possible evil of gambling, allowing for difference of circumstances, quite as well as he.

There is still a third "ethical advance" noted in the passage above cited. I am not going to be drawn into a discussion on cruelty to animals. I do not dispute that, in England at least, all of us (except perhaps the biologists) are more disposed to tenderness to the animal creation than our forefathers were.

How far is this "ethical"? Dr. Mivart says, by implication, that we now recognize that animals have "rights." For my own part, I consider this a profoundly unphilosophic proposition. A "right" must be founded upon the end or object for which a creature is placed in the world. Rational beings have "rights," because their Creator intended them to work out their salvation. The Creator's intention is revealed by the nature of the created being; and therefore all rational beings have a right to go "straight" to their end or purpose without being hindered. Rights of property, of immunity from injury, of sustenance, of character, &c., flow from the right to work out an end, as might be easily demonstrated if there were space. But the brute creation have only one purpose, and that is to minister to man, or to man's temporary abode. Now, what exists entirely for the sake of another can have no "rights" against that other. We all practically recognize this, except a fanatic here and there. The butcher slays and tortures, the hunter slays and tortures; the farmer treats beasts like turnips; the gentleman subjects that sensitive animal the horse to the bit, the whip, to captivity, and the load; and the man of science cuts and excruciates. If animals had "rights," all this would be immoral. Your own convenience is no excuse whatever for trespassing on the *rights* of another. I grant, indeed—nay, I most vehemently insist, in concert with all Catholic moralists—that *wanton* infliction of pain is a sin, and may be even a grievous sin. That is *wanton* which is done without reason, out of mere impulse; this is always sinful, except so far as the want of deliberation may excuse it; and if the impulse in question be some bodily lust, such as cruelty, it is so hardening, degrading, and defiling that when it is quite deliberately indulged in, it easily grows into deadly sin. One preventive against wanton cruelty is a certain power of realizing pain, which generally accompanies refinement of nature. This sensitiveness is often efficacious when conscientious motives produce no effect; just as a finished epicure will loathe the gross indulgences of the working man. The present generation is more refined, shrinking, and "nervous" than its forerunners. Peace, safety, good clothing, and stimulating food have combined to produce a more finely strung organization. The fine lady of to-day shrieks at what her great-grandmother would have rather enjoyed. But what is there "ethical" in all this? We have a physical alteration which perhaps makes a moral precept more easy of observance; but if Dr. Mivart means no more than this he certainly ought to have said so.

I must repeat, in concluding this part of the subject, that I would not for one moment be understood to accuse Dr. Mivart of wishing or intending to disobey the Church, or to nullify

Catholic faith. But liberality is a tempting bait, the periodical press is a dangerous opportunity, and generalizations on theological questions are too often, in the hands of a layman, like the weapon of the savage, which comes back and hurts the man that casts it forth. Dr. Mivart, like myself, and like all of us, only wishes for the triumph of God's word and the salvation of souls. What has been here said he will, I am sure, accept in the spirit of cordiality and desire of truth in which it has been written.

With the Editor's permission, I propose to consider on a future occasion the subject of the inspiration of Holy Scripture, with special reference to the principles on which Catholic men of science ought to meet the destructive criticism of the day.

✠ JOHN CUTHBERT HEDLEY, O.S.B.

Science Notices.

The Total Solar Eclipse of August 19.—During the present century no such promising opportunity for the study of the solar surroundings as that marred by the malice of the elements on August 19 last will again be offered to astronomers. The path of the moon's shadow was almost wholly a land-track. From Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where totality began about sunrise, to Japan, where it finished at sunset, there was hardly a break in the line of advantageous *terra firma* posts of observation. This wide extent of available territory was, for some purposes, equivalent to a prolongation of the scanty and precious moments of complete obscurity. The eclipse might, in a certain sense, be said to last all day. An observation, for instance, begun in Germany, could—weather permitting, and the electric telegraph aiding—be continued, as the shadow swept eastward, in Russia, and concluded in Siberia. A supposed discovery, made, say at Anhalt, instead of waiting for verification during a future eclipse, could be tested within a few hours by successive observers, near Moscow, at Perm, and at Tobolsk. Any changes, moreover, that happened to be in progress in the corona or prominences, might, it was hoped, be recorded photographically at opposite extremities of the line of central eclipse. The preparations for the event were, accordingly, unprecedentedly extensive. Above 300,000 roubles were expended upon them at Moscow and St. Petersburg. Dr. Otto Struve, Director of the Pulkowa Observatory, organized nearly a score of expeditions, native and foreign. Every promising and tolerably accessible point was in scientific occupation. Father Perry and Dr. Copeland, representing the Royal Astronomical Society, enjoyed the hospitality of M. Bredicnin, at Kineschma; Mr. Turner, of the Royal Observatory, took up his position with the Comte de la Baume, at Wyssokovskaja; Tacchini and Ricco came from Rome and Palermo, Young and McNeill from New Jersey, Niesten from Brussels—each with some special problem to solve, some particular question to ask under favour of the lunar shadow; while Professor Upton set himself the task of determining, from barometrical statistics collected at some 170 stations, the movements of the atmosphere due to the *furrow* of cold abruptly drawn through it. The extraordinary popular interest in the forthcoming event was shown by the sale, in Moscow alone, of 400,000 pamphlets and 145,000 glasses. Here and there it was tinged with alarm. Notwithstanding a reassuring circular, appointed by the Holy Synod to be read in all the churches, dire calamities—a whole week's darkness one of the least—were anticipated in certain rural districts. The apprehensions of better-informed persons were of a different nature, and were unfortunately realized. The eclipse indeed took place, but, as M. Cornero remarked, “with

closed doors." The public were not admitted. Inexorable mists curtained the skies. From one station after another accounts of failure, described as "heartrending," came pouring dismally into headquarters. No astronomical skill availed to "make a hole in the clouds." Even Professor Mendelejeff's gallant attempt to rise above them in a balloon was memorable rather as an instance of supreme pluck than for any results achieved by it.

Yet the record is not one of unmixed disaster. Astronomers enterprising enough to cross the Urals were, in general, rewarded with serene weather. A number of good photographs, both of the corona and of its spectrum, were thus secured, and may prove of high value. The solar activity is just now running down towards an expected minimum in 1890. The radiated corona associated with many sunspots should then, if the theory of varying types be correct, by this time have given way to a less complex structure, considerably extended only in the direction of the sun's equator. The late eclipse ought, in fact, to have revealed a corona modelled with tolerable fidelity on that of 1875, which was itself the forerunner of the strange "winged" aureola of 1878. It is then interesting to learn that M. Niesten traced, at Jurjewitz on the Volga, an equatorial ray of the corona to a distance of one degree from the sun's limb, and the leisurely study of the photographs taken there and elsewhere may be expected to add importantly to the stock of knowledge regarding periodical fluctuations in shape or brightness of the solar appendages.

Dr. Braun's Cosmogony.—The absolute sway over opinion long exercised by Laplace's "Nebular Hypothesis" has of late been qualified by many limitations. No well-informed person can now reasonably assert that the course of planetary development ran along the track laid down for it by the consummate ingenuity of the great French geometer. That track has, indeed, been shown to be, at many points, wholly impracticable. Nevertheless, two assumptions fundamental to the scheme have received countenance, if not confirmation, from modern discoveries. The nebulous fluid, conceived as the building-material of the universe, has been shown by the spectroscope to have an actual existence. Prodigious isolated masses of glowing gaseous stuff are, in point of fact, distributed through space, and may, for aught we can tell, correspond to that initial stage of preparation for the advent of man, when the whole fair system, a nook of which was reserved for his future occupation, was as yet "unformed and void."

Again, the undiminished maintenance through so many ages of the sun's heat can be satisfactorily accounted for only on the supposition of a progressive contraction of its bulk. The solar radiations are, so to speak, paid for out of gravitational energy. The heat which vivifies our earth has its source in the gradual falling together of the particles constituting the vast mass of the sun. This means that in times past they were enormously more diffused than they are now. We have only indeed to go back far enough to find ourselves confronted with a central body so voluminous as to fill the orbs of

all the planets with attenuated matter, faintly luminous, perhaps, with the same rays that reach us from the great nebula in Orion.

During the process of condensation, and out of the primitive substance of the sun, the planets must then, so far as we can see, have in some way been formed. So much of the nebular cosmogony remains intact. But the method of their formation set forth in it must be rejected. The problem, complicated as it is by innumerable details of recently added knowledge, once more invites solution.

The latest competitor is the Jesuit astronomer, Dr. Carl Braun, well-known for the systematic observations of sun-spots which distinguished his directorate of the observatory founded in 1878 by Cardinal Haynald at Kalocsa in Hungary. A series of chapters on Cosmogony, originally published by him in 1885-6, in the Catholic periodical, *Natur und Offenbarung*, have, collected in a separate form, attracted deserved attention. Having first shown the admissibility, from the most strictly orthodox point of view, of such discussions, when conducted in a spirit of becoming reverence, he proceeds to unfold his view of planetary growth. Although he seeks, not like M. Faye, to abolish, but merely to reform the nebular cosmogony, the emendations proposed by him are so numerous and so fundamental as to leave erect the barest shell of the original structure.

The most characteristic feature of Laplace's scheme was the annulation consequent upon the cooling and contraction of the primitive nebula. It represented each planet as the outcome of the agglomeration of a separated ring. The objection, however, that globes so produced should possess a *retrograde* rotation is fully admitted by Dr. Braun. Hence, to Neptune alone can, in his opinion, an annular origin be ascribed; while the anomalous conditions of the Uranian system mark a transition from the ring-method of formation to that by "centres of condensation," exclusively prevalent from Saturn to Mercury. Some apparently casual want of homogeneity in the nebulous stuff constituted, according to this hypothesis, the first germ of a planet. A nucleus once formed, accessions to it were inevitable; as it condensed it descended towards the sun; along the slow spirals of approach fresh matter was continually swept up and appropriated, while the increase of density inwards of the medium in which it moved imparted to the growing body a *direct* movement of rotation. Eventually all the nebulous stuff, at first equably diffused, became concentrated in distinct globular masses, interplanetary space remained clear, and the planets settled down in the relatively fixed orbits they at present pursue.

But this is not all. The bodies constituting the solar system are not turned out on one uniform pattern. They possess marked individual peculiarities, suggesting individual vicissitudes of history. They travel each in a different plane; the axis of rotation of each is differently inclined to that plane; each orbit has its own degree of eccentricity. In order to account for these distinctive features, Dr. Braun has recourse to a somewhat questionable expedient. Masses of nebulous matter, of which we see the feeble remnants in comets, were, he supposes, continually rushing in upon our embryo

system. By collisions with them the conditions of existence of each of its members were profoundly modified and finally determined. This explanation is, however, unsatisfactory just in the proportion that it is flexible. It accounts for nothing, simply because it can be made to account for anything. Its adoption by so acute a reasoner as Dr. Braun is significant of the arduous nature of the effort to retrace in thought the processes by which our sun and the train of orbs dependent upon him were severally fitted to the various, and to us for the most part unknown, purposes of an all-wise Creator.

The Pleiades.—Dr. Elkin has lost no time in turning the new heliometer of Yale College to profitable account. The results of his measurement with it of sixty-nine stars in the Pleiades have been published this year. Their comparison with the similar determination by Bessel, forty-five years previously, of the relative places of fifty-two of these same stars, is of special interest as a test of interstitial movement in a stellar cluster. The upshot is, Dr. Elkin observes, discouraging to “hopes of obtaining any clue to the internal mechanism of this cluster in an immediate future.” The general character of the displacements brought to light is “extremely minute”; and “the bright stars in especial seem to form an almost rigid group.” Six stars, however, stand out from the rest as exceptional. They appear to be in comparatively rapid motion. But this appearance is due simply to their being exempt from the general south-easterly drift of the cluster. It is leaving them behind. The curious fact is thus indicated that these six stars, though visually *among* the Pleiades, are not *of* them. There is no physical tie between them and the rest of their temporary associates. Their relative immobility shows them to be probably more remote; and the inference of unfathomable distance is confirmed by the faintness of their light. This is the first example of the successful *analysis* of a star-cluster.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION MEETING, 1887.

The meeting of the British Association at Manchester this year, though spoken of as a great success, was not so interesting, we think, in a scientific point of view, as some other meetings have been, and notably that of last year. Still, tastes and pursuits vary among men of science as amongst other people; and the Association, with its annual succession of Presidents, naturally enough differs each year as to the branch of physical study presented most conspicuously to the public. Formerly it has been Biology or Geology; on this occasion it was mainly Chemistry; and the address of the President, Sir Henry Roscoe, was almost exclusively devoted to a statement of the progress made by that science, of which he is so able and enlightened an expositor, during the fifty years of Her Majesty's reign. And it is wonderful, beyond all doubt, to note how great that progress has been. “In the year 1837,” Sir Henry Roscoe says, “chemistry was a very different science from that existing at the present moment.” Notwithstanding the discoveries

of Priestley, Lavoisier, Faraday, and others, there was at that time no knowledge of what are termed chemical dynamics; nor was much known of organic chemistry: it was customary to attribute to a supposed agency called Vital Force those functions of living beings which are now believed to be controlled by the same forces, chemical and physical, that regulate the changes occurring in the inanimate world. Still, in 1837 John Dalton was living, and living at Manchester; and the atomic theory, "upon which the modern science of chemistry may truly be said to be based," owes its origin to him. The atom is the infinitely small component of the element to which it belongs. It has been supposed that the diameter of an atom of oxygen or nitrogen is one ten-millionth of a centimetre; or, to take another method of calculation, since our best microscopes magnify from 6,000 to 8,000 times, if we suppose that the minutest creatures we can now see were themselves provided with equally powerful microscopes, they would be able to see the atoms.

"And here it may be well," as Sir Henry Roscoe remarks, "to emphasize the distinction which the chemist draws between the atom and the molecule, the latter being a more or less complicated aggregation of atoms, and especially to point out the fundamental difference between the question of separating the atoms in the molecule and that of splitting up the atom itself." This latter, in Dalton's opinion, was impossible; and recent experiments have tended to confirm that opinion.

On the question that has exercised some modern chemists, and among others Mr. Crookes, who discussed it in his brilliant address to the Chemical Section of the Association last year—of which we gave a brief notice in the January number of this *REVIEW*—namely, whether the so-called elements are not really compound bodies, or at least, whether they do not contain some basic matter common to all: that is, whether all the elements were not originally evolved from one and the same primordial matter—on this the President pronounces no decided opinion; but Professor Schunck, in his address to the Chemical Section this year, intimates his dissent from such doctrine. We may remark too, by the way, that if this doctrine were true, the ancient alchemists, utterly chimerical as their researches were in a practical point of view, were not so wrong in theory as they are commonly supposed to have been.

To return to Sir Henry Roscoe. He calls attention to the great work done by another Manchester scientist—one still living—James Prescott Joule, "to whom," as he says, "we owe the foundation of chemical dynamics, and the basis of thermal chemistry." It was, in fact, Joule who first determined the mechanical equivalent of heat, showing by experiment that by the expenditure of energy equal to that developed by the weight of 772 pounds falling through one foot (in the latitude of Manchester), the temperature of one pound of water can be raised 1° Fahrenheit. This discovery, involving as it does the great principle of the "conservation of energy," is justly considered the greatest achievement of modern science.

Sir Henry Roscoe, after alluding to the recent investigations in the region of electrical chemistry, brings before us what he terms "the astounding progress made in the wide field of organic synthesis"—the process, that is to say, by which chemists are able to produce artificially substances that exist naturally in the organic world; but he warns those enthusiasts that imagine some future chemist may go further, and may "gather the elements of lifeless matter into a living structure," how illusory such expectations will prove.

Towards the close of his address, he touches on the investigations of Pasteur, and expresses an undoubting confidence in the success of his method of treating hydrophobia, and of dealing with persons bitten by rabid animals—a confidence which we believe the public at the present moment do not entirely share.

In the address to the CHEMICAL Section, Professor Schunck travels over a portion of the same ground as Sir Henry Roscoe, reminding his hearers of the enormous progress made by chemistry in the last fifty years, and remarking that it could hardly be called a science when he first entered on his studies (which was exactly fifty years ago), but was rather a collection of isolated facts.

After touching on the marvellous success attending modern experiments, he (like the President of the Association) expresses a confident opinion "that we shall never succeed in forming any really organized matter." Indeed, as he observes later on:—

The very first steps of the process whereby organic or organized matter is formed in plants are hardly understood. We understand still less the further steps leading to the production of the more complex vegetable bodies—acids, alkaloids, fatty matters. . . . When we think of the complicated process by which indigo is produced in the laboratory, with the various substances and appliances required, and then see how in the minutest seed-leaves of a plant like woad, a still more complex substance, indican, is found ready formed, we stand confounded at the simplicity of the apparatus employed by the plant, and are obliged to confess that we have no conception of the means whereby the end is obtained.

Evidently chemistry, like many other things, has its limits.

The address to the BIOLOGICAL Section, delivered by Professor Newton, was devoted in great measure to a glorification of the service done to natural history by the late Mr. Darwin—a thought suggested to him by the expected publication of the *Life and Letters* of this celebrated biologist by his son Mr. Francis Darwin, a work of which he had been allowed to see some of the proof sheets, and of which he had formed sanguine anticipations. Mr. Newton did not touch on any of the intricate questions which have recently caused some difference of opinion among the principal expounders of the doctrine of evolution, and which, it may be remembered, were discussed by some speakers at the meeting of the Association at Birmingham.

The GEOGRAPHICAL Section is generally a great centre of attraction, and was probably so in an especial degree this year, from its being presided over by so well-known a man as Colonel Sir Charles

Warren. His address was mainly directed to the question of the teaching of geography in our schools, "and the economy and advantage to the State which would result from a more perfect and skilful system of instruction." We extract one or two passages (not immediately bearing on this particular question, but noteworthy for other reasons). He says:—

In the books of Moses, 3,000 years ago, we obtain our first recorded view of the cosmogony of the ancients, at which time the world is supposed to be a flat disc with water surrounding the land, and this idea pervades later books, and is dwelt upon in the Psalms of David. . . . The idea that the sun, moon, stars, and planets revolved round the earth was the view in early days, and continued up to quite a recent period, and even now we are unable to prove that the generally received system is correct, and only use it as being more convenient than that which makes the earth the centre of the universe.

The first of these two passages conveys a false impression, if it means that it is explicitly stated in Scripture that the earth is a flat disc surrounded by water; though if it merely means that some such idea was running in the minds of the sacred writers (who were not inspired upon purely scientific matters), and that they used the language which was in common acceptation at the time they wrote, it may be true enough. The second passage greatly understates the evidence for the modern system of astronomy, though we must allow that this system cannot be strictly verified by any process of absolute demonstration. We give one more quotation, and on a totally different subject:

It is possible that a more full geographical knowledge of Egypt and the Suez Canal might have materially modified our present occupation of Egypt. The Canal could not be held without a fresh-water supply, and the possession of Cairo and the Nile is the key to the fresh-water canal supplying Ismailia and Suez. Had it been known that a plentiful supply of water could be obtained close to the marine canal, independent of the Nile water, it is questionable how far any occupation of Egypt would have been necessary.

This, if correct, is indeed curious.

The address to the GEOLOGICAL Section was given by Mr. Woodward; that to the Section of ECONOMIC SCIENCE and STATISTICS by Mr. Giffen, who chose for his topic the Recent Rate of Material Progress in England; that to the MECHANICAL Section by Professor Osborne Reynolds; while the ANTHROPOLOGICAL Section had for its President Professor Sayce, who read an important dissertation on the *vexata quæstio* of the original habitat of the Aryan race. This point was subsequently sifted still further in a learned paper read to the Section by Canon Isaac Taylor, who maintained the Finnic origin of the Aryans. Space does not permit of our enlarging on these four addresses.

There is, however, one other Presidential address which we must notice, that delivered to the MATHEMATICAL and PHYSICAL Section by Sir Robert Ball, Astronomer Royal for Ireland. It is noteworthy as being an attempt to clothe in semi-scientific language,

such as might be intelligible to a mixed audience, the treatment of a subject belonging to theoretical mechanics, and lying within the region of advanced mathematics. It is called the "Theory of Screws," but it has nothing to do with screws of commerce manufactured at Birmingham or elsewhere; it means, in fact, that mathematical curve which the screw represents, and which is usually known by its Greek name Helix. A large number of people assembled to hear the witty Irish astronomer, who endeavoured to popularize his discourse by detailing the labours of an imaginary committee chosen to investigate a certain rigid body, "a huge amorphous mass," to ascertain why it remained at rest, and how it could be moved. It was lying under all sorts of constraints, cords, links, &c. One of the members of the committee, Mr. Helix, soon found that it could be moved by being twisted on a screw with a suitable pitch, prepared by the aid of a skilful mechanic; he then found a second screw, round which the body could twist; it was moreover shown that it could also be twisted round a myriad of other screws forming a certain "graceful ruled surface known as the cylindroid." Once again Mr. Helix detected a third screw, about which it could also be twisted, besides those already mentioned, and then it appeared that it was "free to twist about ranks upon ranks of screws all beautifully arranged by their pitches upon a system of hyperboloids." A subsequent question arose as to how the force should be applied to cause the body to move. It became evident that this should be done by applying a wrench on some screw; but upon what screw? The screw on which the impulse would be given was to be called the impulsive screw, that on which the body twisted the instantaneous screw. One of the most enlightened members of the committee (after various experiments) expounded to the others the theory of homographic screws.

All the impulsive screws form one system, and all the instantaneous screws form another system, and these two systems are homographic. . . . You will only have to determine a few pairs of impulsive and instantaneous screws by experiment. The number of such pairs need never be more than seven. When these have been found the homography is completely known. The instantaneous screw corresponding to every impulsive screw will then be completely determined by geometry both pure and beautiful.

Experiments having proved the truth of this theory, the same enlightened geometer discovered subsequently that in the two homographic systems just mentioned, there would be a limited number (never more than six) of double screws common to both systems; and it was found that if an impulsive wrench were imparted to the body on one of these, it would commence to twist round the identical screw on which the wrench was imparted: these were designated "the principal screws of inertia." Certain experiments were also made upon small oscillations, and certain screws discovered to which was given the name of "harmonic screws." Finally, one bold member of the imaginary committee sketched a geometrical conception of a "screw-chain," by which he said he could compel the

most elaborate system of rigid bodies to conform to the theory of screws; he even showed that all the instantaneous motions of every molecule in the universe were only a twist upon one screw-chain, while all the forces of the universe were but a wrench upon another.

Readers may judge how far such a paper was understood by the people assembled in the room where this Section of the Association met. During the course of it, when one of the supposed interlocutors asked for something in ordinary language to explain the meaning of "principal screws of inertia," and that the theory might be put into some extreme shape that ordinary mortals could understand, there arose a murmur of applause from some of the bewildered listeners; but they were probably not much satisfied by the explanation given by another imaginary personage, who stated that if the body be free only to rotate round a fixed point the principal screws of inertia reduce to the three principal axes drawn through the point; while the wrenches (still remaining such) are on screws of infinite pitch. Such language, familiar though it be to the mathematician, must have conveyed a somewhat imperfect light to a considerable portion of Sir Robert Ball's audience.

On a subsequent day in the ANTHROPOLOGICAL Section a discussion took place on the migration of pre-glacial man, it being doubted whether he arrived in Britain from a Northward region or from the South. Researches had been continued at the Cae-Gwynn Cave in North Wales, which seemed to confirm the opinion that man had existed there before the formation of the glacial deposits. The date of the last glacial period is, of course, uncertain; if Mr. Croll's theory were true, it must carry us to a date at least 95,000 years back; but other causes than those assigned by him may well have been in action, and the period in question may perhaps be of much more recent date. A curious question, by the way, bearing indirectly on the antiquity of man, was raised lately in the scientific paper *Nature*, by a writer whose investigations tended to show that the stature of the human race had increased in the course of generations, and was still on the increase; in fact, if his calculations were trustworthy, that it increased at about the rate of 1.25 inch (on the average) in every 1,000 years. Now, if this were a constant rate of increase, it is obvious that after 30,000 years there would be a difference of more than three feet in the height of the average man from that found at the commencement of the thirty thousand years, whereas if we took such a figure as 60,000 years, man at the beginning of his career on earth must have been such a pigmy as we cannot conceivably suppose. Probably there is some doubtful element in both calculations, that relating to the antiquity of man, and that connected with the constant increase of human stature.

In the BIOLOGICAL Section there arose one day a question as to the opinion of Lamarck on hereditary transmission of acquired characters; this, if true, would be contrary to the doctrine of Darwin. Dr. Ray Lankester originated the discussion, and the general feeling seemed to be against the opinion of Lamarck.

In the GEOLOGICAL Section there was exhibited by Professor Seeley a remarkable fossil, showing the development of the young of the plesiosaurus. The plesiosaurs thus shown were most minute in size, but in a wonderful state of preservation. It was stated that no more remarkable fossil had ever been found.

In a "sub-section," that met one day to consider questions connected with farming, Professor Fream read a paper on "Preventible Loss in Agriculture." He maintained that the English farmer suffered greatly from his ignorance of the character of the seeds he was in the habit of purchasing—a startling fact (if fact it be), since one would have thought that practical experience would supply the want of theoretical knowledge—also from his ignorance of the properties and affinities of seeds, and other matters.

In another paper read by Mr. Jamieson, on the "Theory of Rent," were one or two noteworthy remarks—as, for instance, that "the motive of entail and settlement was to preserve land from the incubus of debt; and the habit that had within the last century been engendered of obtaining land on mortgage he regarded as one of deeper danger to the owners of land, and of greater injury to the community, than the older system just spoken of, and the still more ancient system of primogeniture, which, it appeared, was to be superseded."

In the MECHANICAL Section a paper was read, followed by a discussion, on the scheme of constructing a ship-canal to Manchester; and in the same section an interesting communication was made by Mr. Cowper and Mr. W. Anderson, relating to some important experiments made by them on the mechanical equivalent of heat: it appeared that the results obtained by them differed slightly from those got by Mr. Joule some years ago, but still that they confirmed his conclusions upon the whole.

There were lectures also given at the Free Trade Hall (a building calculated to hold a large number of people), by Professor Dixon, on the "Rate of Explosions in Gases;" by Mr. George Forbes, to working men, on the subject of "Electric Lighting;" and by Sir Francis de Winton, on "Exploration in Central Africa."

Such were the leading features of the meeting of the British Association at Manchester. The attendance was very large, 3,833 tickets having been issued for the regular members and for those who joined for this particular occasion, and of these at least 1,300 were ladies. It may, however, be observed that not all the associates are actuated by the pure love of science, many being doubtless attracted by the excursions and social gatherings which always form a part of the proceedings. One of these latter consisted in an invitation to the members of the Association to be present at a soirée at the Jubilee Exhibition (as it is termed), where, among other things, there is to be seen one of the finest collections of modern English pictures, lent by their owners, that has ever been brought together.

We think we notice a growing tendency to absent themselves from these meetings on the part of the leading men of science in England, and if this continues, a loss of prestige must be the result; a loss

which will scarcely be counter-balanced by the grants of money to various scientific objects which are always given, and were given somewhat largely this year, owing to the considerable amount accruing from the large attendance of associates. The meeting next year is to be held at Bath.

F. R. W-P.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The Natives of the Canary Islands.—The Guanches, as the aborigines of the Canaries are called, have been the subject, during the last twenty-five years, of the researches of Dr. Chil, of Las Palmas, who has brought to light many interesting particulars concerning them. He has formed a museum in his native town, of objects illustrating their social condition when first visited by the Spaniards in 1402, proving them, notwithstanding their total isolation from the rest of the world, to have made considerable progress in several handicrafts, as well as in the tillage of the soil. They were then still in the Stone Age, as all their implements were manufactured from the basaltic rocks of the islands, and they had no tools of iron or any other metal. They were nevertheless so skilful in tanning leather, that the goatskin and pigskin used in covering their dead, remains in perfect preservation after the lapse of centuries. They also showed considerable ingenuity in sewing leather with needles made of fish-bones, or the sharp-pointed leaves of the palm. In the ceramic arts they had made some progress, fabricating vases of large size and elegant patterns, ornamented with red and black lines, and recalling in some respects the ancient Egyptian pottery. Their chief weapon of offence was a cudgel, while for defensive armour they wore wooden shields, and with these primitive arms they made a desperate defence against the Spaniards. They had neither wheel-carriages nor any form of boat, but erected buildings of sufficient architectural pretension to be dignified by their conquerors with the name of palaces, the remains of some of which are still to be seen on the island of Fuerte Ventura.

Religion of the Guanches.—Their moral and ethical culture was, however, far in advance of their material civilization. Although accused of idolatry by the Spaniards as some excuse for their own cruelties, they seem to have been in reality Theists, believing in a Supreme Being, who punished vice and rewarded virtue, especially that of courage. They had convents of monks and nuns, the seclusion of the latter being so rigorous that the sight of a man constituted a mortal sin. Their moral code was so strictly enforced that a woman transgressing it forfeited her life, while the separation

of the sexes in public was so absolute that they were not even allowed to use the same roads. The Guanches resembled the Peruvians and ancient Egyptians in their mode of preserving the bodies of their dead, and the process of embalming was conducted with great care, though its actual details have not been discovered. The corpse was surrounded by twigs of aromatic trees, and wrapped in numerous coverings of leather, the mummies being eventually deposited in caverns, where many of them still remain, or placed on the ground, sheltered by small tumuli.

Present Condition of the Guanches.—In the mountainous districts occupying the centres of the seven inhabited islands, the Guanches still constitute the bulk of the population. They are tall and robust, with elongated faces and prominent chins, and the occasional occurrence of light hair and complexion amongst them testifies to a certain intermixture of European blood. This was due to the internment in the Canaries of 7,000 out of the 20,000 French soldiers taken prisoners at the capitulation of Baylen, many of whom in 1814 refused to leave, having by that time married Guanche women and identified themselves with the natives. It is said that the French songs of that period may still be heard among the descendants of the mixed race sprung from these colonists. The language of the modern Guanches is Spanish, and scarcely a trace of their original speech has been discovered, as they did not possess the art of writing, though they had schools where the national songs and traditions were taught.—*The Globe*, August 1, 1887.

The Trade of Constantinople.—The Report of Consul-General Fawcett on the trade of Constantinople during the past year states that six monopolies were granted during that period by the Ottoman Government. These were : a foundry, a glass factory, one for the manufacture of ice, and establishments for the manufacture of pottery and porcelain, of linen, cotton yarns and tissues, and of paper. These monopolies, which extend to the whole province of Constantinople, were in all cases save one conferred on Ottoman officials. It is pointed out in respect to the mohair trade, that while down to 1884 the entire export was to Bradford, the United States and Russia have now entered the market as competitors, the former having taken over 12,000, and the latter about 2,000 bales, out of a total export of 57,720 bales, a fact which seems to threaten the Bradford spinners with formidable competition. From the mohair producing districts the accounts are very unfavourable, the continued drought having withered up the pasturages and reduced the goats to live on roots, which have developed disease amongst them, producing great mortality. The Report further calls attention to the fact that Constantinople is gradually losing its position as the centre of distribution for imported cotton goods to the provincial towns, and that the other Black Sea ports are beginning to deal with Manchester direct. Thus Macedonia and Albania, instead of being supplied from the Constantinople market, have, since the revolution in Eastern Roumelia, abandoned it for Salonica, while Southern Asia Minor is supplied through Beyrout or Mersine. For the finer qualities of goods and

novelties, Constantinople, on the other hand, still remains the great *entrepôt* of the East.

New Through Route to India.—An Imperial iradé, published in the *Official Gazette* of Constantinople on August 9, sanctions the construction of a railway from Scutari to Bagdad by a group of British financiers, to whom the preference has been given over French competitors. The latter advocated the use of the narrow gauge system, which lessens the first cost of construction at the expense of speed and efficiency, and it was owing to the personal decision of the Sultan that the wide gauge system was finally adopted, and the concession granted to Messrs. Alt and Zeefelder, the lessees of the Haidar-Pasha and Ismid Railway. This latter section will be relaid to get rid of the sharp curves at present existing, and to enable a speed of fifty miles an hour to be reached, while its prolongation from Haidar-Pasha to Scutari will provide it with a terminus port well protected in all weathers. These works are to be set on foot at once, as well as the extension to Ada-Bazar, the first stage on the road to Angora and Bagdad. Much is expected from the new line, not only as regards the development of the resources of Asia Minor, but as a step towards the restoration of Constantinople to her old position of commercial pre-eminence as the emporium of the East. At present a sum of £3,000,000 is annually spent abroad, principally in Russia, in provisioning the Ottoman capital with flour, butter, and meat, articles produced in Anatolia in such abundance as would leave a large surplus for exportation after supplying the whole of Turkey. The Angora district, which the new line will traverse, produces mohair, tallow, grain, hides, cattle, and fruit; and the increase in tithes from the development of all these industries is assigned to the company as a guarantee by the Imperial Government. The new line will bring India nearer to England by four or five days, and will be shorter than either the Pacific or Siberian route, while it will be the great through highway from Asia Minor to Persia and Kurdistan, to which it follows the present caravan road.

French Commercial Treaty with China.—A new Commercial Treaty has been negotiated between France and China in place of the abortive one of which the ratification was refused by France last year. In the present negotiations her representative has been more successful, and has obtained some valuable concessions, though by no means as many as were hoped for. The delimitation of the frontier has in the first place been settled in a sense favourable to China, the peninsula of Paklung, to which much value was attached by both parties, having been given up to her. She has also obtained the right to maintain consuls in Tonkin, though this innovation is not without political danger in countries where the Chinese population is so numerous and disaffected as in the French Red River colony. China again has refused the demand for the importation of salt across the Yunnan frontier, which would have interfered with the Government monopoly of its sale. This commodity, together with opium, furnishes the chief staple of the smuggling trade of Southern

China, and cargoes are run in heavily-armed junks, which are always prepared, in the last resort, to fight the cruisers of the revenue. Against the refusal of this demand may be set the concession of the right to import opium from Tonkin into China, paying of course the heavy duty levied on the foreign drug under Marquis Tseng's convention. It is not thought that the Indian trade is likely to suffer appreciably by French competition, as the cultivation of opium in Tonkin remains yet to be tried. The next point on which China has yielded is the opening of four points instead of two on her southern frontier to French trade, with a further reduction in the customs tariff at those places, where it was already one-third lower than at the sea-ports. France will thus have the entry on advantageous terms into Southern China, and though Eastern Yunnan, the country reached by the Red River route, is barren and poverty-stricken, the trade of Kwangsi, directly to the north of Tonkin, may be capable of development, and would find the easiest outlet through the French colony as soon as its communications are improved by railways or even roads.

Proposed New Port on the Canton River.—In order to place British merchants on an equal footing with their French rivals, it is suggested that the Chinese Government should be asked to open a new treaty port on the upper part of the Canton river, Nan-ning being mentioned as the most suitable. Although it lies 700 miles from the sea, the river is navigable to this point by light-draught steamers, while junks of considerable size can go several hundred miles higher. As it would be more easily accessible from Hong Kong than from the French port of Haiphong, British goods would have an advantage over those of their rivals, and the vast regions of Southern China would be thrown open to trade. The effect of opening an inland treaty port is to abolish the inland transit dues, or *likin*, exacted at frequent intervals on merchandize in China, so that it is delivered after payment of only a duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, as at the sea-ports. Since there are from fifty to a hundred *likin* stations between Canton and Nan-ning, the total amount of dues paid by goods in transit must be very large, and the effect on trade of their abolition should be proportionally great. The consent of the Chinese Government would, it is thought, be easily obtained, as they raised no grave objection when the question was mooted once before by Sir Harry Parkes. The trade route opened up by the French will of course only benefit themselves, as by their tariff regulations all other goods are practically excluded from their colonies.

Proposed Railways for Tonkin.—The Technical Commission on the Tonkin Railways, whose Report is now published, has ascertained that the ports giving access to Tonkin nearest the Delta, and sheltered from the mud deposits of the rivers, lie in the maritime tract between the island of Doson and the Bay of Along, and is of opinion that Port Courbet is the deep-water harbour which ought to be the starting-point of the Tonkin Railway system. This point is connected with the fluvial network of streams, and is the centre of an important coal-basin. It will be the terminus of the line connect-

ing Hanoi with the sea, which, passing through Bacninh, the Seven Pagodas, Dongnien, and Quangyen will avoid the loose muds of the Delta, and lie for two-thirds of its course through a fertile and populous country.

This line [continues the Report] has immediate importance from the political, administrative, and military points of view. As regards its economical importance, though considerable from the beginning, it will not take its full development until the railway network has been extended towards the centres of production and consumption in the interior of the continent.

Four secondary lines have been examined by the Commission, intended to connect Hanoi and its trunk-line with districts rich in mineral and agricultural wealth, or with places likely to become *entrepôts* of trade between Tonkin and the neighbouring countries. The first of these lines, the Kwangsi, would leave the trunk-line at Bacninh, and proceed to Langson by the traditional and historical road between Annam and China. The French engineers have already constructed a carriage road along this line, which is intended to be eventually continued towards the Chinese town of Lien-Chow. The second extension, or Yunnan line, would be a continuation of the trunk-line running along the banks of the Red River, and connecting Vietri and Laokai. A third line, whose course cannot at present be laid down, would proceed towards Laos and the basin of the Mekong; while a fourth, connecting Tonkin with Northern Annam, would follow the Mandarin road from Hanoi to Hue, and provide for the region of the Namdinh. Of these four secondary lines, the Commission thinks that a first network might be formed composed of the lines from Hanoi to Port Courbet, from Hanoi to Langson, and from Hanoi to Laokai. The sections of which the importance is immediate and undoubted are the whole of the line from the sea and the line from Laokai to Vietri.

The Commission recommends that the Protectorate should form the permanent way, and that the superstructure and working of the lines should be handed over to private industry. The Protectorate would get the permanent way constructed by means of the Annamite *corvée*, required instead of payment of taxes. The share capital would amount to at least 5,000,000 francs, but it might be increased progressively, so as never to be less than one-fourth of the expenses and advances made.—*Times*, August 30, 1887.

American Enterprise in China.—Autograph letters from Li Hung Chang to Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State in Washington, brought by the Chinese Imperial Envoy to the United States Government, describe in detail the concessions granted to Messrs. Barker's syndicate, and fully confirm the telegram in which the Shanghai correspondent of the *Standard* first announced this great financial *coup*. The charter confers on the American capitalists the sole right to coin money, empowers them to receive and disburse the funds belonging to the Imperial and Provincial Treasuries, and authorizes them to finance and construct railways, telegraphs, canals, river improvements and drainage systems. They will take over the existing

telegraphs and have a fifty years' monopoly of all telephonic communication, while they will co-operate with the Chinese Government in the erection of forts, arsenals, and all public works, as well as in the construction of fleets.

Progress of Stanley's Expedition.—Letters from Stanley down to June 19 give satisfactory accounts of his progress and prospects so far. They had then reached the Rapids of the Biyerre or Aruwimi river, the great northern affluent of the Congo, and were more than 1,000 miles from Stanley Pool, and over 1,300 from the Atlantic Ocean. At this point an intrenched camp was constructed, in which a garrison of 130 men was to be left behind, while the march to the Albert Nyanza would be effected by a force of 414 men, or 360 rifles and fifty-four supernumeraries. The distance remaining to be traversed overland was 360 miles, which might possibly be accomplished in thirty days. Supposing the Expedition had reached Wadelai at the end of June, a messenger despatched thence to the coast would arrive there in the beginning or middle of October, which, according to Sir Francis de Winton's calculation, is the earliest date at which fresh news is to be looked for. Emin Pasha is supposed to be now somewhere to the south of the Albert Nyanza, and to have been engaged in ascertaining the true limits of that lake and its connection with the Muta Nzige, which were among the secondary objects kept in view by Stanley's Expedition. He may, it is thought, advance to meet the latter on hearing of his approach, thus curtailing the length of his difficult march. There seems no reason to apprehend actual hostilities on the part of the natives, as those as yet met are in a state of disintegration, fragments of tribes being found mixed together without social coherence or stability.

Chinchona Planting in Réunion.—Now that losses on coffee and sugar have turned the attention of most planters in British tropical and sub-tropical colonies, particularly Ceylon and the West Indies, to the culture of bark, the *Times* of August 23, 1887, deems it opportune to call attention to the system pursued in the island of Réunion, described by Mr. St. John in his last Consular Report, since the difficulty of removing the bark seems to be more successfully overcome there than elsewhere. The plantations are generally made in forests at an altitude of 4,000 feet, where no high trees grow, but only brushwood. Parallel alleys, from five to six feet wide, are made in spots sheltered from the wind, while intervening strips of brushwood, ten feet wide, serve still further to protect the young plants from the violent gales prevailing here. In the alleys holes twenty inches in diameter, and of a like depth, are dug at intervals of fifteen feet, and refilled with the earth removed, with a mixture of mould added. A little mound is thus formed in which the young plants are set, attaining at the end of seven or eight years a diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, when they are ready to be worked by the following process. Towards October, when the sap resumes its upward movement, and the bark is more easily detached, the plants are cut two inches from the ground and the bark stripped off and placed in the sun to dry. A number of young shoots spring from

the stump, of which only as many as it can nourish must be allowed to grow, and which at the end of another seven or eight years will supply a fresh crop. By this plan, said to be more economical than that pursued in Java, the plant perpetually renews itself with little expense. Sugar cultivation has been as unprofitable in Réunion as elsewhere, so that the French Government has been obliged to come to the assistance of the planters, allowing them to import 12 per cent. of their production duty free into France.

Oases of the Sahara.—The number of the fertile spots interspersed among the arid wastes of the Great Desert is constantly increasing from the gradual discovery and utilization of its subterranean springs. The Lower Sahara is an immense basin of artesian waters, and in one of its depressions, the Ouad Rir, there are now fifty-three oases, giving a collective population of 13,000 for the district. It has 525 palm-trees in full bearing, planted, that is to say, more than seven years, 120,000 trees between one and seven years old, and 100,000 fruit trees, while the annual value of the dates grown there averages £100,000. The oases of Laghouat and Ouad Mizi and those of Yeryville and Ain Safia have 100,000 palm trees, and those of Figuig 140,000, while Mzab, with its 30,000 inhabitants, nearly all shepherds or merchants, cultivates 200,000. Zab, together with the Sahara slope of the Aurès, has fifty oases, which grow 900,000 palms, and 500,000 fruit trees. Sout, with a population of 15,000, has 150,000 palm-trees of the choicest sorts, and over 50,000 fruit-trees. Lastly, the various oases of Ouargla have over 400,000 palm and 100,000 fruit-trees. These results, together with the trade in wool, the cultivation of corn, tobacco, vegetables, vines, and other plants grown under shelter of the palms, and the breeding of ostriches, which, it is thought, might be made as profitable as at the Cape, are due partly to native and partly to French enterprise, though the latter have only began to colonize the Sahara during the last ten years. They began by buying oases and gardens in the Zab and Ouad Rir, and then set to work to create fresh oases in the region of Bishra, the result showing that Europeans can withstand the climate, especially as they do not work themselves, but superintend native labourers, who are described as skilful and active.—*Times*, September 3, 1887.

Cuba as an Eldorado.—A recent Consular Report describes the eastern side of the island of Cuba as full of mineral wealth, iron especially being found in great abundance and of high quality. Copper, zinc, and lead are also present, and encouraging accounts are given of occasional finds of gold. One miner some years ago chanced on a "pocket" which gave 1,000 dollars a day for a fortnight, and others report to having worked places yielding from twelve to fifteen dollars a ton. More satisfactory evidence of the productiveness of the Cuban gold mines is afforded by the analysis of samples of ore sent to London for assay, the richest specimens of which gave as much as five ounces per 100 lb., while the poorest contained four ounces per ton, a proportion yielding a large profit on working.

French Travellers in Asia.—The French explorers, MM. Bonvalot, Papas, and Pepin, reached Simla on August 24, and, after an interview with the Viceroy, started for home. According to the summary of their journey in the *Lahore Civil and Military Gazette*, they left Teheran in April 1886, proceeded by the Meshed and Herat boundary, and visited Khorasan, Sarakhs, Merv, Bokhara, and Samarcand. Thence they were ordered back; but eventually went by Khokan, Margilan, Osch, Toultscha, and Akbasvga, to the Gadish Pass, and across the Alai mountains, where the cold froze the mercury, and the air was so rarefied they could scarcely breathe. The snow was seven feet deep, and they were sometimes obliged to travel by night to avoid avalanches, and to follow the footprints of wolves in order to find the road. Here they could only travel about four miles a day, and their followers deserted daily, carrying off baggage and horses, of which they had started with 150. They then went to Kizil Arvat, crossed the Karakal Lake to Ohtach, and thence to Wakhan Serhod and Chitral. At the latter place they were relieved by the Indian Government with 3,000 rupees, when they had almost nothing left, and had been living for eight days on flour and mutton.

Red River Railway.—The proposed construction of a railway from Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, towards the United States frontier, in order to connect it with their railway system, has brought on a grave constitutional conflict. The Dominion Parliament, whose sanction is required for such a project, has steadily vetoed it, and the State authorities are actually proceeding with the construction of the line notwithstanding. Very strong feeling has been aroused on both sides on the question, the object of the Dominion Parliament being to secure the monopoly of their own line, the Canadian Pacific, while the Manitoban farmers crave for cheaper transport for their wheat. While Winnipeg is 1,423 miles from Montreal by the Canadian Pacific Railway, which charges 16s. per quarter for the conveyance of wheat thither, Duluth, the great shipping port at the head of Lake Superior, is but 300 miles distant, and the carriage of wheat thence to Montreal is but 1s. 6d. per quarter. The rapid increase in the traffic of Duluth, which last year exported 18,000,000 bushels of wheat and 1,500,000 barrels of flour from the American portion of the Red River Valley, has stimulated the Manitobans in the desire to share in its advantages, and the farmers believe that even a small reduction in the cost of carriage would enable them to double the area of land under cultivation. Meanwhile all acts done in the construction of the proposed railway are illegal, bonds and paper issued in connection with it are valueless, and it has no standing in any court of law for the enforcement of contracts or other obligations. The immediate point on which issue is raised is the laying of the line through lands belonging to the Canadian Pacific Railway, which cannot be legally dispossessed by the State authority, and here an actual armed collision for a time seemed threatened.

Irrigation in Egypt.—This subject was treated in the Geo-

graphical Section of the British Association, in a paper read by Mr. Whitehouse on the Raiyan basin. This depression is situated to the north and west of the Fayoum, between lat. 28 and lat. 29° 30', its northern extremity being seventy-three miles south of Cairo. At previous meetings of the British Association, it has been shown how the author of this paper was led to believe that such a depression must exist, and how, at first alone, and subsequently accompanied by competent engineers, he made observations which verified his forecast. It was his opinion that foreign engineers, about the fifteenth century before our era, had conceived a gigantic scheme for the regulation of the flow of the Nile and the reclamation of the Delta, using a depression in the desert as a storage reservoir to avert the excessive rise of the river and provide for a season of drought. A report has been prepared by Major Western, R.E., General Director of Works, showing that a further supply of twenty-five million cubic mètres per diem for 100 days would meet all the requirements of Lower Egypt. This could be effected by filling the Raiyan basin at the time of high Nile, closing the canal of supply at the end of January, when the difference between the water in the reservoir and the river (about five mètres) would permit a sufficient flow back by the same canal. All objections, such as evaporation, leakage, deposit, infiltration, and impregnation were considered, and shown to be of no serious importance. It was estimated that less than £1,000,000 would suffice for the works, that the revenue would amount to about two millions sterling, and that the cost of maintenance would be inconsiderable. These researches, therefore, represented a capital value of, say, £50,000,000, and were believed to be unique. Other speakers affirmed the feasibility of the scheme, and declared the only obstacle to be the financial one.

Prospects of Trade in the Soudan.—At the same meeting Major Watson, late Governor of the Red Sea Littoral, read a paper with this heading. He related the history of the Soudan, which he described as a country of vast extent, of considerable fertility, and with a population of many millions, reduced to a miserable condition by the wars of the last four years. About 99 out of 100 people there were sick of war, they longed for peace, and would be delighted that trade should reopen, and that they should have a government. It was a mistake to suppose that the Soudanese were all savages. They were fine, intelligent men, many of them of considerable talent, and they were very easy to deal with. Perhaps the best way to open the trade with the Soudanese would be for a company to be formed to take charge of the coast on behalf of the Egyptian Government, which would hand over the customs and duties to the company. The English Government, who now paid for the garrison of Suakin, might contribute a fixed sum to the company, on the distinct understanding that they incurred no responsibility beyond keeping two or three gunboats to check the slave trade. It would be easy for the agents of the company to get into communication with the tribes along the coast, and if small posts were established at the different harbours trade would soon open.

The Red Sea Trade.—A paper on this subject, by Mr. A. B. Wylde, was read by Sir Charles Warren, President of the Geographical Section British Association. He pointed out the advantages of the Suakin-Berber route to the Soudan, and said that to open up the country steamers and machinery were required, and these could not be carried across the desert without a railway. At present, however, he did not advocate its construction, but said that the first thing was to restore trade, and when camels proved unequal to its requirements a railway would follow as a matter of course.

Settlement of Zululand.—A Blue-Book published on August 24, 1887, relates the final stages by which a settlement has been finally arrived at in the affairs of Zululand, and the agreement of October 22, 1886, between the Imperial Government and the invading Boers, carried into effect. The latter, partly by force, partly by consent of the Zulu chiefs, had annexed a large slice of the country under the name of the New Republic, and the object of the agreement was to limit them to a portion only of the territory occupied, and to define the exact limits of their sovereignty. Zululand, as then constituted, was divided into three sections—the New (Boer) Republic; the Reserve, under British protectorate; and Eastern Zululand, the territory of the natives, but containing farms on which some of the Boers were settled as squatters. The Zulus were much dissatisfied with the result, complaining, no doubt with truth, that they had been deprived of all the best land, but Mr. Osborn, the British Commissioner in charge of the negotiations, maintains that an ample area of good country remains to them. On two points their appeal has been attended with some effect: one was their request for the restoration of the burial-places of their kings at Makosini, which is now the subject of negotiation with the New Republic; the other their demand for the removal of the Boers from the outlying farms, which may be managed if the Zulus can find funds to compensate them.

It was soon found, however, that the Zulus could not continue to exist as an independent nation; “the most unfriendly relations,” as Mr. Osborn euphemistically describes the raids of Boer commandos, existed between them and their neighbours; and the annexation of the whole country, with the exception of the New Republic, became a necessity. A proclamation, issued on May 4, 1887, accordingly declared it British territory, and Sir A. E. Havelock was appointed its Governor.

Notes on Nobels.

Diane de Breteuille: a Love Story. By HUBERT E. H. JERNINGHAM. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1887.

THERE is not much reading in “*Diane de Breteuille*,” but it is a pleasant and affecting idyll, with just a touch of impossibility. Mr. Jerningham says it is a true tale. Whether it is or not, he has written it as if it were, and it is very charming and sparkling. There is not time or space to work out the characters—and the Marquises and Counts, with their wives, are shadowy, though cleverly indicated. But the young heroine is very substantial and real, and the hero, who is also the narrator, lets us realize his raptures (in respect of the heroine) with very sufficient fidelity. She is a young French girl of the present day, and he is an Englishman of the same period, who seems, however, to speak French uncommonly well. Perhaps he is an *attaché*. She is only seventeen, and she suddenly speaks to him at a pastrycook’s—without an introduction or anything. In the act of speaking to him she so completely fascinates him, that he loses not only his heart, but also very nearly his head, and the narrative whirls on, through the usual obstructions, until they at last stand before the altar of Combes-la-Breteuille. There is a postscript—six years after. He kneels before a tomb in Dauphiné, where they have laid all that is left on earth of *Diane de Breteuille*. The story, which first appeared in the pages of *Blackwood*, has a purity and elevation about it which are not too common in these days of sensual description and fashionable atheism. The following extract is hardly a sample of the book, because there is no pretence that the story is religious, but it shows that it is not the opposite, and is itself pretty and natural:—

Involuntarily, though instinctively, I directed my steps to St. Thomas d’Aquin, near the Rue du Bac, and arrived in time to see an angel rise from her prayers at the high altar where she had heard mass, and asked the Almighty Himself to lay upon us both His merciful hands and bring us out of our trouble, and come and kneel at our Lady’s altar to beg her gentle intercession in our behalf.

To see this graceful little thing kneel; to watch her pretty little hands cover her beautiful face; to note the lithesome figure bend in humble devotional attitude before the mother of the Most Holy, and offer her a child’s simple prayer, that, provided it were the will of her Divine Son, she, who was never implored in vain, might bring to her relief her wonderfully powerful intercession, and obtain from Him the grace of allowing this great misery to pass away; to behold this inexpressibly touching spectacle, and to feel that the child in her simplicity, the girl in her beauty, and the woman in her calm, steady resolve, were mine and mine alone, produced so great an impression that I had to support myself against the nearest column lest I should faint. . . . She moved, and,

her head being raised, a ray of sun through one of the latticed windows came down upon her golden-brown hair, as if in answer to her prayer. It lit up that beautiful head with all the glory of its brightness, and as she made a sign to her governess by her side that it was time to go, I felt that her prayer had been answered (pp. 153-5).

Moy O'Brien : a Tale of Irish Life. By E. SKEFFINGTON THOMPSON. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.

THERE is much interest, and much food for reflection, in this story of Irish life. It must not be supposed that it is a mere political tract in the clothing of a novel. It contains much romance and some fun, and it presents a variety of lifelike sketches of character. But Irish politics are not exactly politics. In England, or in Scotland, or in the United States politics are a profession, and the unprofessional spectator, as he looks on, is amused or bored, as the case may be. But politics in Ireland are life and death. They mean the fate of the Irishman's country and of his religion, and therefore they have as rightful a place in an emotional story as the "League and Covenant" has in "Old Mortality." We like the young lady—Moy O'Brien—all the more for her patriotic pluck and her innocent Irish eloquence ; and we recommend every one to read how she refused one Irish landlord, whilst she made another a very happy man indeed. The story first appeared in the *Dublin Weekly Freeman* in 1878, and was reprinted in America by Harper Brothers.

Miss Gascoigne. By MRS. J. H. RIDDELL. London : Ward & Downey. 1887.

MRS. RIDDELL has written a graceful and interesting tale, in one volume, on a rather unusual theme, the involuntary attachment of a mature woman to a man considerably her junior, towards whom she has been placed by circumstances in a position of guardianship. There is an antecedent improbability in the assumption that a maiden lady of only thirty-one would regard herself, or be regarded by the public, as sufficiently venerable to receive into her house and play the mother to a young man ten years younger. This initial difficulty once got over the rest of the story works itself out naturally and easily. The feelings of the woman whose youth had been crushed out by misfortune, in discovering that she has still, in what she considers middle-age, a heart fully alive and craving for happiness, are well realized, as well as the agony of shame and mortification which overcomes her at the sudden revelation of an attachment so unsuitable to her years. It proves, nevertheless, to be mutual ; but after a brief period of hesitation, during which she allows herself to be wooed by her young suitor, she resolutely refuses him, and cuts herself off from all communication with him. The announcement of his engagement to another at the end of a year is very nearly her death-blow, but she recovers to reward with the somewhat abrupt transfer of her affections

the older lover who had waited for her all his life. As the general strength and sweetness of Miss Gascoigne's character fully atone for the one pardonable weakness of her life, we are glad that a happier fate should be reserved for her than that of perennially pining for the boy-lover who has so soon forgotten her.

Allan Quatermain. H. RIDER HAGGARD. London:
Longmans & Co. 1887.

A GAIN we are led by Mr. Haggard into the heart of Africa, to pursue a series of marvellous adventures, in the company of the original trio with whom we started thither in quest of "King Solomon's Mines." The three white travellers, Captain Good, Sir Henry Curtis, and Allan Quatermain, the narrator, are accompanied by a French refugee called Alphonse, to whom the comic business of the story is entrusted, and by a Zulu warrior, Umslopogaas, who is the most successful character in it. There is a primitive grandeur about the old savage which redeems his ferocity, and his heroic end might entitle him to a place in the Norse Walhalla, among the most worthy followers of Odin. The idea of a comparatively civilized white race hidden away in the heart of Africa exercises a fascination over Mr. Haggard's mind, which he has the art of communicating to his readers, with the aid of the glamour surrounding all that belongs to that mysterious continent. The dangers of the voyage by which the land of promise is reached might suffice to deter the most ardent explorer, and are treated with the author's usual power of vivid realism. Romance and marvel culminate in the kingdom of Zuvendis, with its splendid capital, Milosis, its beautiful twin queens, Nyleptha and Sorais, and its architectural miracles, throwing into the shade all the structures of European civilization. Of course, a good deal of hard fighting intervenes before the strangers settle down peaceably among their new surroundings, and even the old Zulu warrior is satisfied with the amount of slaughter in which he is permitted to take part before he dies. Perhaps for the adult white reader who does not share Umslopogaas' proclivities there is a little too much of this element; but to the boy public it will no doubt be as delightful as to the veteran savage.

Unlocked Hearts. By M. BYRON. London: Griffith, Farran & Co.
1886.

A SUCCESSION of serio-comic incidents are told in this prettily bound and printed volume, in a series of letters written by a young lady travelling on the Continent to her friend at home. Flirtations, marriages, broken hearts, and burlesque incidents of travel follow each other with somewhat inconsequent rapidity, and scenes and characters glide across the field of view with the grotesque realism of the slides of a magic-lantern. The letters are written with

a certain vivacity of style, and for those who like the airiest froth of the literary *soufflé* will furnish an hour's pleasant reading.

Sir Hector's Watch. By CHARLES GRANVILLE. London : John Murray. 1887.

THE unravelling of a mystery, and the consequences that flowed therefrom, are told in this clever novelette with a quiet skill which bespeaks the sure instinct of an artist. The story hinges on the tracking out of a watch and jewels stolen from a dead man years after the event, and the simplicity of the narrative matches perfectly with the slightness of the subject. All straining after effect or attempts to give exaggerated emphasis to the situation would have made it seem trivial, but the author, by pitching his scale of emotion low, succeeds in producing an effect within the limited range to which he has chosen to confine himself. If he be a novice, his self-restraint augurs well for his future, when he proceeds to develop on a larger canvas the skill shown in this little sketch in monochrome.

In Bad Hands. By F. W. ROBINSON. London : Hurst & Blackett. 1887.

THREE volumes of short stories are, perhaps, in the words of Mrs. Gamp, "one too many if not two," even when they are told in his usual racy fashion by the popular author of "Grandmother's Money." In the present series he shows the same intimate knowledge of the seamy side of life in the great centres of population, and the same sympathy with the poor and their struggles, as are displayed in his longer works. Here, too, he often takes us to the borderland where the line dividing crime from poverty is a vague and shifting one, and sometimes even oversteps the boundary, as in his sketch of the female prison and its inmates, and in his touching tale of the Portland convict and his daughter. There is, however, nothing morbid in his studies of these phases of society, for a wholesome moral lesson underlies the apparent jauntiness of his narrative, and a kindly human feeling brings out the redeeming touches in the lowest and most fallen natures. The tale which gives its name to the present publication is an instance of this. It tells the story of a little chorister, carefully reared and educated by a female relative, but subsequently compelled by a brutal criminal father to join a wandering troupe of minstrels in order to earn money by his voice. Loathing the life and its debasing surroundings, the boy is offered an opportunity for escape to his former friends, but his father being at that critical moment stricken down by illness, he prefers to remain with him and nurse him to the end, thus awakening some glimmering of better feelings even in the hardened mind of the ex-convict. His death solves the difficulty and sets his son free from bondage, and enables him to follow a successful and respectable career as a musician.

Madame's Granddaughter. By FRANCES MARY PEARD. London: Hatchards. 1887.

THE grace of Miss Peard's style gives an added charm to her pretty tale of life amid the olive groves and flower farms of Provence. Her heroine, Marcelle, the unwilling drudge of a miserly grandmother, grows up as a peasant in one of those decaying villas, with tower and terraces, which are sometimes seen degraded from their seigneurial state to serve as habitations for the cultivators of the soil. The dark sullen girl, whose youth has been gilded by no ray of love or gleam of pleasure, seems, when we first meet her, brooding over the stagnant solitude of her life, an unpromising subject for romance; yet there is no violation of probability in the way in which the heroic qualities latent in her strong self-contained nature are developed by the great purifiers, love and sorrow. The advent of a young cousin is the event which opens the gates of Marcelle's isolated existence to all the wider experiences of a new life, in which love and friendship play at cross-purposes, and leave a tangled skein of circumstances for conscience to unravel. The formidable *Madame* of the title-page is a strong and well-drawn character, ruling the events of her little world by the influence of her unbending will and shrewd power of forecasting probabilities. Her financial prescience, at once the awe and admiration of her neighbours, results in the inheritance of a large fortune by the heroine, when the sudden death of the miser leaves all her secret hoards and investments to the enjoyment of others.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik*.

S. Methodius.—Two articles, one in the July, and the other in the August number of the *Katholik*, treat of the life and writings of one of the greatest fathers of the Eastern Church in the fourth century, S. Methodius, Bishop of Olympus in Lycia. There are not a few moot points regarding the country where he lived, and the authenticity of some of the best of the writings which are generally attributed to him. The writer of these articles is engaged on a complete study of the epoch and the works of S. Methodius, and he establishes by strong proofs the conclusion—which is opposed to what has been hitherto the common opinion—that the Saint never held the See of

Tyre, but was the Bishop of Olympus. He next treats of the writings of S. Methodius, which were mainly in defence of the Church's doctrine against the errors of Origen. Some of the sermons ascribed by many historians to S. Methodius are shown to be from other pens.

"Reformers before the Reformation."—Two articles treating on topics connected with the rise and development of the Reformation seem to be well worth special mention. "Magister Nicolaus Rutze," Professor in Rostock, Mecklenburg, is described as a predecessor of Luther. A native of Rostock, where he was born October 9, 1477, Rutze in course of time became a priest and master in philosophy. The writing in which he first broached his errors is called "Dat Bôkeken van deme Repe"—i.e., "The Book of the Rope;" his idea being that, as the shipwrecked man in imminent peril was saved by the rope dragging him from sea to shore, so the author throws a rope to the sinner that he may escape the power of the evil one. This remarkable treatise had become scarce in the course of time, which makes one more grateful for the reprint of it made in Rostock by Dr. Nerger in 1886. Rev. Lesker, the author of the article on Rutze, proceeds to lay down the Church's doctrine on the opinions held by Rutze. There are some unmistakable signs of a kindred system with Luther's, although Rutze is no Lutheran, in the proper sense of that word; for he solemnly opposed the most prominent of Luther's tenets. He, however, like the latter, wantonly attacked ecclesiastical authority. His writings are largely influenced by the doctrines of Huss, and this influence was due to the congregations held in Rostock by the Bohemian Brothers.

The other article, bearing on the history of the Reformation, is headed, "From Protestant Pulpits." To Professor Janssen, the most recent historian of the Reformation, we owe the remark that the Thirty Years' War was prepared for by a war of a hundred years waged in the pulpits. The author of the article has assiduously gathered from the old Protestant sermons published in the course of the sixteenth century the most striking passages treating on the Catholic religion and particularly on the Pope. Their leading theme is that the Pope is the very Antichrist of the Bible. It is our more fortunate lot to live at a time when educated Protestants scout this notion, once so dearly cherished and vehemently upheld as a bulwark truth of Protestantism.

Among other articles in the *Katholik* I may name specially one, treating of the mystical theology of S. Bonaventure, which is based chiefly on the great Franciscan's "Itinerarium," and another entitled "The Doctrine of the Cosmos, held by Cardinal Nicholas of Cues."

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

Oliver Cromwell.—The issue of July 16 contains a good review of a recent German work on Cromwell, which neither English nor Irish historians ought to pass over. "Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution," by Moritz Brosch (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1886), is the

work reviewed. It is chiefly founded on English State Papers. The author, who resided a considerable time in Venice, has also made use of the unpublished despatches preserved in the archives there of the Venetian ambassadors at London. These documents are an additional proof of the sagacity of the Venetian statesmen, who not only succeeded in maintaining good relations between the Republic and the great Courts of Europe, but also sent home such estimates of political parties as we look for in vain elsewhere in Europe. We may mention Aloysius Contarini, who, as early as 1627, was able to point out the wilful mind of the King, the rage of the people against Buckingham, and the indifference of the Government to the rights of the people. Although grasping money wherever he could get it, Charles I. was always in great straits, a striking illustration of which is handed down to us by Contarini. One day Queen Henrietta came to her husband's room and begged him for two pounds for a poor French woman. To the king's query as to who the poor woman was, the Queen blushing pointed to herself. The informations sent to Venice by the ambassadors Soranzo and Angelo Correr seem to be still more unfavourable to the Government of the day.

Fault has to be found with Herr Brosch's work on Cromwell, and that on two counts:—Neither King Charles I. nor Oliver Cromwell are estimated as they deserve. Brosch can see in the monarch only "une bête noire," whilst he surpasses even Carlyle in worshipping the Protector. Next, he is much to be blamed for the way in which he describes the beginnings of the Irish rebellion. It is on the untrustworthy work of Miss Hickson that he rests the opinion, fathering on Irish Catholics the foul project of murdering their fellow-countrymen in Ulster in 1641.

Ritualism.—An article with this heading treats of the beginning, progress, and present state of Ritualism, one of the most remarkable phenomena in the religious movement of our century. The author sets himself to show the gulf separating the old Tractarians, who piously venerated in the Bishops of the Establishment legitimate representatives of God's church, and the present Ritualists, who condemn alike the authority of the Pope and the laws of the Establishment.

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

Father Beissel writes on the wide-reaching influence of S. Francis of Assisi on general culture, both in the Middle Ages and in our own time. Fr. Christian Pesch contributes a solid article on "The Ethics of Buddha," clearly establishing the great difference between the morals of the Asiatic system which covers the most heinous vices, and the divine religion of Christianity bringing about a new creation. In a second article the same author traces the contrast between Christianity and Buddhism by comparing their results. Another article is occupied with "The Centenary of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*," which has reached in 1887 its hundredth volume, F. Baumgartner's articles on his journey in Scandinavia will be read

with pleasure. Lastly, we ought not to pass over Father Lehmkuhl's article on the Centenary of S. Alphonsus. An admirable biography of this great saint has been just issued by Father Dilgskron (Ratisbon: Pustet. Two vols.), based on extensive studies and unpublished manuscripts, which, besides giving the facts of the Saint's life, deserves special praise for a solid explanation of his doctrines on Probabilism, Grace, and Our Lady.

4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.*

In the July number the chief interest centres on an article by Father Grisar on the excellent edition of the "*Liber Pontificalis*" by Professor Duchesne. The "*Liber*," hitherto attributed to "Anastasius Bibliothecarius," had its origin as far back as the sixth century, and may be attributed to an author who, in the pontificate of Symmachus (498–514) collected the old biographies of the Popes. Great importance is attached to accurately discriminating the three catalogues called after the Popes Liberius, Felix, and Conon. F. Flunk vindicates the theological ideas of the Hebrews on the immortality of the soul against the attacks of modern Protestant divines. F. Blötzer comments on the "Secret sin, according to the penitential discipline in the first centuries of the Church."

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 2 Aprile, 4 Giugno, 2 Luglio, 1887.

Earthquakes and their Causes.—Three interesting articles on this subject have appeared lately in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the first on April 2 of the current year, being occasioned by the earthquake of February 23, which affected all Northern Italy, more or less, with parts of Switzerland and of France, and is fresh in all our memories. Earthquakes offer one of the most difficult phenomena to the investigation of scientists, and no satisfactory theory as to their cause has as yet been put forth. The Reviewer thinks that meteorologists have too exclusively devoted their attention to the earth, attributing them entirely to internal processes going on within it. Geologists have, in fact, been very generally of opinion that the interior of our planet is still in a state of fusion, and that from this seething abyss of fire we are separated by a comparatively slight crust of solid earth. The writer gives cogent reasons for considering this hypothesis to be untenable. Ampère and Poisson never believed in it, and later geologists have even maintained that the earth is solid throughout, with the exception of certain spaces which must be held to exist in the neighbourhood of volcanoes, of which there are at present about 300, in more or less activity, on the face of our globe. But is the action at work in these regions the sole cause of earthquakes? and, notably, can it influence those which occur in places far removed from such action? The Reviewer adduces

instances in disproof of any such supposition, and quotes Lyell's opinion that the volcanic theory cannot be applied to explain the production of earthquakes. The cause of them, indeed, that eminent geologist thought, would ever remain a mystery to science.

In the second article, of June 4, the learned writer considers the phenomena preceding or following earthquakes; and, first, he disposes of the theory of those *savants* who have laid it down as a principle that every earthquake has a determined centre of action, the focus from which it proceeds, constituting a great earth-wave, strongest, of course, at its centre. The shock, no doubt, is always felt more strongly in one place or another; but this simple fact cannot be taken as a proof that the interior upheaving force was exerted exclusively in such place, or was more violent there than elsewhere. The amount of damage done has been found to result from many causes. One is the nature of the soil, and others are also given, the writer bringing some striking evidence in support of what he maintains. But he questions altogether the theory of a central shock, from which the vibration of the earth is propagated, growing faint as it recedes from the focus. Too many patent facts contradict this hypothesis. The simultaneity, moreover, or all but simultaneity, of shocks of earthquake in places too far removed from each other to render it conceivable that the vibration can have travelled from one to the other, seems to point to the probability that the shocks take place, not consecutively, but *directly* in these several localities. But again, when the shock is well-nigh everywhere simultaneous, it is difficult to understand how it can proceed from any action at work in the centre of the earth. Leaving aside those earthquakes which occur in volcanic regions, and turning our attention solely to the others, supposing also (what the writer is far from conceding), that the interior of our globe is filled by an ignited nucleus, how can a shock taking place there—and what may be the original cause of such shock is another subject for speculation—be communicated simultaneously to different regions of the earth's surface, having, in order to reach them respectively, to traverse strata of every variety of density and character, not to speak of subterranean waters which abound, rents, fissures, and cavities, making the transmission necessarily irregular? Moreover earthquakes are often preceded by noises and rumblings in the air, heard in elevated regions, while the shock itself which follows will frequently select lofty objects, such as steeples, for demolition. Vessels at sea will also be beaten about while the water is often as yet free from agitation. Numerous facts, in short, point clearly to some action external to the earth in the production of earthquakes; and in his third article, of July 2, the writer draws attention to many such facts of a curious and otherwise inexplicable nature; such as the extraordinary perturbation among the animal creation previous to the slightest movement of the earth, birds on the wing, and therefore not touching the ground, betraying their agitation and distress in many ways. We believe that all these phenomena, and many others of a kindred nature, are to be referred

to an extraordinary electrical tension in the atmosphere, of which animals are more sensitive than human creatures, although instances are not wanting of similar nervous affections in many individuals. The whole article, in which is given a striking array of facts, confirmatory of the theory propounded, will be found interesting to the general as well as the scientific reader.

Since the above was written a fourth article has appeared in the number for August 6, in which the Reviewer enters upon an explanation of the theory which he holds as to the cause of earthquakes—viz., the reciprocal states of atmospheric and telluric electricity, and replies to objections which may be raised; but of this article we must postpone any notice to a future occasion.

16 Luglio, 1887.

Garcia Moreno.—In the number for July 16 the *Civiltà Cattolica* notices most favourably a Life of Garcia Moreno, President of Ecuador, Vindicator and Martyr of the Christian Law, by the Redemptorist Father, A. Berthe. Every one will remember that extraordinary man, whom God was pleased to manifest to the world that nations tyrannized over by the Revolution might behold in him a sublime type of a Catholic ruler, and the beneficial effects of a Catholic policy. No book could be more opportune. It is now twelve years since this Christian hero fell beneath the dagger of the assassin. The Masonic sects, which planned and executed the deed, made no secret of their diabolical object—the ruin of the good which they hated. “The day on which the President shall fall”—these words, the Reviewer tells us, are a literal quotation—“his successor must destroy all that he has done: pious works, trafficable roads, colleges, museums; in all Ecuador no vestige must remain of any Catholic work.” And so far as they were able these wretches kept their word. To know fully the value of what Garcia Moreno effected, it would be necessary to become acquainted with the miserable state into which Ecuador, as well as its sister Republics of Columbia and Peru, emancipated by Bolivar from the Spanish yoke, had fallen. All had become a prey to internal sanguinary dissensions, trodden down, pillaged, and morally degraded for half a century by the men of the Revolution, who contended with each other for rule in order to satisfy their own personal cupidity and ambition. Of this the author gives an introductory sketch. The Life itself is divided into three parts. The future regenerator was sprung from a good family, reduced to extreme poverty by the troubles of the times. He received the instruction and impressions of his childhood from a good religious of the Order of Mercy, whose lessons were never effaced from his mind. Through the same Father’s good offices Garcia was enabled to become a student at Quito at the age of fifteen, where he at once displayed his ardour for knowledge and his almost universal capacity for science in every form. Along with these striking abilities, his innate talent for government re-

vealed itself. Young as he was, he was appointed superintendent of the scholars at their studies, and by the gravity of his behaviour, the vigilance of his eye, and his inexorable severity towards the guilty, he had speedily reduced them all to order and discipline, and at the same time won their respect and love. His memory was something prodigious. He could make the roll-call of the 300 students by name without a list, and, moreover, knew how many good and bad marks each had deserved. Garcia Moreno was in short a most highly-gifted as well as a great man, in the highest sense of the word, and a devoted Catholic. A striking anecdote is related of his courage and fortitude. He had perfected nature in this respect by practices truly surprising. One day, as he was sauntering along engaged in reading, he took refuge from the burning sun under a large projecting rock, but having perceived that it was attached to the cliff by a mere crumbling strip of ground ready to give way at the slightest shock, natural fear impelled him hastily to leave its shelter. But scarcely had he done so when shame urged him to resume his perilous position for above an hour, and he even went to sit there on successive days until he had entirely subdued his natural fear to the dominion of his will. Such a man was not likely to allow himself to be scared from the path of duty. Having become, when entering on active life, obnoxious by his pen to the Revolutionary leaders, he had to escape to Europe, where he spent three years perfecting his studies at the University of Paris.

The second and third parts of F. Berthe's work contain the account of Garcia Moreno's rise to power after his return to Ecuador, a drama of surpassing interest, and of his two periods of Presidentship. It would be impossible in a short notice to give the faintest idea of what was accomplished by this hero for the regeneration of his country, of whom it may be truly said that our century has not seen his like. All had to be created, and one of the first aims of this champion of Christian policy was to raise his people from the degradation of ignorance, and at the same time to furnish to choice intellects the means of mounting to the highest grades of science. For Garcia Moreno always aimed high. The people of Ecuador were to be the best instructed in South America, and Quito to be his Athens. Before his accession to power there were not 8,000 pupils in the elementary schools; at his death there were 32,000. These were chiefly entrusted to the Christian Brothers, whom, regardless of expense, he brought over from France, while to the Jesuits he confided the higher literary studies. He dissolved the old University of Quito, saturated with revolutionary ideas, and founded on its ruins a truly Catholic and progressive University. For every department of education he established schools—mechanics, agriculture, arts, medicine, chemistry, astronomy—and in a very few years each was provided with its suitable apparatus. When a commissioner once remarked that an order of his would cost 100,000 francs, he said: "Buy what is best and handsomest; take no other thought." His charity was unbounded; the encouragement of all pious institutes and the reform of the whole penal system had his assiduous and personal

attention. By the inmates of the prisons he was indeed adored, and how great was the moral improvement he effected may be judged from the fact that when, after seven years' labour, a large and commodious substitute had been constructed for the unhealthy places of detention in Quito, there were not found above fifty criminals to put into it. We must be satisfied with alluding to one other great work of his—the construction of roads in a hitherto trackless and almost impassable country. And where did he find the money? No other answer can be given, save that he had taken as the rule of his actions the command of the God-Man: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you;" and so far from having drained the exchequer, he all but paid off the heavy national debt of borrowed money with which Bolivar had left the Republic chargeable, and to which subsequent bad governments had, by leaving the interest unpaid, added an ever-increasing annual deficit, which also was rapidly in process of extinction, so that Garcia Moreno was able, in a message to Congress in the year 1875, not long before his days were cut short by the dagger of the assassin, to make this consoling communication. Yet he had alleviated taxation, and had added a third to the salaries of ill-paid *employés*. Little as we have been able to say, we trust we may have helped to draw attention to a publication peculiarly valuable in our days, as pointing out the true and only remedy for our ills. We have reason to believe that a translation into English of this remarkable biography will speedily be undertaken by a pen well qualified for the task.

Notices of Books.

Vie de Saint Hugues, Abbé de Cluny (1024–1109). Par Le R. P. Dom A. L'HUILLIER, Moine Bénédictin de Solesmes. Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre. 1880.

THE Benedictines of Solesmes send us a new and complete Life of St. Hugh of Cluny, by a member of their own community. This work, which is a large octavo of nearly 700 pp., is founded on original investigations, is written and edited with great skill and care, and is admirably printed by the community's own press. It is enriched with three beautiful chromo-lithographs, reproducing in facsimile thirteenth-century illuminations, and with numerous woodcuts.

Dom l'Huillier, to whom we owe the book, has been fortunate enough to find a MS. of the Latin Life by the monk Gilo, the very first Life of St. Hugh, written by one of his own monks in his own monastery, not more than six years after his death. Mabillon had seen it (in the library of St. Germain-des-Prés), but the Bollandists seem to have worked without consulting it, relying on the

biography by Hildebert of Tours, which is indeed little more than a reproduction in better style of Gilo. Dom l'Huillier has very properly reprinted this interesting document word for word, and it is now published for the first time. It does not shed much new light upon the career of St. Hugh, but it gives a number of bits of graphic detail, very precious to a biographer, and of these the Solesmes Benedictine has availed himself with considerable effect. The Cluniac monk is a pompous and turgid writer, but he is by no means without spirit and literary force. There is, as we need not say, much more in the book than the mere reproduction of this relatively short biography. Materials have been accumulating for many years past, thanks to the labours of French and German scholars, which imperatively demanded to be thoroughly digested and incorporated into a new history of the great abbot of the eleventh century. Among other works we may mention "*Cluny au onzième siècle*," by the Abbé Cucherat, so recently taken away from us; and "*Forschungen zur Geschichte des Abtes Hugo I. von Cluny*," by Lehman. But indeed the usual sources—the Bollandists, the *Acta Sanctorum* O.S.B., *Gallia Christiana*, Pignot's *History of Cluny*, and the several Cluniac publications, such as the "*Ordo*" and the "*Consuetudines*"—themselves offered to the zealous collator admirable opportunities for a striking monograph. Using all these, and supplementing them with innumerable illustrations and much curious information drawn not only from books, essays, and journals, but also from MS. materials, Dom l'Huillier has presented the reader with an entirely original and most interesting historical biography. It is chiefly and before all things the life of a saint. The historian of St. Hugh has not the advantage of knowing him by his writings, for St. Hugh has written very little indeed. Neither had the Saint's memory the good fortune to be preserved by a master of narration, such as that Eadmer who wrote of Anselm. The portrait of the man has come down to us, therefore, somewhat dim and faded. But what there is, Dom l'Huillier places skilfully before us. St. Hugh's monastic life at Cluny can be reproduced with great accuracy. We can follow him in his magnificent government and conduct of the great abbey, in his intercourse with his community, and in their building operations which resulted in the erection of a church which was well-nigh the largest in the world until St. Peter's was built. The influence of an abbey of the eleventh century in the surrounding populations is strikingly described. Moreover, Cluny in the lifetime of St. Hugh was in the fore-front of European history. The Emperor Henry III. importuned St. Hugh till he went and visited him at Cologne. William the Conqueror was admitted as a "*confrater*" of the abbey. Hildebrand himself was for months a resident within its cloister, and kept up till his death most intimate relations with St. Hugh. Pope Urban II. had been Abbot Hugh's own prior, and came back as Sovereign Pontiff to consecrate the high altar of the new church. The holy abbot was constantly fulfilling legatine charges and promoting the cause of the Church in her war against simony, and her struggle against investiture; and it was Cluniac monks who accom-

panied the first crusade as chaplains, and founded a monastery in the Holy Land. This volume is a veritable panorama of the early mediæval Church—of the wars of Burgundy, princes good and bad, great crimes and marvellous vocations, continual Church Councils, the wickedness of Henry IV., the supernatural strength of Gregory VII., the firmness of St. Peter Damian, chivalry and serfdom, the Church and the barons, the Church and the Empire. In the cloister of Cluny the great events of the age were known promptly, and doubtless discussed shrewdly. This is what the monk Gilo writes of the death of William Rufus, about fourteen years after the tragedy in the New Forest: “*Rex bellicosus et ferox, tanti regis filius, Willelmus Rex, secundâ die mensis Augusti dum per saltus fugaces cervos sagittare gestiret, sagittam subito in cor suscepit, qua miles suus cervum impetebat.*” And in that very year Anselm of Canterbury was the guest of St. Hugh, and the Abbot in his presence had foretold the King’s sudden death.

The great character of the Cluniac revival, from the times of St. Odo himself, is the establishment of congregational monastic government in the place of single independent monasteries. Wherever Cluny planted a filiation the daughter remained subject to the mother, and the great Cluniac obedience was all directed from the parent home itself. Cluny is also associated with a monastic revival so splendid and so successful, that from its early years a kind of reaction took place in the minds of the stricter Benedictines, and Cîteaux was begun as a protest against Cluny. In this book we see the typical Cluniac Abbot. Of all the saints who ruled that celebrated home, he seems to be the one who did most to set Cluny in the place which history has recognized. He took the monastic habit when he was only fourteen; he was grand Prior at twenty; at twenty-seven he was Abbot; and he governed the great monastery for nigh upon fifty years.

To us in England St. Hugh should be especially dear, for it was he who sent the first Cluniac monks to our shores. The first foundation seems to have been St. Pancras at Lewes; but many more took place in his lifetime. The glorious ruins which still remain bear witness how widely the congregation spread and how nobly it flourished in this island. This complete and admirable monograph—a specimen at once of solid learning, of patient research, of winning style, and of excellent material workmanship—should be warmly welcomed, even outside of that monastic Order which claims both St. Hugh and his biographer.

Life of Leo XIII. From an Authentic Memoir by BERNARD O'REILLY, D.D., L.D. (Laval). London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

THIS book has long been expected both by the Catholic and general public. The exalted character of its subject, the special biographical aids and channels of inspiration placed at the command of its author, and his own literary experience, led the reading world

to expect in this Life of Leo XIII. a remarkable addition to the few great biographies in our language. In some sense the public has not been disappointed. The Life is very complete; too much so, we should say, in the sense of purely literary completeness. It is animated in style, enthusiastic, almost worshipful, of its great subject; and the author has been industrious to a fault in seeking far and near, and wresting to his service every kind of fact or fancy that has had any connection with the history of the life and character of our great Pontiff. The material book is a fine drawing-room table volume of nearly 600 pages large octavo. Some of the illustrations are excellent; notably those in the early part of the volume, representing views of Carpineto and Perugia. The Roman illustrations are commonplace in selection and poor in execution, except that perhaps of the Vatican Palace, taken from a new point of view. Yet, as a whole, it is a stately and imposing volume, printed and bound in good style, and with the best materials. By the honest critic this is nearly all that can be said in the book's favour. We confess, however, to a great difficulty in dealing with it. It is presented to us with such an array of authority and commendation on its front that our approval is in a sense pre-empted. We are forewarned, as it were, to approach it in a reverential rather than in a judicial spirit. Its title-page would give us to understand that it is the development of an "authentic memoir." But we are ever at a loss to determine what in it is really "authentic," and what adjunctive and interpretative, as the work stands. There is no line drawn, that we can distinguish, between the sentiments of the rev. author himself and those of the exalted personage whose life he relates. This it is, for one thing, that makes a reviewer's task difficult. If the "authentic memoir" were a complete and consecutive production, then we think it should have been separated in some manner from the body of the work; the more so, as such a Life from such a hand ("authentic memoir" being interpreted as one of Leo XIII. by himself) could not fail to attract the respectful interest of readers throughout the world. Then also the dual authorship could receive our independent attention. Or if the "memoir" was not a continuous manuscript, but a series of notes, memoranda, or directions placed in the rev. author's hands, then it was not really a "memoir," and the statement on the title-page is scarcely correct. Yet even such authentic *notes* should have been placed by themselves, and not interspersed and voluminously paraphrased in the text, as they seem to be. Occasionally, indeed, we have the words of the "memoir" given casually in the text, but this does not occur after about the 300th page. From that to the end of the book all that is produced or referred to of Leo XIII.'s is taken from his public acts and writings as Archbishop of Perugia, or Supreme Pontiff. But the personal notes, where they are given us, are of a nature to make us wish for more of the original and less of the evolutionary in this wordy volume. Moreover, another hand than that of his Holiness, one bolder in declaring his wisdom and virtues than his own would be, is visible in many passages that are quoted as from his personal memoir.

Altogether, it is quite impossible for the reader to form a judgment upon the character or extent of the authentic "memoir," or to perceive its influence on the biographer's treatment.

Viewed as a history the book deals far too much with the historically unknowable. It has more to say of the feelings and emotions of its personages than would be allowable in a psychological romance. Examples of this extravagance occur wherever a new stage of the Pontiff's career is introduced. The book is filled with specimens of such vicarious introspection. The description of Monsignor Pecci's ordination (pt. i. p. 83 *seq.*) is a case in point. Several pages are given to disclosing the feelings, not only of the chief personage, but of nearly all present at the ceremony. The same may be said of the laboured effort to depict the tenderness existing between the young Pecci and his admirable mother. Are these records of sacredly intimate emotions preserved in the "authentic memoir"? If they are, they merit our deepest interest and sympathy. They then belong to the highest order of history. They are the self-revealings of a nobly inspired soul. But these feelings should be uttered to us in the very language of that soul. They should be given to the world fresh from the heart that conceived them. To us the frequent reflections of the author upon the inward experiences of his chief personage seem like an intrusion into a sanctuary. In fact, a great part of this work is not biography, or anything like it. The subject of it is not kept before our eyes, and much less is he made familiar to our understandings. We are not permitted to see or understand him, except under the impulse of the author. His impulses are many and various. Almost every mention of a new name, as well as introduction of a new scene in his story, leads him off into biographical, economical, and artistic discussions, that have no real place in his narrative. They serve no purpose except to increase the material volume of his work. As regards the style of the work, we pronounce it decidedly "journalistic." It does not follow that it is not a good style, but it does follow that it is not, as a life of a great Pope, in good taste. It has none of the simple strength and dignity that becomes its subject. There is no remarkable passage in the work, no bit of description or portrait of character that strikes the attention, or merits a place in the memory.

Another trait of the work that shows little taste or tact is the constant effort the author makes to compel our admiration of the person of the Pontiff. This is quite unnecessary. The work is too much a panegyric; and Wisdom's wholesome rule that should apply to all sorts and conditions of men, "*Ne laudes hominem in vita sua,*" is repeatedly and grossly violated. The simple details of such a career as that of Leo. XIII. might, in most instances, have well been left to produce their own effect on any intelligent reader. All this may seem severe as a criticism of an otherwise valuable and conscientious work. Had we fixed our view upon its excellences, as a repertory of the facts of a great life, we might well have appeared to exceed in another direction. No doubt, Dr. O'Reilly's work will take a high place as a reference and authority upon the varied events

in the career of our beloved Pontiff. This is, in the main, what the author aimed at, and this object he has certainly attained by no common effort of industry and devotion.

Life of Leo XIII. Edited by JOHN OLDCASTLE. London :
Burns & Oates.

MR. OLDCASTLE modestly disclaims all intention of presenting us "with anything like a history of a Pontificate," and only tries "to pourtray the man," in this *Life of Leo XIII.* Yet he succeeds as admirably in doing what he professes to avoid as in effecting what he promises to accomplish. There is little noteworthy in the life of the Pontiff that is not here recorded, and the bearing of this *Life* upon the public events of our times is made quite prominent in a few strong yet discreet strokes from the skilful pen of this author.

The public life of Leo XIII. is indeed a marvel of fixity of plan and purpose with rare flexibility of method. It gives us an idea of the perfection which the absolute in government might attain if joined to loftiness of conception and limitless freedom of administration. The *schema* of social rule and order developed in the thought and manifested in every public utterance and act of Leo XIII. is simply complete. It is so comprehensive and practical that freedom only is wanted to carry it through to its results, to render his spiritual rule and his political influence the sum of what is best and most needed in actual human government. Never, perhaps, has any ruler, or any expounder of the art of ruling, dealt so much with the principles and conditions of good government. Yet none has descended more easily to minute and timely considerations of practical polity. Referring all rule constantly to its true measure of right and justice, he directs it as constantly to the veriest details of its true object, the welfare of the community. His plan of Christian Government has been evidently a long-considered one. Had it been revealed to him from his youth that his office in mature age should be that of proclaiming from the highest place on earth the rule of social right, and of striving for its accomplishment, he could not have devoted all his years to that one study more earnestly and intelligently than he has done. This is what makes the life of Leo XIII. in some sense an easy task for the biographer. Its lines are clear and close, though deep and far-reaching. Its circumstances of outward constraint leave no room for the daily vicissitudes that usually accompany the condition of a ruler, and to the unwary chronicler seem to make up its history. He is placed, a seemingly motionless but supremely vigilant centre figure, in a strong and far-stretched web of religious and social interests and issues. Apparently imprisoned in the system that surrounds him, he commands all its lines, communicates with all its ends, and rules the whole by the fascination of his word and the evolution of his inward resources. This, or something like it, is the idea the world has unconsciously been

forming of the figure and functions of Leo XIII. In some such light also he is graphically sketched for us by Mr. Oldcastle in the brief biography now before the public. Sharp, shapely, and elegant, the book is a cameo portrait. The setting it receives from the added chapters by H. E. Cardinal Manning, Mr. Allies and Fr. Anderdon, serves indeed to complete its grace and truthfulness. But this setting lends nothing of itself, to the pure content with which we fix our eye on the central feature of this well-wrought miniature. There seems to be nothing omitted that it were well to know in this little Life. We have taken it up, for the second time, with a feeling of infinite relief, after having struggled through the slow length of Dr. O'Reilly's more ambitious tome. There is one remarkable difference between the two books—a difference that tells strongly in favour of the smaller one. We shall note it by quoting Mr. Oldcastle's words, in his first chapter, as to his treatment of the life of the Pontiff. The words are all the more pointed because never intended to mark the characteristic contrast between these two biographies. Nothing could be more complete and appropriate as a rule of criticism for both :

If in the following pages there is no record of the Pope of rumour and romance, so also another absence may be noted—the absence of those adjectives which not uncommonly overlay and clog the biographies of Pontiffs written by contemporaries. Declamatory praise has been here eschewed as a literary superfluity, and therefore a double impertinence—in this case—to the subject no less than to the reader. We are willing to allow even encyclicals of Pope Leo *to speak for themselves* without protesting that they are magnificent.

This is precisely what every reader expects, and has a right to be treated to, by every biographer, whether of Pontiff or other potentate. The adulation so often lavished on his subject by the tactless biographer, however sincere on his part, however due to the merits of his personage, tends always to defeat its object. It arouses a spirit of resentment and “contrariness” in the reader, who plainly perceives that the writer is forcing himself—his own judgment—on the reading public, rather than commending his subject to the exercise of a free and favourable public opinion.

Marriage. By the Rev. CHARLES H. WOOD. Manchester : J. Roberts & Son ; London : Burns & Oates. 1887.

IT was a happy thought to procure from Father Wood the publication and development of his treatment of the marriage question discussed at the Salford Ecclesiastical Conference. No more useful manual of suggestion and guidance for clergy and laity, on this vital subject, has ever been given us in our language. Catholic society in this land stands, perhaps, in more peril from the sources exposed and provided against in this work, than all other evil influences combined. Associations of any kind or degree with whatever is not Catholic—the mere fact of living in social community with non-

Catholics—is as dangerous as it is unavoidable to the faithful of this country. Association through the bond of marriage is simply fatal in nearly every case and every district.

What is not Catholic in regard to the marriage contract is properly classified by the author under the heads of “Mixed Marriages” and “Irreligious” (unholy) “Marriages.” The first introduces a positive, the second a negative, but almost equally fatal, element of destruction into Catholic society. Mixed marriages place it in direct and intimate contact with heresy and heretical influences. Unholy, sacrilegious marriages, though contracted by professing Catholics, bring with them no benison, no grace of state, and are ruinous to the moral and social purity and integrity of the Christian family. So multiplied have become those unhappy unions that they form in many dioceses the very gravest of all the causes of the neglect and decay of religion. There is something painfully pathetic in the appeal of the Bishop of Salford quoted towards the end of this book :

Thousands of little orphans, of wastrels, of children abandoned to Satan, snatched up by the enemies of their faith and exposed to eternal ruin, stretch out their tiny arms to you for protection and rescue. (P. 356.)

There is no doubt a strong feeling existing in the hearts of our bishops and missionary priests against the celebration of mixed marriages anywhere or under any conditions. Some maintain that the Church would be an absolute gainer by withdrawing all dispensations in the matter. On the other hand, there are zealous and experienced priests in certain dioceses who tell us that in them Catholicity increases through the medium of such alliances. These are dioceses, or places in dioceses, where there is a large and devout Catholic population. The writer has heard a defence of such unions from a priest of Liverpool very lately. He himself knows of another diocese, out of England, where whole districts have been converted by the intermarriages of Protestants with Catholics. He knows of a parish of about 3000 souls where fifty years ago there were but few Catholics, and now there are but four Protestant families. This change was not brought about by teaching or preaching. There never was a mission given in the place. The priest in charge for all those years was an excellent, energetic, self-sacrificing man, yet no preacher except by his good example. These people married Catholic women from the adjacent large Catholic town, and they believed and practised Catholicity without more ado.

Facts like these seem to prevent any energetic, general, and concerted effort to put a stop to the celebration of mixed marriages. Yet even those facts, taken as evidence of the accidental good results upon religion of such marriages in certain places and under certain circumstances, only serve to emphasize their evil fruits in places where a converse state of things exists. The influences that, growing out of the marriage tie, tend to convert the Protestant to the religion of the Catholic party, are those *natural influences* which serve under Providence as aids and vehicles to grace. They are the very

same that, acting from the same source but under opposite conditions, lead to the loss of faith of so many Catholics from mixed marriages. The Protestant easily becomes Catholic when absorbed as it were into the Catholic society and surroundings of his or her Catholic partner. The Catholic party—*à fortiori* we might say—introduced into the usually more attractive social connections of Protestantism, readily yields to its fascination and follows the current into which his or her life has been drawn. Consequently the arguments which show that mixed marriages in some districts tend to the numerical increase of Catholicity, prove also that they tend to its effacement in others where the Protestant element and Protestant tone predominate. Human nature is the same in Catholic and Protestant, and it is spiritually as well as socially gregarious. The obvious general conclusion would be that mixed marriages should be abolished in Protestant countries and localities, and more easily permitted when Catholic numbers and influences preponderate. Of their own nature, however, mixed marriages are an unmixed evil.

The whole ground of this discussion is surveyed in the able treatise before us. The conclusion arrived at by the rev. author of "Marriage" on this point is quite a different and no doubt a better one. He emphasizes, as do all the Pontifical decrees on the subject, the fact that mixed marriages are in themselves an evil. Consequently they ought not to be tolerated, much less approved of, as a means to the desirable end of increasing the number of the faithful. Instead, therefore, of regarding the predominance of Catholics in numbers and spirit in a particular district as a motive of easy toleration of mixed marriages, the contrary should be the case. The principle to be clearly held in view is that these marriages are tolerated as a baneful necessity in our social system, because we are not independent enough to abolish them altogether. We are not so independent because we are, in general, in a minority—a small fraction amid an immense Protestant total. Were these conditions changed, mixed marriages would not possess the deplorable *raison d'être* now claimed for them. Hence, wherever there is a Catholic majority, wherever Catholicity works and prospers on its own proper and natural lines, there especially the Church's condemnation of mixed marriages should be carried out to the letter :

Were the Catholics of England (says Fr. Wood) in greater numbers ; did they form any fair proportion of the people of the country ; were circumstances favourable to the formation of a sound public opinion which could reasonably be expected to exercise an adverse influence upon the practice of mixed marriages, then the total and rapid cessation of these marriages would follow as the consequence of altered conditions, and especially in the absence of any further necessity for their celebration. (P. 73.)

The special license given to the English Bishops by the encyclical of Pius IX., 1858, and quoted at p. 408, would no longer have any force.

The writer is equally clear, outspoken, and earnest in all his comments on the other great evil of unholy marriages, where both parties

are Catholics. Such are marriages contracted before a minister or civil officer, or without Christian and Catholic dispositions and preparation. Here enters the vast array of immoral tendencies and practices, of religious indifference and social indelicacy among young Catholic men and women, that constitute the life-long cross of the missionary priest and pastor. These formed the point of the Conference case that resulted in this book. Their discussion and the suggestion of their remedies occupy the whole of the second part of the work. We will content ourselves with saying that nothing more wise in point of direction, or more useful for practice, has yet been placed in the hands of the Catholic pastor. There is nothing new in the matter of the work. This is what constitutes its practical excellence. What is needed is not novelty and unreality of matter or of treatment of such subjects, but their clear and orderly statement—a firm yet compassionate probing of the sores, and a prompt application of the remedies at hand. This we have in Fr. Wood's book. There is nothing loose, nothing weakly experimental in it from first to last. It is common-sense and common experience, based on sound principles and grave authorities, that he furnishes in clear style and good language to his readers. This book will be in the English priest's special cabinet of standard and reference works for discussion and practice upon the important question of marriage.

Theodore Wibaux, Pontifical Zouave and Jesuit. By the Rev. C. DU COETLOSQUET, S.J. With an Introduction by the Rev. F. R. CLARKE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS interesting and edifying life of a young Frenchman of Roubaix, who joined the Papal Zouaves at their enrolment in 1866, and remained with the corps till it was dissolved in 1871, is well written by a Father of the Society of Jesus, and well translated by some one who is anonymous. The character of Theodore Wibaux, who joined the Jesuits, and died at their house in Jersey before his ordination, was simple, loving, and manly, and his numerous letters to his family furnish a picture of a brave young man with good instincts and intense family affection. We follow him from his home at Roubaix, with its Flemish air of plenty and of good humour, to his soldier's work in Rome during the eventful years which intervened between the betrayal of Pius IX. by Louis Napoleon and the attack on the Porta Pia. We see him drilling in the Piazza of St. Peter's, mounting guard, hunting brigands (without much success), and fighting the Garibaldians. We accompany him through the glorious day of Montana, and assist at the final departure of the French Zouaves from Italian soil in the *Orinoco*, in September 1870. But Wibaux's military life did not end here. The six hundred French Zouaves, under the name of the Volunteers of the West, went through that campaign which is marked by the names of Patay, Poitiers, Le Mans, Coulmiers, and the Loire. Theodore Wibaux went through it all with his comrades,

and it was only when, at the request of De Charette himself, the regiment was disbanded by the French Government, that he ceased to be a Zouave. In the same year he joined the Jesuit novitiate at St. Acheul. After some few years spent in teaching at Boulogne and Amiens he was sent to the scholasticate in Jersey, where he died of inflammation of the bowels at the early age of thirty-three. His biography, without being startling or heroic, is a good lesson in human life and Christian virtue for boys and young men. The Rev. Father Clarke's Introduction points out the likenesses and the differences between the soldier and the Jesuit. It is a little difficult to see whether he thinks or does not think that the spirit of the Society is a military spirit. He has paragraphs on either side; and indeed he might have had as many more, for a conceit of this kind can be as easily written up as written against.

The Jewels of the Mass. By PERCY FITZGERALD. London :
Burns & Oates.

THIS successful attempt, by a practised literary man, to describe and explain the rites and prayers used in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be found to supply a want. Brief—that is, not running to more than ninety pages—handsomely got up, well printed on good paper, and uncut, this handy volume presents us with an exposition of the Mass which, without being trivial, is popular, and which is orthodox and generally correct without being technical or abstruse. The absence of references somewhat detracts from its value as an original work, but its pleasant and skilled literary style will make it acceptable to all classes of readers.

What Catholics have done for Science. By the Rev. MARTIN S. BRENNAN, A.M. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1887.

MR. Brennan has written a handy book of reference. It is the kind of work we have long desiderated in our Sunday-schools. Boys of the fourth and fifth standards, accustomed to have every subject mapped and spaced out for them, will not be tempted to pronounce the author's divisions formal. The style is sober in ornament, and relieved of even the shadow of rhetorical millinery; minds the least capable of concentrating themselves upon a long-winded production need not be deterred from attempting to read the accounts of Catholic scientists scattered over these pages, for the tales have the same quality which the Scotchman found in Webster's unabridged Dictionary—"they are uncommon short." Older heads who may desire something more solid, and recast in a more modern mould, may be glad to know that all that is really valuable in this compilation may be gathered from two lectures of Fr. Zahm, of the University of Notre Dame, published in the "Ave Maria Series."

Frederick Francis Xavier Mérode, Minister and Almoner to Pius IX.
By MGR. BESSON, Bishop of Nîmes. Translated by Lady HERBERT. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1887.

In 1839 the most distinguished Catholic nobleman in Belgium, Count Félix de Mérode, called at the Nunciature of Brussels to ask the advice of the new Nuncio, a young prelate just starting in his diplomatic career, concerning the destination to a military life of his son Frederick. The Nuncio warmly supported the proposal. "You oelong," he said "to the great nobility of the country. Your name is associated with the whole military history of Flanders and the Low Countries. Allow your son to follow his natural inclination for the army. Who knows if he will not, like his ancestors, attain to the highest military honours? He is pious and chaste. God will keep him; and his virtues will only be strengthened by trials." The person concerning whom these words were uttered was the future Monseigneur de Mérode; the speaker was no other than Monseigneur Pecci, now our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., happily reigning. The words themselves were prophetic, though perhaps not in the sense of the speaker at the time. There can be little doubt that much, if not the chief part, of the subsequent character and activity of the generous and gallant Papal Minister was owing to the few years of military service which forms so bright an opening chapter in Frederick de Mérode's career, and strangely enough, though he never reached more than subaltern rank, still, inasmuch as he eventually became Minister of War, he may justly be said to have attained the highest military honours possible.

The whole career of Mgr. Mérode is one of singular interest and attractiveness. The peculiarly chivalrous nature of his disposition, so well befitting a scion of the Crusaders and a son of the national heroes of 1830, is brought out strongly, not merely during his soldier's life in Belgium and with the French in Algeria, but through the whole of his ecclesiastical career. And the singularly touching little episode which occurred to him as a sub-lieutenant at Liège, is an actual case of "Bootle's Baby" in real life. How perfectly in keeping with the unhesitating generosity of years later, when Mgr. de Mérode—then Papal Minister of War—visiting the Cholera Hospital in Rome, and finding one poor man without flannels, immediately stepped behind a curtain, stripped himself of his own flannels, and made the sufferer put them on at once.

We do not intend here to give any kind of a *résumé* of the life of Frederick de Mérode, or to extract any of the very interesting passages and episodes which have struck us in perusal. We prefer to recommend this singularly interesting and attractive biography to English readers. To the student of contemporary history it will afford considerable side-lights on the stirring events of 1848 to 1870. The discreditable policy of Napoleon III., the character and position of Montalembert, the prejudicial influence of the *Univers*, the dangers to the Holy See of the alternate patronage of France and Austria: all these points receive some elucidation in the course of the

volume. Personal reminiscences abound. It sounds strange to hear de Mérode talking of the pernicious influence of a Frère Urban as early as 1848. What, again, could be happier than his exquisite little compliment to the Abbé Liszt, when the latter was staying at the Vatican—"Monsieur Liszt, you are delightful to listen to . . . even at the piano!" We come across also an interesting and pleasing recollection of our present Holy Father, Leo XIII., in a letter of de Mérode's, dated Dec. 10, 1855. The then Cardinal Pecci was a great admirer of the wonderful reforms which de Mérode had effected in Rome, in the matter of prisons, reformatories, hospitals, roads, &c., and wished to introduce the same ameliorations into Perugia. The Cardinal's former acquaintance with Belgium (as Nuncio) led him to introduce Belgian Orders of nuns and brothers into his diocese. De Mérode writes :

The good Cardinal, spite of his apparent coldness, shows the greatest zeal in his diocese. He has put his seminary on the best possible footing, and is now restoring his fine cathedral. He is anxious also to put on a new and better footing the many charitable institutions with which the town is filled. I found in him an incredible activity. On every side fresh streets and roads are being opened, and new gates made in the ramparts.

Have we not here a true picture of Leo XIII.?

We cannot conclude this notice without expressing our regret that the translator has not given the book a more thorough revision before going to press. Slips and mistakes in names simply abound. We have the Count de Mérode called the "widow" of Maria Pignatelli (p. 338—evidently *veuf* in the original); Liszt is everywhere called "Listz" (p. 294-5); on the very title-page de Mérode is styled "Archbishop of Melitinensis," a form which is really the *adjective* to Melitene; the late Cardinal Dechamps, of Mechlin, is miscalled either "Déchamps" or "Deschamps;" in p. 242 we have the "New Hollandists"(!) for the New Bollandists; on p. 233 few people would recognize, under the Abbé de Solesmes, the celebrated Dom Guéranger, Abbot of Solesmes; "the two remaining sons and daughters" (p. 8) is scarcely a correct way to express *four* children—i.e., two sons and two daughters; elsewhere (p. 20) a person is said to "refuse the Curé of Notre Dame"—of course he refused the *cure*; on p. 22 the "Prefect of Studies" means the prefect or master who presides in the study, and not what it seems to imply. Again, who is "St. Aloysius de Gonzagua?" (p. 227), or what is the "Church of St. Eloi" in Rome? (p. 223), or the "Via Nationale?" (p. 256); and why is the well-known Archbishop of Cologne, Mgr. von Droste, allowed to appear as "de Doste" (p. 230). We surely cannot say the *Univers*, who had taken the initiative, and who had gone far, &c. (p. 87), nor the heart of *he who* governs (!) (p. 139). We have indicated these slips among several because we think it is a pity to let the reader of so interesting a book be irritated by such constantly recurring inaccuracies, which a few hours' careful revision ought to have swept away before the work was issued from the press. If it ever reach a second edition, perhaps our *corrigenda* (and we have noted more) may prove useful.

L. C. C.

Breviarium Romanum. (2 vols. in 18mo.) Tornaci : Desclée, Lefebvre et Sociis. 1887.

THIS new edition of the Breviary bears the approbation of the Congregation of Rites, and is, as to paper, type, and woodcuts, in the best style of the well-known Tournay Press. It is peculiar in being full and complete in two volumes; the first volume going from Advent to Whitsuntide, and the second from Trinity Sunday to the end of November. This is an arrangement which historical liturgists will recognize as an old one. It is not a novelty therefore, but a return back upon ancient practice, and will, we expect, for its convenience, soon win the favour of the clergy. The present edition costs only fifteen francs.

Bibel Atlas. In X Karten nebst geographischem Index von Dr. RICHARD VON RIESS, Domkapitular in Rottenburg. Zweite Auflage. Freiburg : Herder. 1887.

CANON VON RIESS sends us the second edition of his excellent Bible Atlas, which has won for itself wide and deserved popularity among scholars. Two of the ten maps of which it is composed show the topography of Jerusalem, and the results of recent discovery in Babylon and Assyria; the varying fortunes of the Holy City can be traced from its foundation to the seventh Christian century. The Atlas is accompanied by a complete index of Bible places.

In the Way. By J. H. London : Burns & Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society Co.

THIS is a charming little story of "what things were done in the way" (St. Luke xxiv. 35), in an English village where a Catholic chapel and school were opened, and how some of the villagers "knew Him in the breaking of bread"; that is, were attracted to the church by the priest's teaching regarding the Real Presence. The purpose of the story is very interestingly worked out, though the controversial effect is perhaps rather too much dependent on the instructions of Father Tempest, and might have been more artistically and effectually treated, subjectively, in the development of the mental struggles of the new converts. Also we may say that the story has too many merits not to raise genuine regret at its sketchy character and abrupt ending; we feel that more ought to have been made of two such studies as Bessie Penfold and Fanny Bert. As it stands, however, "In the Way" is an excellent story, amusing at first, afterwards pathetic; it will be a welcome addition to lending libraries.

Life of Mother St. John Fontbonne, Foundress of the Sisters of St. Joseph in Lyons. Translated from the French of the ABBÉ RIVAUX. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1887.

A RELIGIOUS congregation which combines the active with the contemplative life, which has branches in four continents, and counts its members by tens of thousands, might be expected to have produced some master-mind, and in this the Sisters of St. Joseph do not disappoint us. Their canonical existence dates from 1651. Their founders were Monsignor De Maupas, Bishop of Le Puy, and Rev. Jean-Paul Médaille, S.J. A very special feature about this wide-spread institute connects it with the venerable Order of the Visitation. St. Francis de Sales, we need not tell our readers, was thwarted in the main purpose he had when he established his Order. His own witty words are clear on this point: "They call me," he used to say, "the founder of the Visitation! Could anything be more unreasonable? I have done what I did not wish to do, and have failed in what I wanted to do." The ideal of the holy Bishop of Geneva was an Order of women who should not only watch and pray within the cloister, but also go out and relieve the wants of the poor. This ideal, which Church discipline did not favour at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was taken up forty years later and realized by Father Médaille. The congregation grew in esteem and numbers up to the time of the French Revolution. Its first beginnings and the virtues of its founders, with the story of its almost total extinction in 1789, are given in a well-written and succinct introduction to the Life of the holy religious whom the Sisters of St. Joseph rightly hail as their restorer. Mother St. John comes out in these pages as possessing moderation in difficulties, order in affairs, seasonableness in time, and consideration in words. From childhood to old age she is an example for women living in any state of life. Her courage at the foot of the guillotine, her simple trust in God, her love of holy poverty, her devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to St. Joseph, but most of all, her solid and unaffected humility, often severely—we were going to say cruelly—tried, are lessons much needed in times like ours. We wish space allowed us to give some extracts, either from Father Médaille's admirable letter on the Spirit of the Institute, which reminds us of Blessed Peter Fourier's golden advice to the Congregation of Notre Dame, or from the adventures of his spiritual daughters in their American, African, and Asiatic foundations. We are glad to see that there are four houses of these nuns in England—viz., Newport (Mon.), Devizes, Westbury, and Malmesbury. This book is a valuable addition to our stock of spiritual works. May it soon find its way into every community library. We would remark that it is not a mere translation, but a skilful adaptation of the learned Abbé Rivaux's book.

Once upon a Time: a Collection of Stories and Legends. Reprinted from the *Ave Maria*. Notre Dame, Ind.: Office of the *Ave Maria*.

OF the sixteen stories collected into this little volume, those predominate which relate convent school-girls' days and school incidents. This ought to be stated, as a boy would care very little, if at all, for them: they are somewhat "goody" in tone. The other pieces, legends, and stories are much better told, and are excellent reading, as "The Black Robe's Prayer," "The Miracle of the Holy Family," and "How a Russian Nobleman found the Pearl above Price." These are worth the purchase of the volume, which will be liked in schools and parochial libraries. One or two of the tales are very American in local incident and historical reference, as well as, occasionally, in expression: is it not appalling on this side of the Atlantic to read of a girl "*memorizing her lessons?*"

Friedrich Overbeck. Geschildert von MARGARET HOWITT. Herausgegeben von FRANZ BINDER. 2 Bände. Freiburg: Herder. 1886.

WHEREVER Christian art is valued the name of Frederick Overbeck is held in the highest esteem. He marks a new departure in religious painting in our century. He is favourably known to Englishmen through the excellent memoir written in 1882 by Mr. Beavington Atkinson, who, himself an artist and a historian of art, did his best to immortalize the name of Overbeck. Also, it was for an English gentleman that Overbeck undertook one of his most thoughtful pictures—"The Victory of the Faith of St. Thomas the Apostle." Originally composed for Mr. Rhodes, it afterwards went into Mr. Beresford Hope's collection. English artists and Catholics generally will doubtless be glad to hear of the above full and careful biography of Overbeck. Miss Margaret Howitt, the writer, is an English lady, a convert to the Catholic faith, and authoress of "*Twelve Months with Fredrika Bremer in Sweden*" (1866). There came into her possession, through her friend Mrs. Hoffman (Overbeck's adopted daughter), many hundreds of the great painter's letters. She set herself to write his Life, but certain reasons prompted her not to publish it in England. She placed her manuscript in the hands of Dr. Binder, the learned editor of the *Historische-Politische Blätter*, who has now published it in two volumes. Dr. Binder has done his part wonderfully well. The book is German both in its art criticism and literary style. To Dr. Binder's unwearied diligence also we are indebted for the thousand footnotes on matters collected by him in Italy and Germany, and which form a storehouse of biographical notices of the highest value to the artist. Overbeck was born of Protestant parents in Lübeck in 1789, and whilst still a child was deeply impressed by an old picture of Our Lady in the dark Catholic chapel of Lübeck. He afterwards proceeded to Vienna, and in course of time to Rome. In the capital of Christendom he embraced

the Catholic faith, and by his splendid gifts became the founder of a great school of Christian art, now known by his own name, the members of which were then known as the "Nazarenes." English and Irish readers will perhaps be astonished to hear that Overbeck and his friends were for some years settled in the Irish convent of St. Isidore in Rome, which at the beginning of this century was all but a desert. As to the merits of Overbeck's manner of painting, a distinction has to be admitted. As a painter, and in the management of his pigments, Overbeck has certainly his drawbacks, since his colours lack a certain vivacity and impressiveness. But as a composer he is second only to Raphael of Urbino; and it is justly claimed for him that he gave a new impulse and turn to the development of Christian art. He is indeed *par excellence* the Christian painter of this age; in proof of which assertion let any one peruse Count Montalembert's letter to Overbeck, given in the second volume of Dr. Binder's work (pp. 160–164). The volume also contains an accurate list of Overbeck's works, amounting to nearly two hundred larger and smaller compositions, some of which are made up of a whole series of individual pieces. All these splendid pictorial achievements, which attracted the greatest men of our century to Overbeck's studio in Rome, are the outpouring of the artist's deep religious sense. Overbeck had an intimate acquaintance with Catholic doctrine, and he, moreover, strove hard to live as a faithful Catholic, and it is just this harmony between the man and the artist that so powerfully enhances the value of his example. Two portraits of Overbeck, and not a few engravings of his religious pictures, enrich this splendid biography, a work which few are likely to peruse without considerable profit and entertainment.

BELLESHEIM.

The Rights and Dignity of Labour. By the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

IN questions of social science few people seem capable of keeping themselves in a proper frame of mind. They are struck with horror at the sight of so many miserable lives among our people; and proceed to denounce wholesale production, machinery, and railways, or to invoke a *deus ex machinâ* to deliver them, in the shape of State Socialism; forgetting that a reasonable dog when struck will bite, not the stick, but the striker; and that to cure the evils of machinery by State mechanism is an extraordinary venture on homœopathy. Others calculate the wonderful saving of labour and increase of production due to the inventions of the last hundred years, and are so intoxicated (I mean, morally) as to be incapable of understanding that there is any problem of misery that presses for an instant solution; nor will they hear of the State interposing, lest the beneficent spring of invention be dried up—apparently on the principle that to prevent men doing wrong is to put a premium on stupidity, and that bridling the knaves means giving all power to the

fools. A third class of persons seem wiser, and claim to be impartial observers of life, but are really the most hopeless to deal with of all. They are the pickers and choosers, taking a little bit of optimism here, and of pessimism there, and so much *laissez faire* to-day, so much State Socialism to-morrow—all just as they fancy, without any principle. From their power of digesting contradictories they might be called (assuming the correctness of popular natural history) the ostriches of social science.

Under these circumstances the republication of the Cardinal Archbishop's lecture on the dignity and rights of labour is opportune. His Eminence writes of machinery *con amore*; he evidently has a real liking for a great power-loom doing any amount of work a minute, and hereby shows himself a true Englishman; for our national greatness is dependent on machinery. And indeed any mind is warped that has not admiration for man's subjugation of the earth and its forces, displayed in every great steamship, railway, or factory. But then his Eminence does not go on to write as though these wonderful contrivances were ends instead of means, or as though their presence was a security against misery and degradation. He emphasizes the dignity of all honest labour, even the commonest and most unskilled; and he is horrified at the abuses of overwork, and at the unhappy custom of mothers being in a factory all day, away from their homes. Listen to how he justifies the demand that the hours of labour be further regulated by law:

If the great end of life were to multiply yards of cloth and cotton twist, and if the glory of England consists or consisted in multiplying without stint or limit these articles and the like at the lowest possible price, so as to undersell all the nations of the world—well, then, let us go on. But if the domestic life of the people be vital above all; if the peace, the purity of homes, the education of children, the duties of wives and mothers, the duties of husbands and of fathers, be written in the natural law of mankind, and if these things are sacred far beyond anything that can be sold in the market; then I say, if the hours of labour resulting from the unregulated sale of a man's strength and skill shall lead to the destruction of domestic life, to the neglect of children, to turning wives and mothers into living machines, and of fathers and husbands into—what shall I say, creatures of burden?—I will not use any other word; who rise up before the sun, and come back when it is set, wearied, and able only to take food and to lie down to rest; the domestic life of men exists no longer, and we dare not go on in this path.

And he refers to the work of Lord Shaftesbury and to the Factory Acts to show that we have already begun legislation for the protection of the working classes.

Perhaps a chorus of contractors and middlemen will accuse the Cardinal of being a State Socialist, and a very artful one too. I will pass over the charge of artfulness, and keep to State Socialism, though I might have claimed for the author of "Cæsarism and Ultramontaniam" an exemption from such a charge. Still, people are so confused over this very simple matter that a word may be in place. The essence of State Socialism is that the State (*alias* the bureaucracy) refuses to recognize any natural rights, notably those

of the family and of private associations, and becomes a universal provider. But it is not State Socialism for the State to interfere with its legislation *pro bono publico* in any secular field. Hence it is not State Socialism if families are forbidden to dwell in unhealthy houses; but it is State Socialism if the State takes from parents the choice of how they shall educate their children, and from children the responsibility of supporting their parents in their old age. Laws fixing a maximum of hours for the labour even of adult men, or compelling every one to be in some way insured, are not socialistic; but a law would be socialistic that expropriated all private factories, and made the State the one large employer, or which compelled every one to be insured at Government offices. I need not multiply illustrations. Enough that the Cardinal in this lecture urges the independence and authority of the family; nay, the very interposition of the State which he calls for is mainly to secure the liberty of family life, and urges, moreover, the organization of men of the same craft in private associations, combining employers and employed, like the guilds of old: all of which is thoroughly practical, in accordance with the spirit of the leaders of social reform among the Catholics of Germany and France, and, what concerns us here, in complete discord with State Socialism. Nor is the Cardinal among the Eclectics, or pickers and choosers. He is, indeed, so far in agreement with them that both he and they say the State may do some things and may not do others. But the Eclectics, with their opportunistic—that is, happy-go-lucky—moral philosophy, make the criterion of State action their own sweet pleasure and fancy for the moment; whereas with the Cardinal the criterion is no private standard of his own, but the old Christian doctrine on the nature of the civil power.

C. S. DEVAS.

Indifferentism; or, Is one Religion as good as another? By the Rev. JOHN MACLAUGHLIN. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS is a book that is wanted. No one can observe carefully the tendency of the times, without seeing that it is strongly in favour of Indifferentism. What was condemned on this head long ago by Pius IX. in the "Syllabus," is still making way among the men of our own day. Lines of demarcation are fading away, the "liberal" spirit is gaining ground, and it is a favourite view nowadays that it does not matter what one believes, as long as we all aim at heaven; that all religions are good—one as good as another. This is, of course, a theory common outside the Catholic Church. The author of the present admirable little work aims therefore at reaching those who accept it. He is a man of wide experience, and has had many opportunities of knowing the position of the non-Catholic mind. He has seen the terrible power of prejudice, and therefore knows how hard it is for a Catholic priest to reach those outside the Church. "The man," he remarks, in his excellent introduction, "who has

lapsed into the wide and easy creed of Indifferentism is not likely to trouble himself with the stern claim of the Catholic church." He adds :

Hence, till you have banished entirely from his thoughts the conviction that one religion is as good as another, till you have cleared away from his mind the shifting sands of Indifferentism, you will not be able to lay in his understanding a foundation for definite faith. Or, as Cardinal Newman remarks, you cannot build in the aboriginal forest till you have felled the trees.

But while Indifferentism is the enemy of the Church of Rome, it is no less the enemy of the Church of England. It tends to destroy her, although it is her offspring. It has sprung from the free application of her great principle of private judgment. And the older it grows and the larger it becomes, the more seriously does it threaten her life. Through it multitudes of her members become an easy prey to infidelity. In fact, we may say it is a kind of preparatory school for infidelity.

When men are hanging only loosely to Christianity by the elastic thread of Indifferentism, a very slight influence is sufficient to make them abandon it altogether, and leave them without faith in anything beyond the world of sense. The theory that one religion is as good as another is next neighbour to the theory that there is not much good in any religion at all. If religion is only an opinion, then every religion may be wrong, since every opinion may be wrong. And as every religion may be wrong, there is no possibility of ever arriving at any certainty about those matters religion professes to deal with ; the whole thing from that moment becomes lost in impenetrable darkness This state of mind gradually prepares a man for the wholesale denial of Christianity as a divine revelation ; and hence the step from Indifferentism into utter unbelief is natural and easy.

The quick and fatal influence of infidel literature—"which is pouring from the Press like a deluge, and which threatens to submerge the greater part of the earth"—is then dwelt upon. "It preaches a new gospel—one just suited to their present state of mind," and its rising waves land its victims farther and farther from the house of truth and the ark of God's salvation, the Church of Christ. Yet Father MacLaughlin writes his book in the hope that he may reach even the Indifferentists. A Catholic can only wish God-speed to his zealous undertaking. He has endeavoured to write concisely and to present all the strongest arguments against Indifferentism in a clear, cogent form. We must say he has succeeded admirably, and whilst he gives us a great deal in a short space, he gives it us in a style that is pleasant and interesting to read.

After the explanatory introduction, from which we have made an extract, comes the work itself ; it consists of a series of well-arranged chapters, and is divided into two parts. The first part comprises five chapters, which are all exceedingly good. In them the pernicious theory of Indifferentism is refuted in succession from Reason, Revelation, the history of the conversion of Cornelius the Centurion, the history of the Council of Jerusalem, and from the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. The arguments from each of these points of view are put forth with great clearness and force, and to any honest reader will prove irresistible. The second part of the work

consists of two chapters, headed "Unity" and "Universality or Catholicity." Having shown in the first part that it is clearly false to maintain that all religions are equally good, and that there must be one only religion instituted by Christ for the salvation of all men, the author proceeds to show that this one religion can be no other than the Catholic. In treating of the Church's "Note" of Catholicity the author has been particularly happy. He shows the meaning of her sole possession of potential universality, a mission and an adaptability to all the nations and ages; and then emphasizes the significance of her actual extension over the earth as compared with the growing spread of English or American missionary labours and Protestantism. The varieties, ethical and doctrinal, that make up the religion carried over the wide extent of the British Empire by the Church of England—supposing the Protestant missions were chiefly hers—can be no more one religion (and so Catholic) than the nations which compose one modern Europe can be an ethnical unity. The widespread extension of heterogeneous systems, contradictory and confusing, can never claim the "Note" of Catholicity for the net result.

We would recommend Father MacLaughlin's excellent little book to honest minds outside the Catholic Church, and also to Catholics themselves, who, as they will learn from it, are bound to maintain the truth of their religion with unfaltering voice and clean-cut phrase, not glossing it over to please non-Catholic friends or paring down its dogmas, but keeping clear and well defined the lines that mark off Catholic teaching from error and falsehood.

The Works of Orestes A. Brownson. Collected and arranged by HENRY F. BROWNSON. Vol. XX. Detroit: H. F. Brownson. 1887.

WE welcome the appearance of this, the twentieth and last volume of the complete works of one of the most powerful and trenchant writers of modern times. Mr. H. F. Brownson deserves the sincere thanks of the Catholic public for giving us such a splendid edition of his illustrious father's writings. The volumes are a rich mine of vigorous, stimulating thought, bold, independent criticism, historical and religious teaching, and, what is better than all, they are full of love and devotedness to the Catholic Church. Brownson was a man who was led by conscientious study, prayer, and the grace of God into the light and faith of the true Church. When the light and grace came, he followed without flinching their kind leading. He was a man of fearless honesty and frankness, and when he found himself in possession of the truth, he boldly proclaimed that truth to the world, and tried to lead men where he himself had found peace and joy. He was a man of his century, and quite alive to the progress of thought in modern times. He was full of passionate admiration of the Church into whose bosom he had been led, and he wished the men of his generation to acknowledge her sublime pre-eminence. Hence came his desire to reconcile the teaching of the

Church with modern science. In this he resembled Gioberti, Fro-schammer, and others, and hence his admiration for such men. But though, like them and others of similar aspirations, he was a bold thinker and writer, and enthusiastically desirous of reconciling the Church and modern thought, he was far greater than they in at once submitting his judgment to the Church as soon as she spoke. We certainly admire much the fearless critic, the truthful historian, the bold, outspoken moralist in Orestes Brownson ; but what is still more grand and admirable is the faith that never wavered, and the childlike obedience to the Church, which never decayed.

This concluding volume is especially precious to us, inasmuch as it contains some explanations of, and apologies for, certain statements and sayings which, though not against faith, had been more or less unsound, and had brought their author under a passing suspicion with ecclesiastical authority. It is refreshing and consoling to us to read such a passage as this :—

I am not willing that my name should go down to posterity with the slightest suspicion resting on it of disloyalty to the Church ; not, indeed, that I care much for it on my own personal account, but for the sake of the Catholic cause, which I hold dearer than life, and which I would not have suffer the least detriment through me or my ill reputation ; and also for the sake of my surviving children, to whom I can leave no inheritance but that of an untarnished name. It was almost the last wish expressed to me by my late wife, whose judgment I never found at fault, that I should revive my *Review*, if only for a single year, and prove to the world that my faith has never wavered ; that I am still an humble but devoted son of the Church, and that I am, as I always professed to be, an uncompromising Catholic and a thorough-going Papist. . . . I have no palinode to sing ; I enter on no explanations of the causes of the opposition I encountered from some of my own brethren. Such explanations would be mistimed and misplaced, and could edify nobody. I willingly admit that I made many mistakes ; but I regard as the greatest of all the mistakes into which I fell through the last three or four years that I published my *Review*, that of holding back the stronger points of the Catholic faith, on which I had previously insisted ; of labouring to present Catholicity in a form as little repulsive to my non-Catholic countrymen as possible ; and of insisting on only the minimum of Catholicity, or what had been expressly defined by the Holy See, or a general council.

I am not likely to fall into the same mistake again. My experiment was not very successful ; and, besides, the Syllabus and the decrees of the council of the Vatican, published since, would protect me from it, if nothing else would. I have no ambition to be regarded as a *liberal* Catholic. A *liberal* Catholic I am not, never was, save in appearance for a brief moment, and never can be. I have no element of liberal Catholicity in my nature or in my convictions, and the times, if I read them aright, demand Catholicity in its strength, not in its weakness ; in its supernatural authority and power, not as reduced to pure rationalism or mere human sentimentality.

What is most needed in these times—perhaps in all times—is the truth that condemns, point-blank, the spirit of the age, and gives no quarter to its dominant errors ; and nothing can be more fatal than to seek to effect a compromise with them, or to form an alliance with what is called liberalism—a polite name for sedition, rebellion, and revolutionism.” (Pp. 382–3).

We are glad that the great writer left these noble words written; they have the true ring of the manly directness and outspoken eloquence of the Brownson we loved so well in the palmy days of his vigour. They are a lesson and an example. We cannot refrain from also quoting a few words from the beautiful "Valedictory" with which he closed his *Review* for ever:

I have, and I desire to have, no home out of the Catholic Church, with which I am more than satisfied, and which I love as the dearest, tenderest, and most affectionate mother. My only ambition is to live and die in her communion. I love my Catholic brethren; I love and venerate the bishops and clergy of the Catholic Church, especially of the Church in my own country. I am deeply indebted to them beyond any power of language of mine to express. I hope I am grateful to them; but only God can adequately reward them. (P. 438.)

Once more we thank the editor for having given us a series of noble volumes, which will be a mine of wealth to us, and "a joy for ever."

"*Nobody's Child*"; or, *The Law Establishment*. By the Rev. A. MILLS. London: D. Lane & Son. 1887.

THIS is a well-timed, most excellent little book. It is meant to show that the favourite theory of the present defenders of the Anglican Establishment—viz., that it is a continuation of the Ancient British Church—is totally baseless and absurd. Father Mills literally knocks their theory all to pieces. The book is full of excellent matter, put in a clear, concise, and telling way. We recommend it to those Protestant writers of our day who are doing their best to smother the voice of a past which still cries out loudly that the Ancient British Church was *Roman* in doctrine and practice.

The Pleasures of Life. By Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

WE may make sure that any book coming from Sir John Lubbock will be worth the reading, because he is a man of wide culture, and has the gift of literary expression. This little volume contains the substance of some addresses pronounced by the author on various occasions connected with colleges and schools. They abound with sparkling things of the author's own, as well as those gathered from his extensive reading. There are chapters entitled "A Song of Books," "The Choice of Books," "Science," and "Education," and these the literary man will find especially enjoyable. But the whole book is full of good things, such as a refined, well-stored mind can pour out on favourite topics.

A Venetian Lover. By EDWARD KING. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

MR. KING, better known in America than in England as a poet, has the power, rare at the present day, of telling a story in readable and fluent blank verse, and even of rising to a higher level of poetical eloquence in occasional descriptive passages. His present work is a dramatic monologue, in which a long-descended but impoverished Venetian noble tells the story of his attachment to the fair Californian whose modern wealth hires a tenancy in his ancestral palace. The romantic setting of Venetian scenery and history lend some of their charm to the graceful story interwoven with them, and are judiciously used by the poet to heighten its effect. The volume is brought out with all the modern æsthetic *luxe* of the thickest hand-wove paper, the widest margins, and the daintiest binding provided by the bookbinder's art.

Shamrocks. By KATHERINE TYNAN. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

THIS pretty volume is of Irish origin, as its name implies, and the authoress has set some of her national ballads to graceful and melodious verse. The shorter lyrics, too, are full of music and feeling, and stirred with that vague wistfulness, like the wail of an Æolian harp, so characteristic of modern poetry.

Remains of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. Their Explorations and Researches, A.D. 1886. Dublin: Forster and Co., Limited. 1887.

THIS somewhat peculiar title has been bestowed upon a heterogeneous collection of extracts more or less remotely bearing on the scanty remains of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. We are treated to a passage from an "Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture" by the late Thomas Bell; two pages follow from John J. McGregor's "Picture of Dublin"; next comes a short paper by Professor William Stokes, of Trinity College; then an extract from Sharpe's "Cistercian Architecture"; last of all, a lengthy quotation from Ferguson's "Hibernian Nights Entertainment." This kind of thing is wearisome, and entails constant repetition, and is surely unworthy treatment of the once famous monastery which played so large a part in the history of the Irish capital. St. Mary's Abbey, after being for three centuries in the hands of the Black Monks, and then four centuries in the hands of the White Monks, or Cistercians, has fallen low indeed when the very site of its church seems only a matter of conjecture. And for all that we gather from the publication under notice, it strikes us as far more probable that the conventual church stood on the south side of the cloister garth than on the north, as shown in the "problematical" plan at page 4. The church as there indicated is at any rate very unlike anything else in monastic architecture; the position of the transepts is almost

certainly inaccurately marked; and the fact that the slype (see plan at p. 8) is at the south side of the chapter-house, is enough to warrant us, in default of more definite information, in supposing the north transept, in accordance with the general custom, to have abutted upon it. Such a supposition, whether we regard the church as Benedictine or Cistercian, is by no means far-fetched; many of the older monastic houses—*e.g.*, Christ Church and St. Augustine's at Canterbury, Malmesbury and Gloucester, among the former; and Tintern, Dore, and Melrose, among the latter—have their churches on the south side of the garth. The chapter-house, which, to judge from the illustration (p. 19), is in sad need of restoration, must have been a noble hall; its general resemblance to the chapter-house of St. Augustine's Abbey at Bristol may perhaps be accounted for by the close connexion between that city and Dublin.

One or two minor blemishes should have been avoided: thus the number of abbeyes of Cistercian monks known to the modern historian of the Order, the accurate Dom Leopold Janauschek, is only 728, not 1,200 as stated at p. 13; and to speak of friars (and Benedictine friars too!) of the year A.D. 1139 shows some want of regard for the fitness of things.

But having done with fault-finding, it is pleasant to say a word of praise of the care bestowed upon most of the engravings and plates: those of the tiles recently unearthed are particularly valuable and full of suggestiveness for modern buildings.

A great deal has yet to be done to illustrate the history of the religious Orders in Ireland. Would not a critical adaptation, with additions and views, of M. Alemand's "*Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*" (Paris, 1690) find a ready circulation?

La Bruyère dans la Maison de Condé. Etudes biographiques et historiques sur le fin du XVII. Siècle. Par ETIENNE ALLAIRE. 2 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot. 1886.

FRANCE in the latter part of the seventeenth century was at the height of its glory, social, political, literary. Its Court, the most brilliant in Europe, gave the tone to less favoured centres of culture; its army was all but matchless in its organization, unrivalled in its commanders, unchecked in its victorious career. The statesmen of France were men of large views and of supple intrepidity of action and fertility of resource; her ecclesiastical régime combined the stern virtues of mediæval Europe with the polish and eloquence of the Renaissance; while the cultivation of letters, the refined and energetic oratory of her public men, imparted a character of ease and polish to society such as has rarely been equalled and never surpassed. It is to the France of Bossuet and Fénelon, of De Bérulle and Bourdaloue, of Condé and Madame de Maintenon, that we are introduced in these charming volumes of M. Etienne Allaire. With painstaking research and rare discrimination, lightly and yet thoroughly he tells the story of what may be called the inner life of

the best circles in France during the latter years of the seventeenth century, choosing as the text whereon to base what he has to tell us the remarkable career of a very remarkable man—John de la Bruyère. To the labours of earlier biographers—panegyrists, be it noted, all of them (for La Bruyère was singularly free from enemies when living, and time has justified the almost unanimous judgment of his contemporaries)—M. Allaire acknowledges his indebtedness, and modestly claims but little credit for the task he has so ably fulfilled. What he has done has been the examination of numerous and hitherto unexplored documents relative to the house of Condé, placed at his disposal by the Duc d'Aumale, in whose household at Twickenham he for many years occupied a position of great responsibility. While the Duke was engaged in compiling the history of "The Great Condé," M. Allaire, his son's tutor, was occupied with the same materials, endeavouring by their aid to elucidate some difficulties connected with the life of La Bruyère, who had, two centuries earlier, filled a similar post in the family of the founder of the Bourbons. The importance of the volumes in which he has published the result of his researches lies in the additional light they throw on a most fascinating period of French history, as seen by an observant critic, whose opportunities were of the best, and whose integrity was above question. La Bruyère's peculiar talent lay in reading the inmost feelings and motives of those with whom he was brought into contact; as one who knew him said: "Il semblait que la nature eût pris plaisir à lui révéler les plus secrets mystères de l'intérieur des hommes, et qu'elle exposât continuellement à ses yeux ce qu'ils affectent le plus de cacher aux yeux de tout le monde." This talent he assiduously cultivated, and from his early years it was his practice to commit to writing the observations and judgments he had made and formed. Thus it came about that he was able, though none was more astonished than himself, to take at once a high and recognized place among the thinkers and writers of his time, when his first work was given to the public. His early training was peculiar, and seemed little likely to result in anything but a wasted life. Born at Paris in 1645 of a well-to-do bourgeois family, he early manifested a certain precociousness which at times sorely puzzled his father and friends. Of a religious disposition, he had throughout life but scant respect for the Freethinkers, who were beginning to make a noise in the world:

Je sens qu'il y a un Dieu [he said], et je ne sens pas qu'il n'y en ait point: cela suffit; tout le raisonnement du monde m'est inutile, je conclus que Dieu existe. Cette conclusion est dans ma nature: j'en ai reçu les principes trop aisément dans mon enfance, et je les ai conservés depuis trop naturellement, dans un âge plus avancé, pour les soupçonner de fausseté. Mais il y a des esprits qui se défont de ces principes. C'est une grande question s'il s'en est trouvé de tels: et quand il serait ainsi, cela prouverait seulement qu'il y a des monstres.

Having received his education among the fathers of the French Oratory, and obtained the degree of licentiate in canon and civil law

and has all the versatility of his gifted nation: he is now tenderly simple and devout, now eloquent and highly ornate; at one time profound, at another light and more than graceful; and all this is recognised by those who have least sympathy with the purpose of his poetry, and can only appreciate dimly the central idea, or catch the latent lights of those portions of it which are distinctively religious. In the best sense also he is unpopular, for he has chosen to devote all his power to the illustration of themes which he thinks the worthiest, rather than of such as can be made the topic of the hour. And he has deliberately made this choice; for he is not the victim of "fine phrenzy," and has shown himself able, on occasion, to express clear and perspicuous judgments on passing politics in very practical prose. If he is accounted obscure, his obscurity is that of the true poet, which, like that of the true painter, is due to his being greater than his audience and before his age. If he is not more appreciated in his own country than among Protestant Englishmen, it is because the patriotism of the author of the "Legends of St. Patrick" and of the "Legends of Ireland's Heroic Age," pure and profound and faithful though it be, is not the patriotism of these troublous times; just as the "Legends of the Saxon Saints" do not reflect the spirit of the unsaintly England of to-day, and the "May Carols" fail to find full appreciation from men to whom the Incarnation is a doubtful doctrine rather than the central fact of the history of our race. The popular appreciation of Mr. Aubrey de Vere's poems, says Sir Henry Taylor, "has not extended beyond the bounds within which the appreciation of Milton and Wordsworth and Coleridge was confined for about thirty years after the publication of their best poems;" but the fame that spreads most quickly lasts the least, and those who, like the author of "Philip Van Artevelde," have read these poems "many times over," will easily estimate how convincing is his prophecy of their future. "I have almost lived with them through the winter," he wrote nearly thirty years ago, "and the ever-growing effect of them almost *convinces* me of what I was only *persuaded* before—that they have another destiny before them than that which the world's present neglect would seem to promise." And now, as it seems to us, the time for the fulfilment of this is measurably nearer. While the great Catholic poet has worked and waited in patient indifference to the fame which he would not stoop for a moment to reach by "writing down" to a half-instructed audience, the world has learned some truths; and the scope of "Legends and Records of the Church and the Empire," though not a whit less elevated than that of the poems which have preceded it, is now more within the grasp of English readers than it would have been a quarter of a century ago. Though the mass of mankind may not yet have accepted the true view of the formation of Christendom, and its influence on all subsequent civilisations, few will seriously question the importance of the period, "more momentous than either the mediæval or the modern," Mr. de Vere puts it in his valuable preface, "which bridged the between the ancient world and that in which we now live," and thin it "the germs of whatever of primary value was subse-

ledge of men and manners which it had been the business of his life to acquire. His position in so illustrious a household enabled him to see all the great men and women of the times, their characteristics bad and good—their aims, wishes, intrigues, and rivalries. And what he saw, he, with his old habits still upon him, made note of, and reproduced in successive editions of his “*Mœurs ou caractères de ce siècle*,” under the guise of classical dialogue and nomenclature, after the manner of his favourite Theophrastus. With a quiet refinement of style—the acquisition of his later years—and with as great an analytical power as certain of the modern English novelists, La Bruyère’s reputation was quickly spread, and edition after edition, each with some new characters introduced or old sketches amplified, testified at once to the taste of the public and the ability of its favourite. It is with these closing scenes of La Bruyère’s life that M. Allaire chiefly concerns himself, and, with the help of the Condé papers, we are able to see the keen and kindly old philosopher, as he walks and talks among the grand folk at Paris or Versailles, taking stock of the fashions and passions, the grandeur and the littleness of the men and women that made the history of the times. There is much that strikes us as new in these two volumes—many little side glimpses into the views and movements of French society in La Bruyère’s time. The conservatism of the medical schools, the influence of Jansenism—La Bruyère was no Jansenist—the scandals of the Abbé de Mauroy, curé of the Invalides, and his retirement to the Abbey of Sept-fons, the mingled piety and paganism in the canon-poet Santeul, the admirable influence of Madame de Maintenon in the Court; these and a hundred other pieces of gossip are brought before us as La Bruyère saw them. Of English affairs there is something, but not so much as we hoped to find: the rift among English Catholics on the accession of William of Orange, the rejoicings at Paris on the rumour reaching that city that the usurper had been killed at the battle of the Boyne, some details of the household of the exiled royal family—and not much else. Of delightful little episodes there are many; and the story (ii. 594) of a certain Salut at Versailles is likely to become popular. We beg to offer M. Allaire our sincere congratulations on a contribution of uncommon interest to the inner history of *la belle France* during an eventful period.

Legends and Records of the Church and the Empire. By AUBREY DE VERE. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

MR. AUBREY DE VERE is at once the most popular and the most unpopular poet of his day. He is popular in the sense that every volume which he has given to the public has been admired by competent critics as the work of one of the most poetical poets of the century, whose elegance of scholarship is only equalled by his intellectual eminence, and whose genius is not fettered by his respect, even in details, of the rules of his art. He is a true Irishman,

and has all the versatility of his gifted nation: he is now tenderly simple and devout, now eloquent and highly ornate; at one time profound, at another light and more than graceful; and all this is recognised by those who have least sympathy with the purpose of his poetry, and can only appreciate dimly the central idea, or catch the latent lights of those portions of it which are distinctively religious. In the best sense also he is unpopular, for he has chosen to devote all his power to the illustration of themes which he thinks the worthiest, rather than of such as can be made the topic of the hour. And he has deliberately made this choice; for he is not the victim of "fine phrenzy," and has shown himself able, on occasion, to express clear and perspicuous judgments on passing politics in very practical prose. If he is accounted obscure, his obscurity is that of the true poet, which, like that of the true painter, is due to his being greater than his audience and before his age. If he is not more appreciated in his own country than among Protestant Englishmen, it is because the patriotism of the author of the "Legends of St. Patrick" and of the "Legends of Ireland's Heroic Age," pure and profound and faithful though it be, is not the patriotism of these troublous times; just as the "Legends of the Saxon Saints" do not reflect the spirit of the unsaintly England of to-day, and the "May Carols" fail to find full appreciation from men to whom the Incarnation is a doubtful doctrine rather than the central fact of the history of our race. The popular appreciation of Mr. Aubrey de Vere's poems, says Sir Henry Taylor, "has not extended beyond the bounds within which the appreciation of Milton and Wordsworth and Coleridge was confined for about thirty years after the publication of their best poems;" but the fame that spreads most quickly lasts the least, and those who, like the author of "Philip Van Artevelde," have read these poems "many times over," will easily estimate how convincing is his prophecy of their future. "I have almost lived with them through the winter," he wrote nearly thirty years ago, "and the ever-growing effect of them almost *convinces* me of what I was only *persuaded* before—that they have another destiny before them than that which the world's present neglect would seem to promise." And now, as it seems to us, the time for the fulfilment of this is measurably nearer. While the great Catholic poet has worked and waited in patient indifference to the fame which he would not stoop for a moment to reach by "writing down" to a half-instructed audience, the world has learned some truths; and the scope of "Legends and Records of the Church and the Empire," though not a whit less elevated than that of the poems which have preceded it, is now more within the grasp of English readers than it would have been a quarter of a century ago. Though the mass of mankind may not yet have accepted the true view of the formation of Christendom, and its influence on all subsequent civilisations, few will seriously question the importance of the period, "more momentous than either the mediæval or the modern," as Mr. de Vere puts it in his valuable preface, "which bridged the gulf between the ancient world and that in which we now live," and held within it "the germs of whatever of primary value was subse-

quently developed." It is of this period that our great Catholic poet is the fitting exponent in the volume before us, and his exposition is of the most brilliant and attractive kind. The Faith of the Cross was victorious through the great gracious lives and glorious deaths of those who in the early ages of the Church "with Christ were nailed to the Cross." What then can be a better clue to the spirit of those ages than a succession of portraits of saints and martyrs from St. Thecla to St. Boniface? This Mr. Aubrey de Vere places before us, but not this alone. "Regarded as an ideal," he says "the Holy Roman Empire was surely the highest of political ideals"; and the poet, accordingly, of the period which begins with the Christian era and extends to the coronation of Charlemagne can hardly be content with mere individual portraits. Hence, we have not only the story of St. Dorothea, told in the simplest strain, but also stronger delineations of events and epochs which have made deep marks in history, however regarded. The giving of the Bible to the West is dealt with in a powerful soliloquy of St. Jerome, just before his death; and the politics of New Rome and its founder are presented in "Constantine in Thrace" and "Constantine at Constantinople" with all the vigour of Mr. de Vere's strongest style. The Emperor is represented in the former projecting the building of the new capital as the metropolis for a "Christian caliphate"; in the latter as thinking, when his death is only a few days distant, over his past life, and the failure of his design to create an Imperial Church under the Emperor's sway:

I willed to raise a city great like Rome,
And yet in spirit Rome's great opposite,
His city, His the Man she crucified.
What see I? Masking in the name of Christ
A city like to Rome, but worse than Rome;
A Rome with blunted sword and hollow heart,
And brain that came to her at second-hand—
Weak, thin, worn out by one who had it first,
And having it, abused. I vowed to lift
Religion's lordliest fane and amplest shrine:
My work will prove a Pagan reliquary,
With Christian incrustations froz'n around.
It moulders. To corruption it hath said,
"My sister"; to the wooing grave, "My home."

But finer far than these is the spirited ode on the crowning of Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire. The following lines, with which it opens, are a worthy index of its style and purpose:

That God of gods the universe who made,
Who speaks, and from the void rushed forth the stars,
He, too, their orbits shaped, their movements swayed,
Wrote on their brows in shining characters,
"God's flock we are: our freedom is to go
That way his finger points, with motion swift or slow:"
That God spake Law not less to Man: He said,
"Revere your kings; Good-will and Order cherish:
Live like Mine angels; not like beasts that perish:"
Primeval man obeyed.

Those earlier Patriarch kings were shepherds true :
 Bad kings came next ; on rival kings they preyed :
 From ancient wounds the blood welled forth anew,
 Till swelled the cry :

“ One king should rule the earth : One God there reigns on high.”

The contrast between these poems and some of the simple lines in which tales of martyrdom are told is striking, and exceedingly effective. Indeed, the volume is a fair specimen of the many moods of the poet. Take for example the close of “ St. Agatha ” :

Blest Palermo ! Lullabied
 Was the babe by thy blue sea !
 Catana more blest ! She died
 Dowered with palm and crown in thee !
 Share with us your double boast.
 Happy land, for poor are we :
 Plead, among the heavenly host,
 Agatha, for mine and me.

Again, in the “ Legend of St. Thecla ” there is an exceedingly fine description of St. Paul’s preaching at Iconium while “ the eldest daughter of St. Paul ” hears at her window, but does not see, the Apostle, and is converted. One by one the scenes of the ministry and passion of Our Lord are passed in eloquent review, as the maiden listens. For example we may take these two stanzas :

She saw that Garden of Gethsemane ;
 She saw God’s angel hold the chalice forth
 High in both hands ; she saw those sleepers three ;
 Saw One Who knelt with forehead nigh the earth ;
 With aching heart she saw, the branches through,
 Those sacred blood-drops reddening grass and dew.
 And ever as those sequent pictures rose
 And to her spirit’s vision clave and clung,
 She heard, like torrent flood that seaward flows,
 Through black ravines the cloud-girt woods among,
 Still heard that wondrous voice of him, the unseen,
 Which told of what must be, and what had been.

But it is idle to multiply quotations, for none can give the reader a fair idea of a volume which may be read and re-read, with the certainty that new beauties will become apparent the more the poems are dwelt on and understood.

Lord Macaulay declares that poetry is “ the art of employing words in such a manner as to produce an illusion on the imagination, the art of doing by words what the painter does by means of colours ; ” adding that “ we cannot unite the incompatible advantages of reality and deception, the clear discernment of truth and the exquisite enjoyment of fiction.” But the famous essayist was not thinking of a Catholic poet when this incomplete canon was laid down by him ; otherwise Mr. de Vere’s latest volume would prove it incorrect at all points, and not merely incomplete. For in his latest work we have the “ incompatible advantages ” together in rare perfection, and the “ exquisite enjoyment of fiction ” is here intensified

by the feeling that the emotions awakened by the poet are not wasted on what is unreal, but concentrated on the realities of a great era in Christian history, to which his clear discernment of truth has enabled him to assign their true significance.

The Story of the Nations. Rome. By ARTHUR GILMAN. *Carthage.* By Prof. A. J. CHURCH. *Alexander's Empire.* By Prof. J. P. MAHAFFY. *Egypt.* By Prof. GEO. RAWLINSON. *The Jews.* By Prof. JAMES K. HOSMER. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

“THE Story of the Nations” is a series of popular historical manuals by divers hands, and of very varying calibre. The general average, considering the object aimed at, is good; but while some of the volumes attain to some excellence, it may be questioned whether others rise above mediocrity. They are written, for the most part, in a clear and attractive manner, and by freely suppressing minor details they make the great features of the various subjects stand out in a way calculated to arrest the attention of even the superficial reader. At the same time, one or two of the volumes so far issued will be welcomed by students of history. It was inevitable that Rome should find an early place in a series of the “Story of the Nations.” Considering the number of first-rate compendiums of Roman history already in the field, it is not easy to produce a new one of only 300 pages, which will present any novel feature as a justification for its existence. Mr. Gilman, however, writes distinctly for children; and as boys are already amply provided with excellent school-books, we fancy this new venture must be patronized chiefly by girls and young ladies. However, that the “Story of Rome” supplies some want is evidenced by the fact of its having run to a third edition since its first appearance two years ago. Obvious misprints, such as “the Consulship of Pompey and Catulus” (p. 214), and “Abscences” (p. 235), are unpardonable in a third edition; unless, indeed, the latter is a sample of the American phonetic spellings which occur in several volumes of the series. We notice a few improprieties of expression, as on p. 180, where it is told how Jugurtha was dropped into “the watery chill” of the Mamertine prison, and also a few inaccuracies as to fact. Perhaps it would be hypercritical to quarrel with the use of the term “Consul” during the first fifty years of the Republic, but on p. 199 there is a serious blunder. Marius is there represented as commanding at the battle of the Colline Gate, which was not fought till B.C. 82, four years after his death; it was in B.C. 87, after Marius and Cinna had entered Rome without a battle, that Sertorius smote Marius’ slaves as they were massacring and looting in the streets of Rome. We notice with surprise that Mr. Gilman speaks confidently on the origin of the Etruscans, a problem generally considered to have hitherto defied solution. Many theories have been elaborated in ancient as well as modern times, but not one of them can claim to hold the field; certainly Mr. Gilman’s cannot, for whereas he says (p. 9) that

the Etruscan commonalty was "from Greece or its colonies," and speaks (p. 72) of Grecian art influencing Rome mediately through Etruria, Prof. Hosmer, in the "Story of the Jews," tells us (p. 45) that "the old Etruscan art is believed to-day to have been transplanted from Assyria." If the bulk of the Etrurians were Greeks, surely their language would present Pelasgic affinities. But these are minor points: the "Story of Rome" is interestingly and picturesquely told; our chief regret is that the hundred years' struggle preceding the fall of the Republic has to be somewhat hurried over, so that the great political lessons that give to Roman history a value peculiarly its own cannot be fully brought out. Some chapters at the end, giving a very fair account of Roman social and domestic life, compensate to some extent for this flaw.

"Carthage" is, we conceive, a sort of "overflow" volume to those on Greece and Rome. Next to nothing is known of Carthaginian civilization, art, literature, or social life; her history, apart from the wars she waged with Greeks and Romans, is all but a blank; she has left no abiding mark on history. Still, a detailed account of the Punic Wars had to find a place somewhere, and there was no room in the "Story of Rome." Prof. Church must be complimented on having made the most of a very unpromising subject. To compare his work with such well-known manuals as the Student's Greece and Rome, it appears that the wars carried on by Carthage against the Greek cities of Sicily are related in much greater detail, and so far forth the average student, who may fear to face Grote, will find much of interest; the Punic Wars are, on the other hand, better described, in our judgment, in the Student's Rome. Such, however, as read merely for amusement will, perhaps, derive more benefit from the more meagre account, and will probably carry off a fairly clear idea of Hannibal's campaigns. We notice that on p. 239 Prof. Church says that the Romans got possession of the Spanish hostages in the hands of the Carthaginians "by the treachery of the officer who had the charge of them;" if Livy is to be trusted, Bostar was outwitted by a clever Spaniard.

In "Alexander's Empire" Prof. Mahaffy has given us the most valuable contribution to the series that has so far appeared. He rapidly sketches Alexander's conquests, gives a clear outline of the vicissitudes of the several kingdoms formed by the disintegration of this Empire, enters in some detail into Hellenistic civilization and literature, especially at Alexandria, and traces at length the process by which the constituent parts of Alexander's Empire were at length absorbed by the rapacious Roman Republic. Any one who has studied the period will know what a perplexing piece of history it is; and to Prof. Mahaffy must be given the credit of having brought order out of chaos, of having thrown light on much intricate but skilful diplomacy, and of having produced a really interesting and instructive volume, although disfigured by a certain amount of girding at the writer's political opponents.

As has been seen, Prof. Mahaffy treats of the Egypt of the Ptolemies; the Egypt of the Pharaohs has a volume to itself. There

A Venetian Lover. By EDWARD KING. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

MR. KING, better known in America than in England as a poet, has the power, rare at the present day, of telling a story in readable and fluent blank verse, and even of rising to a higher level of poetical eloquence in occasional descriptive passages. His present work is a dramatic monologue, in which a long-descended but impoverished Venetian noble tells the story of his attachment to the fair Californian whose modern wealth hires a tenancy in his ancestral palace. The romantic setting of Venetian scenery and history lend some of their charm to the graceful story interwoven with them, and are judiciously used by the poet to heighten its effect. The volume is brought out with all the modern æsthetic *luxe* of the thickest hand-wove paper, the widest margins, and the daintiest binding provided by the bookbinder's art.

Shamrocks. By KATHERINE TYNAN. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

THIS pretty volume is of Irish origin, as its name implies, and the authoress has set some of her national ballads to graceful and melodious verse. The shorter lyrics, too, are full of music and feeling, and stirred with that vague wistfulness, like the wail of an Æolian harp, so characteristic of modern poetry.

Remains of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. Their Explorations and Researches, A.D. 1886. Dublin: Forster and Co., Limited. 1887.

THIS somewhat peculiar title has been bestowed upon a heterogeneous collection of extracts more or less remotely bearing on the scanty remains of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. We are treated to a passage from an "Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture" by the late Thomas Bell; two pages follow from John J. McGregor's "Picture of Dublin"; next comes a short paper by Professor William Stokes, of Trinity College; then an extract from Sharpe's "Cistercian Architecture"; last of all, a lengthy quotation from Ferguson's "Hibernian Nights Entertainment." This kind of thing is wearisome, and entails constant repetition, and is surely unworthy treatment of the once famous monastery which played so large a part in the history of the Irish capital. St. Mary's Abbey, after being for three centuries in the hands of the Black Monks, and then four centuries in the hands of the White Monks, or Cistercians, has fallen low indeed when the very site of its church seems only a matter of conjecture. And for all that we gather from the publication under notice, it strikes us as far more probable that the conventual church stood on the south side of the cloister garth than on the north, as shown in the "problematical" plan at page 4. The church as there indicated is at any rate very unlike anything else in monastic architecture; the position of the transepts is almost

certainly inaccurately marked; and the fact that the slype (see plan at p. 8) is at the south side of the chapter-house, is enough to warrant us, in default of more definite information, in supposing the north transept, in accordance with the general custom, to have abutted upon it. Such a supposition, whether we regard the church as Benedictine or Cistercian, is by no means far-fetched; many of the older monastic houses—*e.g.*, Christ Church and St. Augustine's at Canterbury, Malmesbury and Gloucester, among the former; and Tintern, Dore, and Melrose, among the latter—have their churches on the south side of the garth. The chapter-house, which, to judge from the illustration (p. 19), is in sad need of restoration, must have been a noble hall; its general resemblance to the chapter-house of St. Augustine's Abbey at Bristol may perhaps be accounted for by the close connexion between that city and Dublin.

One or two minor blemishes should have been avoided: thus the number of abbeyes of Cistercian monks known to the modern historian of the Order, the accurate Dom Leopold Janauschek, is only 728, not 1,200 as stated at p. 13; and to speak of friars (and Benedictine friars too!) of the year A.D. 1139 shows some want of regard for the fitness of things.

But having done with fault-finding, it is pleasant to say a word of praise of the care bestowed upon most of the engravings and plates: those of the tiles recently unearthed are particularly valuable and full of suggestiveness for modern buildings.

A great deal has yet to be done to illustrate the history of the religious Orders in Ireland. Would not a critical adaptation, with additions and views, of M. Alemand's "*Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*" (Paris, 1690) find a ready circulation?

La Bruyère dans la Maison de Condé. Etudes biographiques et historiques sur le fin du XVII. Siècle. Par ETIENNE ALLAIRE. 2 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot. 1886.

FRANCE in the latter part of the seventeenth century was at the height of its glory, social, political, literary. Its Court, the most brilliant in Europe, gave the tone to less favoured centres of culture; its army was all but matchless in its organization, unrivalled in its commanders, unchecked in its victorious career. The statesmen of France were men of large views and of supple intrepidity of action and fertility of resource; her ecclesiastical régime combined the stern virtues of mediæval Europe with the polish and eloquence of the Renaissance; while the cultivation of letters, the refined and energetic oratory of her public men, imparted a character of ease and polish to society such as has rarely been equalled and never surpassed. It is to the France of Bossuet and Fénelon, of De Bérulle and Bourdaloue, of Condé and Madame de Maintenon, that we are introduced in these charming volumes of M. Etienne Allaire. With painstaking research and rare discrimination, lightly and yet thoroughly he tells the story of what may be called the inner life of

tation which has always been one of her cherished possessions. This explains why S. Alphonsus esteems here so highly and limits himself chiefly — not exclusive, however — to interpreting and annotating the Vulgate Latin of the Psalms. Not only does he, himself, for reasons set forth in his Introduction, esteem this version as on the whole the best, but he prizes it as the ancient usage of the Church. For in this language have people and priest from earliest times to ours sung daily the unceasing praises of God in His Church, while doctors and saints have commented on it, explained it, and taught from it; and countless expressions in it have become household words in the mouths of Christians. And already, so early as S. Jerome's day, when he made a new translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew, the former psalmody had become so dear a part of the worship of clergy and monks and the faithful, that the adoption of his new translation could never be accomplished.

For the purpose of illustrating the Breviary application of Psalms and Canticles, we venture to think that many of the recent and more critical commentaries on the Psalms (even those—like, for example, Van Steenkiste's—which are by Catholics), are of no use to the unlearned, and are not much immediate help to the priest, because their first and chief care is to translate and paraphrase the Psalm from the Hebrew; and the constant clash of the familiar Vulgate with the new and often diverse diction of the Hebrew hymn is, even when you have mastered the latter, only a confusion and distraction in the recital of the Office. S. Alphonsus sought to help the devout mind to use the Psalms as a better, because better understood, vehicle of prayer and praise, and to give succinct explanations of some of the more obvious difficulties met with in them. And for that useful and valuable purpose we warmly recommend his excellent and brief commentary, often very touching, spiritual, and tenderly pious, as is the way of his writings on matters of devotion. To nuns and others, who know little or no Latin, the book will be of immense importance, as also to the devout laity, lovers of Vespers, of the Church's offices, of the Psalms as a devotion at any time. That the book will not be without its value to the instructed religious or priest we feel considerable confidence. The raising of the heart and spirit with warmer devotion and more filial affection to the God whom we are worshipping, is not always attained from the most satisfactory translation and scientific knowledge of the mere verbal expression of a psalm, and we acknowledge the fact with some reluctance, perhaps. Then may we turn for a few minutes to S. Alphonsus's less ambitious book with profit, before beginning the Hours. In his Introduction, the saint has sections on the difficulties and the text and versions of the Psalms, on their authorship, titles, &c., and on the attention and devotion required in reciting the Office. Then, in the body of the work, the Psalms and Canticles are taken in the order in which they come in the week's "Office," from the Invitatory psalm of Sunday's Matins to last Canticle of Compline.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *The Works of St. Alphonsus de Liguori.* Centenary Edition, Translated by the Rev. EUGENE GRIMM, C.S.S.R. The Ascetical Works. Vol. IV. The Incarnation, Birth, and Infancy of Jesus Christ. Vol. V. The Passion. Vol. VI. The Holy Eucharist. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1887.
2. *The Adorable Heart of Jesus.* By Father JOSEPH DE GALLIFET. With Preface and Introduction by Father RICHARD CLARKE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.
3. *Handbook for Altar Societies and Guide for Sacristans.* By a Member of an Altar Society. New York: Benziger Brothers. London: R. Washbourne. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1887.
4. *Maxims of Christian Perfection.* By ANTONIO ROSMINI. Third English Edition. Translated from the Italian. London and New York: Burns & Oates. 1887.
5. *Saint Teresa's Pater Noster.* A Treatise on Prayer. By JOSEPH FRASSINETTI. Translated from the Italian by WILLIAM HUTCH, D.D. London: Burns & Oates.
6. *The Martyrdom of St. Placidus.* A Drama in One Act. By a Benedictine Nun. Edited by ALBANY J. CHRISTIE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.
7. *Hope and Consolation in the Cross.* By F. ALEXIS BULENS, O.S.F. London: R. Washbourne. 1887.
8. *The Martyrs of England in the Reign of Elizabeth.* London: Thomas Richardson & Son.
9. *Instructions and Devotions for Confession.* For the use of Convent Schools. *Practical Counsels for Holy Communion.* By Mgr. DE SEGUR. London: Burns & Oates.
10. *Preparation for Confession and Holy Communion, and Thanksgiving afterwards.* By the Right Rev. Mgr. Canon GILBERT, D.D., V.G. London: Burns & Oates.
11. *Frequent Communion.* Translated from the French of Rev. J. B. BOONE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.
12. *Christian Maxims; or, Tiny Flowers of Ars.* Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.
13. *A Short Retreat in Preparation for Easter.* London: Burns & Oates.
14. *The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi.* Translated from the Italian, and edited by his Eminence the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.
15. *Guide to the Archconfraternity of the Servants of the Holy Ghost.* Edited by the Rev. ROBERT BUTLER. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

16. *Maxims and Counsels of St. Alphonsus Liguori.* Translated from the French by Miss ANNA T. SADLER. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.
17. *The Salve Regina in Meditations.* By Father ANTONY DENIS, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.
18. *Clare Vaughan.* By Lady LOVAT. London: Burns & Oates.
19. *Contemplations and Meditations for the Feasts of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints.* Translated from the French. Revised by the Rev. W. H. EYRE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.
20. *Blessed Margaret of Salisbury.* By G. AMBROSE LEE. London: B. F. LASLETT & Co.
21. *A Guide for Priests.* By F. BENEDICT VALUY, S.J. Fourth Edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.
22. *The Office of the Dead.* New and Revised Edition. *The Burial Service and Mass for the Dead.* London: Burns & Oates.

1. **O**F the Centenary Edition of the works of the holy Doctor, St. Alphonsus de Liguori, brought out in English by his American sons, we have three more volumes to notice. The first, which is vol. iv. of the series, embraces the Saint's writings on the Incarnation; the second, vol. v., the Passion; and the last, vol. vi., the Holy Eucharist. Translation and notes are satisfactory. But we must repeat what we have already observed—that it would have been courteous to a distinguished English Redemptorist to have stated that, wherever it was possible, the Editor has printed word for word the translation brought out a quarter of a century ago by Robert Aston Coffin.

2. It is a satisfaction to the English reader to have the famous work of Père Gallifet on the Sacred Heart translated into his own tongue. It is a slight exaggeration in the Editor to say that all that has been written on the Sacred Heart since Père Gallifet's time is only a development of what he wrote in the work before us. It is sufficient to recall the names of Arnold, Dalgairns, Muzzarelli, and the late Father Roothan in his numerous encyclical addresses to the Society of Jesus, not to mention St. Alphonsus himself. A few notes would have been an improvement. This work was published in the first half of last century, and many things have happened since then. For instance, Margaret Mary Alacoque has been beatified; a note at p. 42 should have mentioned this. It would also have been interesting to have a notice of St. Alphonsus's comments on Père Gallifet's view. The holy doctor considered that the zealous Jesuit failed in his attempt to obtain the approval of the Feast because he rested his case partly on the ground that the heart was the sensible origin and seat of all the affections of our Saviour. This, of course, is not true physiologically, the brain (or nerve force) being the seat of sensible perception and feeling, and the heart being in reality a large muscular vessel. But as St. Alphonsus points out, the heart, as one of the primary fountains of human life, has a "principal share in the affections" of man; as, indeed, experience abundantly proves

(centenary edition, vol. vi. pp. 232-3). This translation is very skilfully done. The devotion to the Sacred Heart should be specially dear to English Catholics, because it is really true to say that it was in London that it was first propagated. The Blessed Margaret Mary received her first divine communication in 1674; Père de la Colombière conferred with her in the same year; and three years later, writing in London, he writes: "I have already suggested it to many people in England." Among those to whom he suggested it were certainly some of the martyrs who suffered in Oates's plot, and some representatives of the greatest names in England.

3. This "Handbook for Altar Societies," which appears with the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Albany, is very minute and practical in matters relating to brass-work, lace, linen, silk, and other materials used in the sanctuary. It also gives directions for the making of vestments, &c. Sacristans will find it useful to consult as to the preparations to be made for services and festivals. There is also a feature towards the end of the book which we do not remember to have observed elsewhere—a list of symbolical or appropriate flowers to be used on each great feast of the year.

4. A carefully revised edition of the English translation of Father Rosmini's "Maxims" will be welcome to many. It will never, perhaps, become a popular book. The author not only writes in a somewhat crabbed and scholastic fashion, but he uses leading terms in a different sense from what they generally mean, as, for example, the word, "justice." To call religion and charity "justice" meant a very great deal to the illustrious writer; but it may be questioned whether the ordinary reader will quite appreciate it. But a book which makes Christians reflect on the fundamental ethics of Christian practice is extremely valuable, even though it may cost its readers a little study and thought.

5. The President of St. Colman's, Fermoy, has added to the obligations under which his excellent translations have placed us all by giving us another treatise of Frassinetti. That zealous and experienced writer has left an excellent little work in which he has condensed and commented upon the whole teaching of St. Teresa on "Prayer." It consists of two parts—the first containing her lessons on prayer in general, drawn chiefly from the "Way of Perfection"; and the second, her "Meditations" on the "Our Father." There is reason to think that the translator—who has done a difficult task extremely well—will be amply justified in judging that this treatise on prayer, at once so deep and so practical, will be of the greatest use to priests, religious and devout Christians generally.

6. A Benedictine nun has accomplished with middling success the task of telling the story, in a dramatic form, of the martyrdom of St. Placidus and his companions. The story is necessarily full of horrors and bloodshed, but only about half-a-dozen persons are actually murdered *coram populo*, the rest of the slaughter, with the rackings and scourgings, taking place behind the scenes, and the characters of the drama, when on the stage, giving themselves up

principally to talk. There is a great deal of very devout thought expressed in easy verse ; though the "language" of the pirate chief is of a nature to strain the rules and regulations of a convent stage. But perhaps the play is meant for the closet only.

7. A Franciscan father of West Gorton has written a little treatise on human crosses or sufferings. It is a magazine of instruction, exhortation, example, and devotion. Perhaps Father Alexis draws a somewhat exaggerated picture of life. Sinners are not by any means so "unhappy" as he makes out. Wives are not invariably, or even usually, so very miserable as he describes in the chapter entitled the "Crosses of Married Life." The English is fair, but there are here and there evidences of a foreign idiom, and a few slips in proper names, such as Nepvue.

8. A small *brochure*, the paging of which mysteriously begins with "37." It contains a brief memoir of twenty-four of the lately beatified martyrs, chiefly taken from Challoner's work.

9. A new issue of these useful manuals bound up together. The binding, or rather the stitching, of the copy before us, would soon give way if the book were used as it should be.

10. Dr. Gilbert, of St. Mary's, Moorfields, has done well in publishing this effective sacramental manual. It may, perhaps, be questioned whether it is advisable to treat "Attrition" so entirely apart from "Contrition." Surely the two states not unfrequently flow into each other, and the penitent who weeps over his crucifix may be safely considered to make an act of perfect sorrow. But the devout reader will find many beautiful acts of devotion expressed in fresh and striking language, and conveniently arranged for use.

11. An extract from Père Boone's "*Manual de l'Association de l'Adoration perpétuelle*" carefully rendered in English.

12. These "Maxims" of the Curé d'Ars seem to be translated from a compilation by the Abbé Monnin, though we are not expressly told that it is so. The translation is well done, the book is pretty, and the words of the venerable Curé are wonderfully striking and deep.

13. A Nun of the Visitation—at least so we gather from the *brochure* itself—has written some devout meditations for Holy Week, applying our Blessed Lord's passion to the daily life of nuns. The instruction is drawn chiefly from St. Francis de Sales and the Saints of the Visitation.

14. This new edition of the "Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi" need merely be mentioned.

15. In 1879 the Confraternity of the Servants of the Holy Ghost established by the Oblate Fathers of St. Charles in London was raised by Pope Leo XIII. to the position of an Archconfraternity. This little manual offers to the public, in a neat and accessible form, the facts connected with the establishment of the Confraternity, together with an account of its purpose and spirit, and various forms of devotion.

16. Another pretty little book of "Maxims." As we have already said of a book just noticed, it is hardly made for wear ; yet there are few collections that are more full of daily suggestiveness. Is St. Alphonsus the original author of this—"We must take amuse-

quently developed." It is of this period that our great Catholic poet is the fitting exponent in the volume before us, and his exposition is of the most brilliant and attractive kind. The Faith of the Cross was victorious through the great gracious lives and glorious deaths of those who in the early ages of the Church "with Christ were nailed to the Cross." What then can be a better clue to the spirit of those ages than a succession of portraits of saints and martyrs from St. Thecla to St. Boniface? This Mr. Aubrey de Vere places before us, but not this alone. "Regarded as an ideal," he says "the Holy Roman Empire was surely the highest of political ideals"; and the poet, accordingly, of the period which begins with the Christian era and extends to the coronation of Charlemagne can hardly be content with mere individual portraits. Hence, we have not only the story of St. Dorothea, told in the simplest strain, but also stronger delineations of events and epochs which have made deep marks in history, however regarded. The giving of the Bible to the West is dealt with in a powerful soliloquy of St. Jerome, just before his death; and the politics of New Rome and its founder are presented in "Constantine in Thrace" and "Constantine at Constantinople" with all the vigour of Mr. de Vere's strongest style. The Emperor is represented in the former projecting the building of the new capital as the metropolis for a "Christian caliphate"; in the latter as thinking, when his death is only a few days distant, over his past life, and the failure of his design to create an Imperial Church under the Emperor's sway:

I willed to raise a city great like Rome,
And yet in spirit Rome's great opposite,
His city, His the Man she crucified.
What see I? Masking in the name of Christ
A city like to Rome, but worse than Rome;
A Rome with blunted sword and hollow heart,
And brain that came to her at second-hand—
Weak, thin, worn out by one who had it first,
And having it, abused. I vowed to lift
Religion's lordliest fane and amplest shrine:
My work will prove a Pagan reliquary,
With Christian incrustations froz'n around.
It moulders. To corruption it hath said,
"My sister"; to the wooing grave, "My home."

But finer far than these is the spirited ode on the crowning of Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire. The following lines, with which it opens, are a worthy index of its style and purpose:

That God of gods the universe who made,
Who speaks, and from the void rushed forth the stars,
He, too, their orbits shaped, their movements swayed,
Wrote on their brows in shining characters,
"God's flock we are: our freedom is to go
That way his finger points, with motion swift or slow:"
That God spake Law not less to Man: He said,
"Revere your kings; Good-will and Order cherish:
Live like Mine angels; not like beasts that perish:"
Primeval man obeyed.

Those earlier Patriarch kings were shepherds true :
 Bad kings came next ; on rival kings they preyed :
 From ancient wounds the blood welled forth anew,
 Till swelled the cry :
 " One king should rule the earth : One God there reigns on high."

The contrast between these poems and some of the simple lines in which tales of martyrdom are told is striking, and exceedingly effective. Indeed, the volume is a fair specimen of the many moods of the poet. Take for example the close of " St. Agatha " :

Blest Palermo ! Lullabied
 Was the babe by thy blue sea !
 Catana more blest ! She died
 Dowered with palm and crown in thee !
 Share with us your double boast.
 Happy land, for poor are we :
 Plead, among the heavenly host,
 Agatha, for mine and me.

Again, in the " Legend of St. Thecla " there is an exceedingly fine description of St. Paul's preaching at Iconium while " the eldest daughter of St. Paul " hears at her window, but does not see, the Apostle, and is converted. One by one the scenes of the ministry and passion of Our Lord are passed in eloquent review, as the maiden listens. For example we may take these two stanzas :

She saw that Garden of Gethsemane ;
 She saw God's angel hold the chalice forth
 High in both hands ; she saw those sleepers three ;
 Saw One Who knelt with forehead nigh the earth ;
 With aching heart she saw, the branches through,
 Those sacred blood-drops reddening grass and dew.
 And ever as those sequent pictures rose
 And to her spirit's vision clave and clung,
 She heard, like torrent flood that seaward flows,
 Through black ravines the cloud-girt woods among,
 Still heard that wondrous voice of him, the unseen,
 Which told of what must be, and what had been.

But it is idle to multiply quotations, for none can give the reader a fair idea of a volume which may be read and re-read, with the certainty that new beauties will become apparent the more the poems are dwelt on and understood.

Lord Macaulay declares that poetry is " the art of employing words in such a manner as to produce an illusion on the imagination, the art of doing by words what the painter does by means of colours ; " adding that " we cannot unite the incompatible advantages of reality and deception, the clear discernment of truth and the exquisite enjoyment of fiction." But the famous essayist was not thinking of a Catholic poet when this incomplete canon was laid down by him ; otherwise Mr. de Vere's latest volume would prove it incorrect at all points, and not merely incomplete. For in his latest work we have the " incompatible advantages " together in rare perfection, and the " exquisite enjoyment of fiction " is here intensified

by the feeling that the emotions awakened by the poet are not wasted on what is unreal, but concentrated on the realities of a great era in Christian history, to which his clear discernment of truth has enabled him to assign their true significance.

The Story of the Nations. Rome. By ARTHUR GILMAN. *Carthage.* By Prof. A. J. CHURCH. *Alexander's Empire.* By Prof. J. P. MAHAFFY. *Egypt.* By Prof. GEO. RAWLINSON. *The Jews.* By Prof. JAMES K. HOSMER. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

“THE Story of the Nations” is a series of popular historical manuals by divers hands, and of very varying calibre. The general average, considering the object aimed at, is good; but while some of the volumes attain to some excellence, it may be questioned whether others rise above mediocrity. They are written, for the most part, in a clear and attractive manner, and by freely suppressing minor details they make the great features of the various subjects stand out in a way calculated to arrest the attention of even the superficial reader. At the same time, one or two of the volumes so far issued will be welcomed by students of history. It was inevitable that Rome should find an early place in a series of the “Story of the Nations.” Considering the number of first-rate compendiums of Roman history already in the field, it is not easy to produce a new one of only 300 pages, which will present any novel feature as a justification for its existence. Mr. Gilman, however, writes distinctly for children; and as boys are already amply provided with excellent school-books, we fancy this new venture must be patronized chiefly by girls and young ladies. However, that the “Story of Rome” supplies some want is evidenced by the fact of its having run to a third edition since its first appearance two years ago. Obvious misprints, such as “the Consulship of Pompey and Catulus” (p. 214), and “Abscences” (p. 235), are unpardonable in a third edition; unless, indeed, the latter is a sample of the American phonetic spellings which occur in several volumes of the series. We notice a few improprieties of expression, as on p. 180, where it is told how Jugurtha was dropped into “the watery chill” of the Mamertine prison, and also a few inaccuracies as to fact. Perhaps it would be hypercritical to quarrel with the use of the term “Consul” during the first fifty years of the Republic, but on p. 199 there is a serious blunder. Marius is there represented as commanding at the battle of the Colline Gate, which was not fought till B.C. 82, four years after his death; it was in B.C. 87, after Marius and Cinna had entered Rome without a battle, that Sertorius smote Marius’ slaves as they were massacring and looting in the streets of Rome. We notice with surprise that Mr. Gilman speaks confidently on the origin of the Etruscans, a problem generally considered to have hitherto defied solution. Many theories have been elaborated in ancient as well as modern times, but not one of them can claim to hold the field; certainly Mr. Gilman’s cannot, for whereas he says (p. 9) that

the Etruscan commonalty was "from Greece or its colonies," and speaks (p. 72) of Grecian art influencing Rome mediately through Etruria, Prof. Hosmer, in the "Story of the Jews," tells us (p. 45) that "the old Etruscan art is believed to-day to have been transplanted from Assyria." If the bulk of the Etrurians were Greeks, surely their language would present Pelasgic affinities. But these are minor points: the "Story of Rome" is interestingly and picturesquely told; our chief regret is that the hundred years' struggle preceding the fall of the Republic has to be somewhat hurried over, so that the great political lessons that give to Roman history a value peculiarly its own cannot be fully brought out. Some chapters at the end, giving a very fair account of Roman social and domestic life, compensate to some extent for this flaw.

"Carthage" is, we conceive, a sort of "overflow" volume to those on Greece and Rome. Next to nothing is known of Carthaginian civilization, art, literature, or social life; her history, apart from the wars she waged with Greeks and Romans, is all but a blank; she has left no abiding mark on history. Still, a detailed account of the Punic Wars had to find a place somewhere, and there was no room in the "Story of Rome." Prof. Church must be complimented on having made the most of a very unpromising subject. To compare his work with such well-known manuals as the Student's Greece and Rome, it appears that the wars carried on by Carthage against the Greek cities of Sicily are related in much greater detail, and so far forth the average student, who may fear to face Grote, will find much of interest; the Punic Wars are, on the other hand, better described, in our judgment, in the Student's Rome. Such, however, as read merely for amusement will, perhaps, derive more benefit from the more meagre account, and will probably carry off a fairly clear idea of Hannibal's campaigns. We notice that on p. 239 Prof. Church says that the Romans got possession of the Spanish hostages in the hands of the Carthaginians "by the treachery of the officer who had the charge of them;" if Livy is to be trusted, Bostar was outwitted by a clever Spaniard.

In "Alexander's Empire" Prof. Mahaffy has given us the most valuable contribution to the series that has so far appeared. He rapidly sketches Alexander's conquests, gives a clear outline of the vicissitudes of the several kingdoms formed by the disintegration of this Empire, enters in some detail into Hellenistic civilization and literature, especially at Alexandria, and traces at length the process by which the constituent parts of Alexander's Empire were at length absorbed by the rapacious Roman Republic. Any one who has studied the period will know what a perplexing piece of history it is; and to Prof. Mahaffy must be given the credit of having brought order out of chaos, of having thrown light on much intricate but skilful diplomacy, and of having produced a really interesting and instructive volume, although disfigured by a certain amount of girding at the writer's political opponents.

As has been seen, Prof. Mahaffy treats of the Egypt of the Ptolemies; the Egypt of the Pharaohs has a volume to itself. There

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